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Strategizing for the Future: Evolving Cultural Resource Centers in Higher Education

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of the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Education

by

Yen Ling Shek

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Strategizing for the Future: Evolving Cultural Resource Centers in Higher Education

by

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Doctor of Philosophy in Education
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Cultural resource centers have been an ongoing and integral component to creating a more welcoming campus climate for Students of Color since its establishment in the 1960s. While the racial dynamics may have changed, many of the challenges Students of Color faced on predominantly White campuses have not. Interestingly, cultural resource centers as safe spaces and advocacy spaces have evolved and expanded their missions beyond their traditional student populations. This study utilizes the Multi-contextual Model of Diverse Learning Environments (MMDLE) and organizational behavior theories to understand how cultural resource centers shape and are shaped by their current campus climates. Through an embedded case study design combining survey data, interviews, and document analyses, this study identifies the missions and organizational structures of cultural resource centers, as well as its interactions with the climate. Major findings include centers converging around an educational mission for a broad population with variations by center type in their areas of emphases. A categorization of institutional models emerged from the study resulting in the Taxonomy of Cultural Resource Centers in Higher Education, serving as a basic model to consider of multicultural, intercultural, and race-specific centers. The case studies revealed the importance of understanding institutional models within their context and the interplay of climate dimensions that serve to either support or hinder their ability to meet their missions. Cultural resource centers have evolved from serving their traditional populations yet the organizational structures to support their missions have not necessarily evolved with them. The case studies indicated a variety of approaches including institutions looking at the cultural resource centers in isolation and those that tried to fit the cultural resource centers within an organizational structure to support campus diversity efforts. The organizational behaviors of the institutions reflected the institutional context and approach to overall diversity efforts as well as highlighted the interplay between the dimensions of the climate. Strategizing for the future within conflicting notions of valuing diversity and rendering race invisible thus needs to take into account the evolving cultural resource centers as sites of expertise, education, and empowerment.

The dissertation of Yen Ling Shek is approved.

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2013

Dedicated to God Almighty and the community He provided to support me throughout the dissertation process.

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"The Lord bless you and keep you; the Lord make his face to shine upon you and be gracious to you; the Lord lift up his countenance upon you and give you peace." Numbers 6:24-26.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Problem Statement

In her foreword to Culture Centers in Higher Education: Perspectives on Identity, Theory, and Practice, Gloria Ladson-Billings, renowned scholar of critical race theory in education, states that cultural resource centers provide “social and psychological support for students of color…[and] serve as an important educational corrective” (p. xii) to address difficult campus climates for diversity. As Students of Color continue to grow in numbers on college campuses (Pryor, Hurtado, Saenz, Santos, & Korn, 2007), institutions of higher education are called to address how welcoming and supportive their campus climates for diversity are for student success (Hurtado, Alvarez, Guillermo-Wann, Cuellar, & Arellano, 2012; D. G. Smith, 2009). Examples of recent behaviors on college campuses indicate much work is still needed to create more supportive environments: a professor referring to Black students who did not show up on time for class as slaves (Teague, 2011), “ghetto-themed” parties on college campuses (Garcia, Johnston, Garibay, Herrera, & Giraldo, 2011; Hing, 2011), and internet rants about Asians in the library (Lovett, 2011). Such incidents constitute racial microaggressions and can be considered blatant racism (Sue, 2010). Both subtle and blatant forms of racism lead to racial battle fatigue for Students of Color, which in turn affect their academic self-confidence and retention (W. A. Smith, Allen, & Danley, 2007; Solórzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000). It is therefore incumbent upon institutions to identify interventions and strategies for improving campus climate for diversity, a multidimensional and multi-contextual model of diversity and equity in the institutional environment (Ancis, Sedlacek, & Mohr, 2000; Hurtado et al., 2012; W. A. Smith et al., 2007; Yosso & Benavides Lopez, 2010). Empirical support for Ladson-Billings’ characterization of cultural resource centers and the connection between the centers and campus climates for diversity has been limited to case study research (L. Jones, Castellanos, & Cole, 2002; L. D. Patton, 2006, 2010c; Toya, 2011; Welch, 2009) and limited survey research on Black culture centers (Bankole, 2005) with more information needed to understand the terrain of campus cultural resource centers across the country.

Cultural resource centers, as institutional offices, have historically been designed to counteract hostile racial climates on predominantly White campuses by operating as spaces of comfort, education, and empowerment for Students of Color (L. Jones et al., 2002; Shotton, Yellowfish, & Cintrón, 2010). Centers range from ethnic and race specific resource centers to multicultural offices working with Students of Color and the broader campus community on issues of diversity, multiculturalism, and social justice (L. D. Patton, 2010c). Relatively little is published about their contributions, with even less focused on their capacity to meet the needs of increasingly diverse student populations. Consider the following scenarios cultural resource centers may find themselves responsible for addressing: five nooses spray-painted in school colors dangling from a tree in the center of campus the morning of a rally against hate crimes; a Black student looking for a “home away from home” on a predominantly White campus; an Asian American student struggling with her major after learning more about social justice issues. In addition to the earlier examples of racial microaggressions and racism, these scenarios illustrate a variety of student needs – coping and making sense of a hate crime on campus, feeling a sense of belonging, and seeking academic support.

While these centers are often created to meet this wide range of needs, what are their stated missions? There are individual case studies of cultural resource centers that speak to their purpose in addressing campus climate for diversity, but are there similar findings across a larger number of institutions and is there variation by institution type (Lozano, 2010; L. D. Patton, 2005, 2006; Solórzano et al., 2000; Walker, 2007; Yosso & Benavides Lopez, 2010)? Beyond the missions, what are the organizational structures of cultural resource centers and how are they resourced to improve the campus climate for diversity? Smith (2009) argues for the consideration of institutional capacity when assessing institutional effectiveness for diversity efforts and offers a diversity framework that is similar to the campus climate for diversity framework. Whereas Smith's (2009) framework applies to institutional change, this study focuses specifically on providing descriptive information on cultural resource centers, its relationship with the campus climate, and institutional change as a tertiary area of interest.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this research is to examine characteristics within the organizational dimension of the campus climate for diversity by focusing on the capacity of cultural resource centers to meet the needs of Students of Color. Specifically, this study analyzes the missions, organizational structures, and strategies of cultural resource centers in higher education. This study uncovers evidence on the extent to which cultural resource centers across the country fit previous characterizations of cultural resource centers as spaces of support, education, and empowerment (Hord, 2005c; L. Jones et al., 2002; L. D. Patton, 2006, 2010c; Solórzano et al., 2000; Yosso & Benavides Lopez, 2010) and how they have evolved to serve a broader population. By undertaking an organizational analysis, the study investigates institutional elements and their relationship to how centers operate and strategize to meet their missions. Based upon survey data, interviews, and document analyses, the study offers a greater understanding of the range of cultural resource centers on college campuses. Findings from the study inform campuses when addressing their climate for diversity by focusing on institutional models and the interplay of dimensions within the climate. Additionally, the focus on structural and behavioral characteristics of cultural resource centers contribute to filling a gap in the literature on campus climate for diversity. The overall findings of the study present a picture of cultural resource centers with purposes that have evolved to a broader focus compared to their original missions and institutions that may be lagging in creating an infrastructure to best support their missions and roles in the campus climate for diversity.

Scope

The campus climate for diversity was initially conceptualized as the campus racial climate framework but has broadened to incorporate the range of diversity on college campuses "promoting social equity and democratic pluralism" (Hurtado et al., 2012). The move from racial diversity to a broader view of diversity that is inclusive of gender, sexual orientation, religion, ability, etc. can also be reflected in the creation and evolution of cultural resource centers (Mena, 2010), as well as in overall institutional diversity efforts (D. G. Smith, 2009). However, for the purpose of this study, I focus on cultural resource centers with a current or historical mission of serving Students of Color. I acknowledge there are cultural resource centers that focus primarily on women, religious diversity, and queer communities; however, racial diversity has been contested in college admissions in ways other social identities are not, such as the case with the University of Michigan *Gratz* and *Grutter* Supreme Court decisions (Hurtado et al., 2012; D. G. Smith, 2009) and the current Fisher v. University of Texas Austin case. The direct exclusion of Students of Color is a unique aspect of American higher education (Cohen & Kisker, 2010; Karabel, 1984; D. G. Smith, 2009), and questions of racial equity remain to this day (Espenshade & Radford, 2009; Harper & Hurtado, 2007; D. G. Smith, 2009). In addition, this study controls for institutional type and limits the cases to four-year nonprofit colleges and universities.

Research Questions

The research questions guiding this study are:

(1) How do campus cultural resource centers converge and differ in their stated missions?

(2) What are the commonalities and differences in the organizational structures of campus cultural resource centers?

(3) How do those structures shape strategies and efforts to address campus climate for diversity?

Theoretical and Conceptual Frameworks: An Overview

The research design for this study is guided by three frameworks: an understanding of campus climate for diversity (Hurtado et al., 2012) that was initially framed as campus racial climate (Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pedersen, & Allen, 1998), Berger and Milem's (2000) model of Researching Organizational Impact on Student Outcomes, and an Organizational Assessment Framework utilized in community development organizations (Horton et al., 2003). The first two frameworks are used in conceptualizing the study, informing the methods, and guiding the data analyses. The third framework is used primarily in conceptualizing the study and operationalizing elements for the methods.

Campus Climate for Diversity

Campus racial climate is a framework for understanding the institutional environment with respect to racial diversity (Hurtado, 1992; Hurtado, Milem, et al., 1998; Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pedersen, & Allen, 1999). The most recent iteration of this framework, now known as campus climate for diversity, is the Multi-contextual Model of Diverse Learning Environments (MMDLE) (Hurtado et al., 2012). The MMDLE acknowledges the organizational dimension contribution to the framework (Milem, Chang, & Antonio, 2005) while also being inclusive of other forms of diversity beyond race and extending the model to compositionally diverse institutions. The five dimensions of campus climate for diversity are socio-historical, compositional diversity, psychological, behavioral, and organizational. I discuss all the dimensions in greater detail in Chapter 2.

The organizational dimension of climate encompasses institutional policies, processes, and practices (Milem et al., 2005). These organizational characteristics are informed by an institution's historical legacy of inclusion and exclusion as well as by the sociohistorical context (Hurtado et al., 2012; Hurtado, Milem, et al., 1998; Milem et al., 2005). The structures and processes within an institution, therefore, are neither value-neutral nor objective. However, researching organizational characteristics of institutions are data- and labor-intensive, with an emphasis primarily on processes rather than structures (Hurtado et al., 2012). The use of the campus climate for diversity framework helps to situate this study within the broader scholarly work on diversity efforts and contributes to filling the gap in research on the organizational dimension while also exploring the interplay of MMDLE dimensions.

Researching Organizational Impact on Student Outcomes

Berger and Milem (2000) offer a conceptual model for researching organizational impact on student outcomes by adapting two models of organizational behavior – Bolman and Deal's (1984, 1992, 1997 as cited in Berger & Milem, 2000) four frames and Birnbaum's (1988) models of how colleges work. Building upon these two models, Berger and Milem (2000) propose that organizational characteristics influence peer group characteristics and student characteristics, thereby affecting student outcomes. Since the current study does not examine student outcomes, my application of this model focuses on categorizations of organizational characteristics for the first part of the study and then overlaying the organizational behaviors onto the interplay of dimensions in the Multi-contextual Model of Diverse Learning Environments (MMDLE) during the analyses of the case studies. The first of two categories within the organizational characteristics Berger and Milem (2000) identify are structural-demographic features of institutions, which include the institution's size, control, selectivity, Carnegie Type, and location. The second category of organizational characteristics is organizational behavior, described as bureaucratic, collegial, political, symbolic, and systemic, which I detail in Chapter 2. Importantly, their model offers a way to not only operationalize organizational characteristics but also describes the interplay between the climate dimensions, which emerged through the case studies.

The organizational characteristics described through this model address issues of organizational capacity and provides a lens from which to examine the second research question related to structure and capacity. The organizational behavior theories offer a different approach to understanding the dynamic relationships between dimensions within the campus climate and help to reframe the third research question in the study described in greater detail in Chapter 5. The use of organizational behaviors as overlaid onto the MMDLE dimensions evolved through the data analysis exploring the relationship between structure and strategies of cultural resource centers.

Organizational Assessment Framework

While the Berger and Milem (2000) model is useful for identifying structural elements of organizations, I also turn to research on organizational assessment, which is found primarily in literature on community development organizations. The Organizational Assessment Framework identifies organizational capacity, the ability of organizations to accomplish their missions, as key in understanding institutional effectiveness (Horton et al., 2003).

Organizational capacity is further delineated into resource capacity and management capacity. Resource capacity refers to staffing, infrastructure, and financial resources whereas management capacity refers to process management, leadership, and networks with other organizations and groups (Horton et al., 2003). The focus of this study is on the resource capacity of cultural resource centers as a first step in understanding the organizational capacity of the centers to address campus climate for diversity. Resource capacity informs management capacity in the manner that structure informs processes. Structures set the parameters for organizational behavior, particularly when resources are limited.

Methodological Overview

An embedded multiple case study design guided this research, serving as the most appropriate methodological approach given the macro-level inquiry and rich details needed to answer the research questions (Scholz & Tietje, 2002; Yin, 2009). I employed a sequential transformative approach using the quantitative methodology to inform the qualitative methodology (Creswell, 2003). I used multiple data sources – survey data, interviews, and document analysis – as a form of triangulation to understand the broader phenomenon of cultural resource centers, while also capturing the richness of data at specific institutions and their organizational capacities. The primary unit of analysis was the institution, with embedded unit of analysis being the cultural resource center.

First, the use of surveys was appropriate to capture the structural data needed on mission statements, reporting lines, staffing, and budgeting. I examined the missions of cultural resource centers across institutions finding convergences and divergences overall and by center type. I conducted descriptive statistical analyses on cultural resource centers at the macro-level, within types of institutions, and by center type to enhance the understanding of the field of cultural resource centers. In addition, I analyzed the resource capacities for cultural resource centers and found natural groupings in staffing of centers and in institutional models. I created the Taxonomy of Cultural Resource Centers in Higher Education providing a basic model for institutions as they consider the ways they structure support for Students of Color through cultural resource centers. The taxonomy informed the selection of information-rich and maximum variation cases for the case studies (Yin, 2009) leading to four institutions and eight cultural resource center participants.

Second, the four institutional case studies involved interviews with cultural resource center directors and document analyses of brochures, websites, and annual reports depending on the level of access granted by the institution. Each case study reflected a model within the Taxonomy with two institutions representing the difference between multicultural and intercultural center structures. Interviews allowed for more in-depth inquiry on resource capacity and strategies cultural resource centers used in addressing campus climate for diversity (Yin, 2009). Through semi-structured interviews, I explored cultural resource center strategies in the form of its staff. Insights from the staff offered a different perspective on organizational capacity while also making explicit interactions between structures and organizational behavior. While Berger and Milem's (2000) model informed my understanding of organizational behavior in higher education, I also took a grounded theory approach to allow for theory to be formed out of the data (Charmaz, 2006; Glaser & Strauss, 1967) leading to the overlaying of organizational behavior theories onto the interplay of MMDLE dimensions. The structure of the centers within the institutions reflected the organizational dimension and was discussed within the context of how it shaped or was shaped by the other dimensions within the campus climate for diversity. Lastly, document analyses and the survey data allowed for data triangulation to assist with the validity and reliability of the study. However, the documents from each center and institution varied serving as a limitation for the study.

Significance of the Study

Higher education needs to be responsive to the ever-changing dynamics of diversity by taking transformative rather than additive approaches to diversity (Harper & Hurtado, 2007; L. D. Patton, 2010b; D. G. Smith, 2009; Turner, 1994). Transformative approaches include proper assessment of institutional capacities and organizational dimensions to inform improvement of the campus climate for diversity (Hurtado et al., 2012; D. G. Smith, 2009). This exploratory study of cultural resource centers begins to provide an empirical knowledge base in order to: (1) see the extent to which cultural resource centers' mission statements reflect responsibilities of addressing the campus climate for diversity; (2) map the terrain of cultural resource centers in a national context through understanding their resource capacities; (3) create a classification system to comprehend the range of cultural resource centers; and (4) shed light on how organizational structures affect organizational behavior related to campus climate for diversity. Although historically such centers were created as "guest rooms that have been added to the house" (Turner, 1994, p. 362), these centers are also sites of student resistance (L. D. Patton, 2005; Toya, 2011; Welch, 2009) with potential to create institutional transformation. This study also offers a way for cultural resource centers and institutions to examine the dynamic relationships between the dimensions of climate as a way for strategizing future efforts for diversity. The interplay of MMDLE dimensions as understood through an organizational behavior lens may help center staff and senior administrators identify multi-pronged approaches to meet the changing needs of students and the growing diversity on their college campuses.

There are also research implications for scholars interested in exploring the interplay of MMDLE dimensions further.

Definitions

In order to provide a foundation for understanding the study, the following terms and accompanying definitions are provided below.

Cultural resource center – an institutional office staffed and funded by the campus to meet the needs of Students of Color, which may include providing academic, social, cultural, and personal support (Hord, 2005c; L. D. Patton, 2010c). Although the center can target additional student populations (women, lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender students, etc.), this study focuses on centers with an historical and contemporary emphasis on Students of Color. The study also narrows the sample to four-year nonprofit institutions of higher education.

Diversity – broadly defined in relation to institutional efforts geared towards supporting marginalized communities (Students of Color, women, lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender students, etc.) with an emphasis on equity and social justice (Hurtado et al., 2012; D. G. Smith, 2009).

Students of Color – students who identify as African American, American Indian, Asian American, Pacific Islander, Latina/o, and Multiracial.

Race – a social construction that "signifies and symbolizes social conflicts and interests by referring to different types of human bodies" (Omi & Winant, 1994, p. 55). In this study, race is categorized in terms commonly used in education research – African American/Black, Native American/American Indian, Asian American, Pacific Islander, Latina/o, Multiracial, and White.

Racism – form of oppression that privileges Whiteness and subordinates Communities of Color and can take the form of attitudes, behavior, and institutional structures/policies (Sue, 2010).

Racial microaggressions – "subtle forms of bias and discrimination that harms persons of color" (Sue, 2010, p. 5).

Counterspaces – spaces "where deficit notions of people of color can be challenged and where a positive collegiate racial climate can be established and maintained" (Solórzano et al., 2000, p. 70).

Organization of the Study

The accompanying chapters include the literature review, methodology, results, and discussion. Chapter 2 presents an overview of research on campus climate for diversity, focusing on research related to student interactions with diversity, and situates this study within the higher education discourse on diversity. Particular attention is given to the organizational dimension of campus climate and the research gap this study attempts to fill. An overview of cultural resource centers and its relationship to campus climate is also presented followed by a review of the organizational assessment framework.

Chapter 3 provides details on the methodological approach for the study, with elaboration of the embedded case study design. The purpose of the chapter is to provide readers with an understanding of how the methodology, including data analysis, aligns with the research questions. Significant findings from the survey data are presented in Chapter 4 with an emphasis on mission statements, descriptive statistics on resource capacities, and the taxonomy of cultural resource centers. Chapter 5 presents findings from the multiple case studies as illustrations of the different models in the taxonomies. The chapter draws from interviews with cultural resource center directors at four institutions, survey data, and document analyses to highlight key propositions about cultural resource centers and the diverse learning environment. Finally, Chapter 6 synthesizes existing research with the significant findings in this study to then discuss the implications for research and practice, as well as identify areas for future research. By the conclusion of this study, the reader should have a broader perspective of cultural resource centers along with a more nuanced understanding of their resource capacities and interactions with the campus climate for diversity.

CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This study examines characteristics within the organizational dimension of the campus climate for diversity by focusing on the capacity of cultural resource centers to meet the needs of Students of Color. I first situate this study within the broader body of research on campus racial climate by providing an overview of recent climate models and synthesizing relevant studies related to each dimension of the campus racial climate. I pay particular attention to the organizational dimension of campus racial climate and the respective existing gap in research. I also review two additional frameworks, Smith's (2009) Framework for Diversity and Berger and Milem's (2000) conceptual model on Researching Organizational Impact on Student Outcomes, in an effort to provide alternative conceptual models for understanding organizational structures in higher education research.

Following a review of the overarching framework, I next present existing scholarship on cultural resource centers covering the historical development, contemporary settings, and relationship to student development. Though limited, scholarship on cultural resource centers reveals how they address various dimensions of campus racial climate at institutions, primarily through case study research (Lozano, 2010; L. D. Patton, 2005, 2006; Shotton et al., 2010; Solórzano et al., 2000; Toya, 2011; Turner, 1994; Welch, 2009; Yosso & Benavides Lopez, 2010). However, there is no empirical study that addresses whether or not there is consistency in the missions of cultural resource centers across the United States to address campus climate for diversity. In addition, there is very little examination of the organizational capacity of cultural resource centers in regards to resource allocation and staffing (Shek, 2010). To assist with understanding their organizational capacity, I present an organizational assessment framework that further informs the operationalization of organizational structure in this study. The review concludes with a summary of how the conceptual frameworks shape the research design, appropriately leading to the chapter on methodology.

Campus Racial Climate

In their review of empirical research, Hurtado and colleagues (1998, 1999) conceptualize a multidimensional campus racial climate framework for how institutions can address diversity. The framework describes racialized contexts that are subject to external and internal forces, one of which is arguably racialization. Racialization in the United States is a process of racial privilege and subordination with Whiteness as the privileged group and People of Color as various subordinated groups (Omi & Winant, 1994). Consequentially, institutions of higher education operate within this racial paradigm with external forces comprised of governmental policy, programs, and initiatives, as well as broader sociohistorical forces. The initial climate framework identifies four dimensions of internal forces – historical legacy of inclusion and exclusion, structural (later referenced as compositional), psychological, and behavioral (Hurtado, Milem, et al., 1998). A fifth dimension - organizational/structural – was added later, and articulates a different aspect of campuses that focuses on infrastructure and organizations that can enhance diversity (Milem et al., 2005). This dimension is later incorporated into the Multi-Contextual Model of Diverse Learning Environments (MMDLE) (Hurtado et al., 2012) as a valuable contribution. The original climate framework also details external forces (Hurtado et al., 1998) which is further elaborated upon in the MMDLE (Hurtado et al., 2012). An overview of the Milem et al. (2005) framework is provided in Figure 2.1 because of its specificity in outlining what comprises each dimension of the climate. While the MMDLE is more comprehensive, I use Milem et al. (2005) model for illustrative purposes and ease of adaptation for the data analyses discussed later on in the study. The figure details the influence of governmental/political forces and sociohistorical forces on institutional context. Within the institutional context, campus racial climate is composed of multiple dimensions: the historical legacy of inclusion/exclusion, compositional diversity, psychological dimension, behavior dimension, and the organizational/structural dimension.

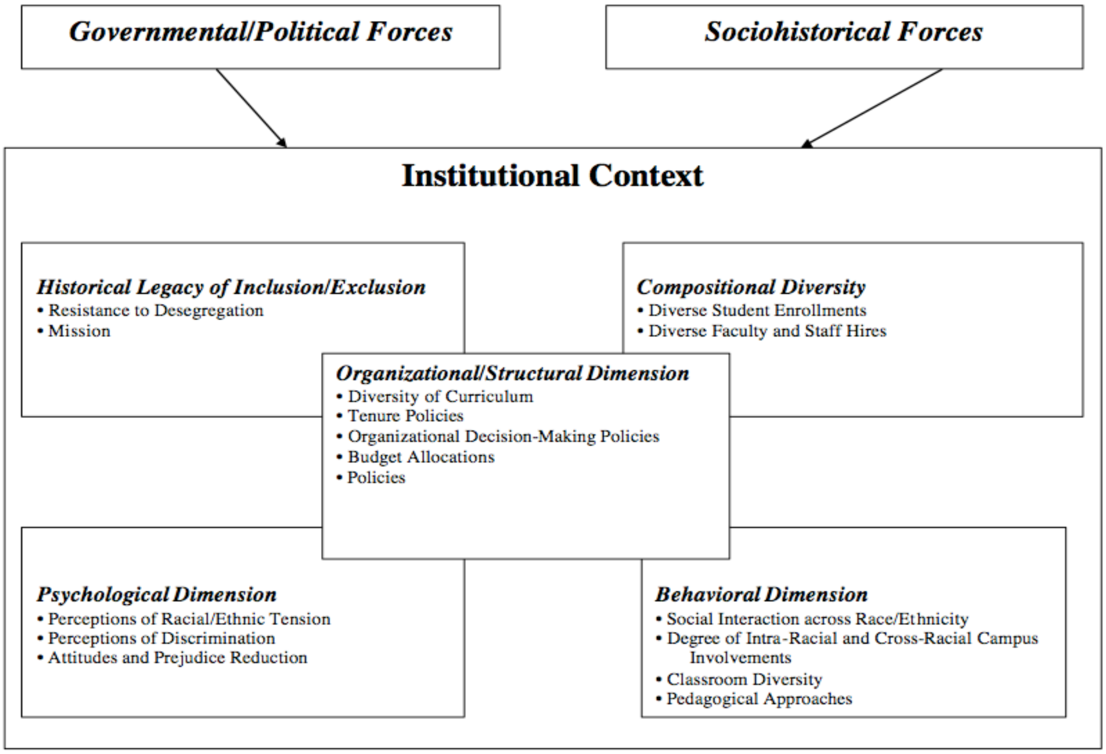

Governmental/Political Forces
Sociohistorical Forces
Institutional Context
Historical Legacy of Inclusion/Exclusion
• Resistance to Desegregation
• Mission
Compositional Diversity
• Diverse Student Enrollments
• Diverse Faculty and Staff Hires
Organizational/Structural Dimension
• Diversity of Curriculum
• Tenure Policies
• Organizational Decision-Making Policies
• Budget Allocations
• Policies
Psychological Dimension
• Perceptions of Racial/Ethnic Tension
• Perceptions of Discrimination
• Attitudes and Prejudice Reduction
Behavioral Dimension
• Social Interaction across Race/Ethnicity
• Degree of Intra-Racial and Cross-Racial Campus Involvements
• Classroom Diversity
• Pedagogical Approaches

Figure 2.1. Campus Racial Climate Framework. Reproduced from Milem, Chang, and Antonio (2005), adapted from Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pedersen, and Allen (1998, 1999).

External Dimension

As with any organization, institutions of higher education operate within a broader environment and are shaped by the wider social context, which includes formal governmental policies and programs (Hurtado, Milem, et al., 1998; Hurtado et al., 1999). Affirmative action programs, financial aid policies, and the economic recession are examples of external forces that can impact how higher education approaches diversity efforts at an institutional level. More general sociohistorical forces include “events or issues in the larger society, nearly always originating outside the campus, that influence how people view racial diversity in society” (Hurtado, Milem, et al., 1998, p. 281). For example, the Civil Rights Movement set the stage for the empowerment of Students of Color and led to the creation of ethnic studies programs as well as cultural resource centers on college campuses (L. D. Patton, 2005). A more contemporary example of external forces includes the Jena Six – six Black high school students arrested for beating a White student following a series of escalated racial incidents, one of which was noose hangings at the high school (R. G. Jones, 2007). Similar incidents then began happening on college campuses such as the University of Maryland, College Park (Holley, 2007) and California State University, Fullerton (McKibben, 2007). Racial tensions at one campus can also affect other campuses, even within a system. The University of California system dealt with the consequences of “ghetto-themed parties” at the San Diego campus which then caused an uproar on other UC campuses (Garcia et al., 2011). While external forces can constitute a broader social context for cultural resource centers, the current study does not examine these forces, but rather focuses on the internal dimensions of the to climate to highlight organizational structure and behaviors.

Internal Dimensions

The internal dimensions of campus racial climate are specific to an institution’s context and interact with the external forces mentioned earlier (Hurtado et al., 2012; Hurtado, Milem, et al., 1998). The internal dimensions include the historical legacy of inclusion and exclusion, compositional diversity, the psychological dimension, the behavioral dimension, and the organizational dimension. This study is concerned specifically with the organizational dimension as well as the interplay between the dimensions; therefore, a review of each dimension is included for a better understanding of the overall climate framework.

Historical legacy of inclusion and exclusion. The historical legacy of inclusion or exclusion on college campuses shapes how students perceive the campus racial climate at their institutions (Harper & Hurtado, 2007; Turner, 1994). As documented in scholarship on the history of higher education, institutions have implemented exclusionary admissions practices against Black, Jewish, and women students (Cohen & Kisker, 2010; Karabel, 1984). The historical context has an effect on the campus climate for all students, with particular consequences for Students of Color, the most obvious being their numerical under-representation. Turner's (1994) study of students at the University of Minnesota demonstrates how an institutional reputation of racism causes distress to and actively pushes Students of Color out of the institution. Harper and Hurtado's (2007) multi-institutional qualitative study also finds across all five sites that Black students are consistently aware of legacies of racial discrimination at their institutions. Rather than hiding or ignoring their historical legacies of exclusion and inclusion, confronting them can promote a healthier campus racial climate for all students (Harper & Hurtado, 2007). For Predominantly White Institutions (PWIs), this dimension is particularly important in combating hostile campus racial climates given their histories of excluding People of Color (Hurtado, Milem, et al., 1998; Hurtado et al., 1999).

Compositional diversity. The presence of People of Color at PWIs illustrates the structural dimension (Hurtado, Milem, et al., 1998; Hurtado et al., 1999), later titled the compositional diversity of the campus racial climate (Hurtado et al., 2012; Milem et al., 2005). This dimension acknowledges the importance of the representation of People of Color among students, faculty, staff, and administration at institutions (Hurtado, Milem, et al., 1998; Hurtado et al., 1999). In this study, the term compositional diversity is used in order to distinguish this dimension of campus racial climate from the organizational dimension. Increasing compositional diversity at institutions of higher education increases the opportunities for interactions across racial groups, which can lead to enhanced critical thinking, learning, exposure to a diversity of ideas, and preparation for a democratic society (M. J. Chang, Astin, & Kim, 2004; Gottfredson, Panter, Daye, Allen, & Wightman, 2009; Gurin, Dey, Hurtado, & Gurin, 2002; Milem et al., 2005; Saenz, Ngai, & Hurtado, 2007). However, increasing the presence of Students of Color does not necessarily attend to the quality of interactions, structures for interactions, and skills needed for positive cross-racial interactions for students of all racial backgrounds (Espenshade & Radford, 2009; Gurin et al., 2002; Harper & Hurtado, 2007; Hurtado, Milem, et al., 1998; Milem et al., 2005; D. G. Smith, 2009).

Psychological dimension. The psychological dimension describes the attitudes and perceptions individuals may have about other racial groups, racial discrimination, the institutional environment, and interactions between groups (Hurtado, Milem, et al., 1998; Hurtado et al., 1999). Studies show that perceptions of racial discrimination and campus racial climate differ by racial group, oftentimes with White students having more positive perceptions of the campus climate than Students of Color (Cabrera, Nora, Terenzini, Pascarella, & Hagedorn, 1999; Espenshade & Radford, 2009; Harper & Hurtado, 2007; Hurtado, 1992; Pewewardy & Frey, 2002). Differences arise within specific racial and ethnic groups of Color. For example, although Harper and Hurtado's (2007) study finds that Asian American students are similar to White students in their level of satisfaction with the campus climate, Cress and Ikeda (2003) find that Asian American students are more likely than other students to perceive a negative campus climate. Many studies find that Black students more so than other racial groups tend to perceive negative campus climates and are subject to differential treatment, harassment, and violence more so than other racial groups (Ancis et al., 2000; Harper & Hurtado, 2007; Hurtado, 1992; Pewewardy & Frey, 2002; Suarez-Balcazar, Orellana-Damacela, Portillo, Rowan, & Andrews-Guillen, 2003). More recent research on Latina/o students and campus racial climate have focused on the hostile effects of a negative campus racial climate on academic self-confidence (Núñez, 2009), sense of belonging (Hurtado, 1992), and coping strategies students use to confront racial microaggressions (Yosso, Smith, Ceja, & Solórzano, 2009). More research is needed that examines campus climate for diversity for Native American/American Indian and Multiracial students. Existing research tends to group Native American/American Indian students under the broader category of Students of Color, whereas Multiracial students are also subject to limited research due to the challenge of identifying students in an appropriate manner (Hurtado, Carter, & Kardia, 1998). In one of the growing body of studies examining experiences of Multiracial students, although not specifically linking the experiences to campus climate, Biracial and Multiracial students are found to have a range of experiences pertaining to race and racial identity that are unique from their monoracial-identifying peers, at times creating supportive spaces specific to their Multiracial identity (Renn, 2000). Students negotiate the racial boundaries within a monoracial hegemony revealing additional areas of inquiry on campus climate and Multiracial students (Renn, 2000). Across studies, there is a consistency in that Students of Color are more likely than White students to view their campus racial climate as hostile (Cabrera et al., 1999; Harper & Hurtado, 2007; Hurtado, Carter, et al., 1998; Locks, Hurtado, Bowman, & Oseguera, 2008; Rankin & Reason, 2005; Saenz et al., 2007).

Perceptions of campus racial climate, particularly for Students of Color, relate to a number of student outcomes, both psychological and behavioral, with both positive and negative effects. For example, negative perceptions of the climate relate to lower levels of belonging and institutional commitment (Cabrera et al., 1999; Harper & Hurtado, 2007; Hurtado, 1992). In Cabrera and colleagues' (1999) survey of Black and White students from eighteen institutions, perceptions of prejudice and discrimination had negative direct effects on Black students' academic experiences and institutional commitment, a negative indirect effect on Black student persistence, and a negative direct effect on White students' goal commitments. Perceptions of racial tension are related to a lowered sense of belonging for all students as well as satisfaction with the institution (Ancis et al., 2000; Locks et al., 2008). Given these findings of the negative effects of campus racial climate, institutions need to be aware of how they are integrating diversity efforts in transformational ways rather than taking superficial approaches to diversity (D. G. Smith, 2009). Students are aware of the incongruence between their campus' stated commitment to diversity and the enactment of that commitment, which can in turn contribute to even more negative effects (Harper & Hurtado, 2007).

Alternatively, attention to the psychological dimension of campus climate for diversity can also be viewed from a positive perspective by identifying interventions that promote improved attitudes towards diversity. Positive interactions across race are related to a stronger sense of belonging for students of all racial backgrounds and can foster more positive perceptions of campus climate (Locks et al., 2008). Denson and Chang (2009) note that the average institutional curricular diversity and institutional cross-racial interaction are significantly related to their capacity to engage with racial-cultural differences, independent of the students' engagement with curricular and co-curricular diversity activities. Their findings further demonstrate the role institutions play in affecting the psychological dimension of campus climate.

Behavioral dimension. The behavioral dimension of campus racial climate focuses on the interactions and relationships across racial groups (Hurtado, Milem, et al., 1998; Hurtado et al., 1999). This fourth dimension includes both informal interactions and formal campus-initiated interactions (Gurin et al., 2002; Hurtado, Griffin, Arellano, & Cuellar, 2008). However, research shows that different groups can view student behavior very differently (Levin, Sinclair, Sidanius, & Van Laar, 2009; Loo & Rolison, 1986; Sidanius, Levin, Van Laar, & Sinclair, 2004), with their behaviors informed by their pre-college dispositions towards diversity and perceptions of the campus climate (Ancis et al., 2000; Locks et al., 2008; Pewewardy & Frey, 2002; Suarez-Balcazar et al., 2003). For example, Students of Color view racial clustering as providing a supportive network, whereas White students view this as a form a racial segregation (Levin et al., 2009; Loo & Rolison, 1986; Sidanius et al., 2004).

Considering these divergent perspectives, Milem, Chang, and antonio (2005) point out that there is a lack of evidence for the relationship between ethnic clustering among Communities of Color and fewer interactions across race. In fact, participation in ethnic student organizations is not related to intergroup bias although it is related to a greater sense of ethnic pride and ethnic victimization (Sidanius et al., 2004). Sidanius et al. (2004) note that these relationships are mediated by the social identity of the students, which in the case of this study is their ethnic identity. Contrastingly, White students' participation in historically White Greek organizations are related to less positive cross-racial interactions (Saenz et al., 2007) and greater intergroup bias (Sidanius et al., 2004). Where students are positioned in the racial hierarchy is related to their perceptions of ethnic clustering and diversity; students in the privileged racial group – White students – are more likely to view these issues more negatively than students in the subordinated group – Students of Color (Levin et al., 2009). For students of all racial backgrounds, their predisposition to diversity and engaging across race prior to college are both significantly related to their perceptions of campus racial climate and positive interactions with peers of different racial backgrounds (Locks et al., 2008).

Espenshade and Radford's (2009) study of students at elite four-year colleges and universities have similar findings of the benefits of cross-racial interactions for student learning. Their study challenges the notion that Students of Color are the primary perpetrators of self-segregation finding instead that White students have the highest levels of racial isolation (Espenshade & Radford, 2009). Furthermore, participation in ethnic activities and organizations does not hinder cross-racial interactions (i.e., socializing frequently with someone of a different race and living with someone of a different race), with the exception of having a close friend of a different race and dating someone of another race. The study's findings can also be applied to cultural resource centers and counter the notion of the centers as spaces of racial isolation. Instead, more information is needed on the role of cultural resource centers in both intra-racial and inter-racial engagement.

Interactions across race also include studies focused on experiences of discrimination which show that African American, Asian American, and Latina/o students experience differential treatment in academic and social environments compared to their White peers (Ancis et al., 2000; Pewewardy & Frey, 2002; Suarez-Balcazar et al., 2003). Ancis and colleagues (2000) find that African American students do not just *perceive* more racial conflict; they *experience* more racial conflict than other racial groups. In the same study, Asian American and Latina/o students report experiences of stereotyping and prejudice, particularly from faculty, teaching assistants, and other students, although at a lesser extent than African Americans. Pewewardy and Frey's (2002) study has similar findings with more Students of Color experiencing racial harassment and violence than White students. These findings of racial discrimination towards Students of Color are not isolated incidents but reflective of systemic and institutional structures that allow for the perpetuation of racism (Harper & Hurtado, 2007; Hurtado et al., 2012; Milem et al., 2005; D. G. Smith, 2009). Taken altogether, these studies demonstrate the institutional opportunities for structuring spaces, programs, and services that can speak to cross-racial interactions, racial discrimination, overall campus climate and its related educational outcomes. The compositional, psychological, and behavioral dimensions speak more acutely to what needs to be done whereas the organizational dimension speaks to the structural measures institutions can take in addressing campus climate for diversity.

Organizational dimension. The organizational dimension of the campus racial climate includes policies, practices, and infrastructure (Hurtado et al., 2012; Milem et al., 2005). This includes the missions of the institutions and how integrated diversity is in those statements. For cultural resource centers in this study, mission statements are viewed within the organizational dimension as one component in addressing the climate for diversity. A more complete discussion on cultural resource centers and their missions is included in the overview of cultural resource centers following this section on campus climate for diversity. Beyond missions, organizational structures are also important to understand within this dimension. Organizational structures include staffing levels, budgets, and reporting lines (Horton et al., 2003; Milem et al., 2005).

With respect to the organizational dimension, Hurtado and colleagues (2012) conduct a more recent synthesis of the seemingly nascent literature, which “approaches the topic from three angles: that of the broader context for institutional policies and practices, specific policies or practices that structure the environment, and processes to improve the climate for diversity on an organizational level" (p. 34). However, the studies they locate within these three groupings are not directly related to the focus of this study since my primary emphasis is on organizational structure. In fact, they reveal that there is a dearth of empirical articles engaging structural elements of the organization and its relationship to campus climate. This study aims to contribute to this body of scholarship. The current study will fit into, or at least augment, the group of studies Hurtado et al. (2012) review that cover polices and practices structuring the institution, and it has implications for organizational processes for improving the climate.

Because of the limited research in the organizational dimension of campus climate for diversity to guide this study, two additional frameworks are considered. The Framework for Diversity (D. G. Smith, 2009) and the conceptual model on Researching Organizational Impact on Student Outcomes (Berger & Milem, 2000) both incorporate institutional elements related to capacity and structural characteristics. A brief review of Smith's (2009) framework is followed by a more in-depth look at the Berger and Milem (2000) model, with the latter used to conceptualize organizational characteristics for the study and informed the case study data analysis.

Alternative frameworks. Two alternative frameworks to the campus racial climate model are presented to acknowledge their contribution to education research in incorporating organizational elements. First, Smith's (2009) Framework for Diversity is a newer contribution to the field of diversity research, but it is less useful to the current study given its similarity to the campus racial climate framework. The campus racial climate framework has a more extensive empirical base to draw from to better inform the current study. Second, Berger and Milem's (2000) model on Researching Organizational Impact on Student Outcomes offers a different perspective on understanding organizational impact and suggests a distinction between organizational structural characteristics and organizational behavior. Their distinction between structure and behavior informs the research questions and analysis, as discussed later in this chapter.

Framework for diversity. Smith's (2009) Framework for Diversity is similar to the campus racial climate model in its description of a multidimensional and multi-contextual model that broadly engages diversity at institutional levels. The primary contribution of the framework is its emphasis on examining institutional capacity and using the dimensions as a way of understanding capacity. For example, Smith (2009) identifies four dimensions for understanding institutional capacity for diversity: education and scholarship, climate and intergroup relations, access and success, and institutional viability and vitality. Within institutional viability and vitality, she describes building capacity as "developing the human and institutional resources and expertise to fulfill the institution's mission internally as well as to fulfill its mission for society" (D. G. Smith, 2009, p. 65). The dimensions are tied together by the institution's mission, which interacts with the global context and local context. Compared to the campus climate for diversity model, Smith's framework incorporates climate as a component of how institutions can structure and target their diversity efforts. By parsing out areas to focus diversity efforts, Smith offers a construct that allows institutions to address and include different forms of diversity (race, gender, sexual orientation, religion, etc.). For example, access and success tend to be the arena where underrepresented racial groups are the focus whereas religious diversity issues tend to be the focus of education and scholarship. Within this framework, my study would more aptly fit within the climate and intergroup relations dimension and the institutional viability and vitality dimension. However, the framework is too broad for the purpose of this study and offers limited usefulness that is distinct from the campus racial climate framework and its accompanying research.

Researching organizational impact on student outcomes. The conceptualization and operationalization of the organizational dimension in the current study can be further clarified by applying Berger and Milem's (2000) conceptual model on Researching Organizational Impact on Student Outcomes (see Figure 2.2). Organizational characteristics can be broken down into two categories: structural-demographic characteristics and organizational behavior. The structural-demographic characteristics include institution size, type, control, Carnegie classification, selectivity, and location. This study applies the categories of structural-demographic characteristics not only to the overall institution but also to the cultural resource centers. The application of structural-demographic characteristics to cultural resource centers then focuses on the size of the centers in staffing, the types of centers, size of budgets, and location.

On the other hand, organizational behavior can be broken down into five categories, developed out of Bolman and Deal's (1984, 1992, 1997, as cited in Berger & Milem, 2000) four frames of organizations and Birnbaum's (1988) how colleges work. These categories include bureaucratic, collegial, political, symbolic, and systemic organizational behavior. Each of the five categories are successively defined, followed by a discussion of the applicability of the model to the current study. One important distinction in terminology between what the categories of organizational behavior are called in my study and in Berger and Milem's (2000) is that I characterize the categories as frames rather than dimensions in order to lessen confusion between the MMDLE dimensions (Hurtado et al., 2012; Hurtado, Milem, et al., 1998; Milem et al., 2005) and organizational behavior (Berger & Milem, 2000).

First, the bureaucratic frame views the organization from a rational perspective (Berger &

Milem, 2000). With roots in Max Weber's (1947, as cited by Berger & Milem, 2000) work on bureaucracies, an organization utilizing the bureaucratic frame focuses on organizational effectiveness and efficiency, with an emphasis on rationality, task specialization, division of labor, and hierarchy. Organizational decision-making is thus rational and goal oriented. Although the bureaucratic frame has a long history, it is weak in capturing the intricacies of organizational behavior on a human level, which is more aptly approached through the collegial frame.

Second, the collegial frame assumes that "organizations exist to serve human needs, and that organizations and people need each other" (Berger & Milem, 2000, p. 284). The collegial frame is the most dominant view of colleges and universities, particularly from the perspective of faculty and staff. This perspective focuses on participation and the relationships among colleagues, lending itself to a consensus decision-making process. However, institutions of higher education are not without conflict and competing interests, illustrative of the political frame.

Third, the political frame "describes organizations as having internally pluralistic goals with shifting coalitions and interest groups each pursuing their own agenda in a struggle for the control of organizational resources" (Pfeffer, 1981, as cited in Berger & Milem, 2000, p. 288). Here, a focus is on power and exchanges of resources between parties. This frame acknowledges that conflict is inherent in organizations and there is a need for conflict resolution (Berger & Milem, 2000). The remaining two frames can be interpreted as broader forms of organizational behavior beyond individual behavior within organizations.

Fourth, the symbolic frame comfortably deals with uncertainty and ambiguity through the creation of symbols and rituals, which ascribe meaning to events and processes (Berger &

Milem, 2000). It is one manifestation of organizational culture and is derived from anthropology (Berger & Milem, 2000). Examples of the symbolic dimension include a re-writing of organizational missions, institutional mascots, as well as myths and rituals. It is a way for individuals to make meaning of their environments (Berger & Milem, 2000). While the first four frames focus on organizational behavior as a matter of internal forces, the last frame recognizes the role of external forces.

Lastly, the systemic frame emphasizes the role of the environment on the organization (Berger & Milem, 2000) and does so in greater detail than current climate models. This may include state and federal government involvement, associations, and partnerships with outside organizations (Berger & Milem, 2000). The systemic frame is informed by neo-institutionalism, which acknowledges the institutional characteristics of organizations and the effects of environmental forces on organizational behavior (Berger & Milem, 2000). For example, institutional isomorphism would be characteristic of the systemic frame for organizational behavior whereby institutions become more alike to the institutions around them (Berger & Milem, 2000; DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). The systemic frame offers a distinct perspective on organizational behavior compared to the campus climate for diversity model in its explicit definition of organizational behavior as a result of the environment. For cultural resource centers, this frame may arise in the data when they operate under greater external pressures rather than out of internal structural constraints or political processes.

Taken together, these five frames for organizational behavior, along with the structural-demographic characteristics in Berger and Milem's (2000) model, offer a framework on how to approach the current study in terms of understanding the organizational structure of cultural resource centers and how to interpret the interplay between MMDLE dimensions. Figure 2.2

provides an overview of the model on Researching Organizational Impact on Student Outcomes and highlights the role of organizational characteristics on peer group characteristics, as well as on student experiences, which in turn affect student outcomes. Not only is the model useful for understanding the structure, but it also informs the analysis for the third research question. The five organizational behavior frames help to interpret the relationship between structure, strategies, and the campus climate. Applying the Multi-contextual Model of Diverse Learning Environments (Hurtado et al., 2012) and the Berger and Milem (2000) framework to cultural resource centers allows for a closer examination of organizational capacity of one aspect of diversity efforts that has been lacking in scholarship as well as creates a new approach to thinking about campus climate research. The next section turns to the extant literature on cultural resource centers in higher education and their relevance to campus climate for diversity.

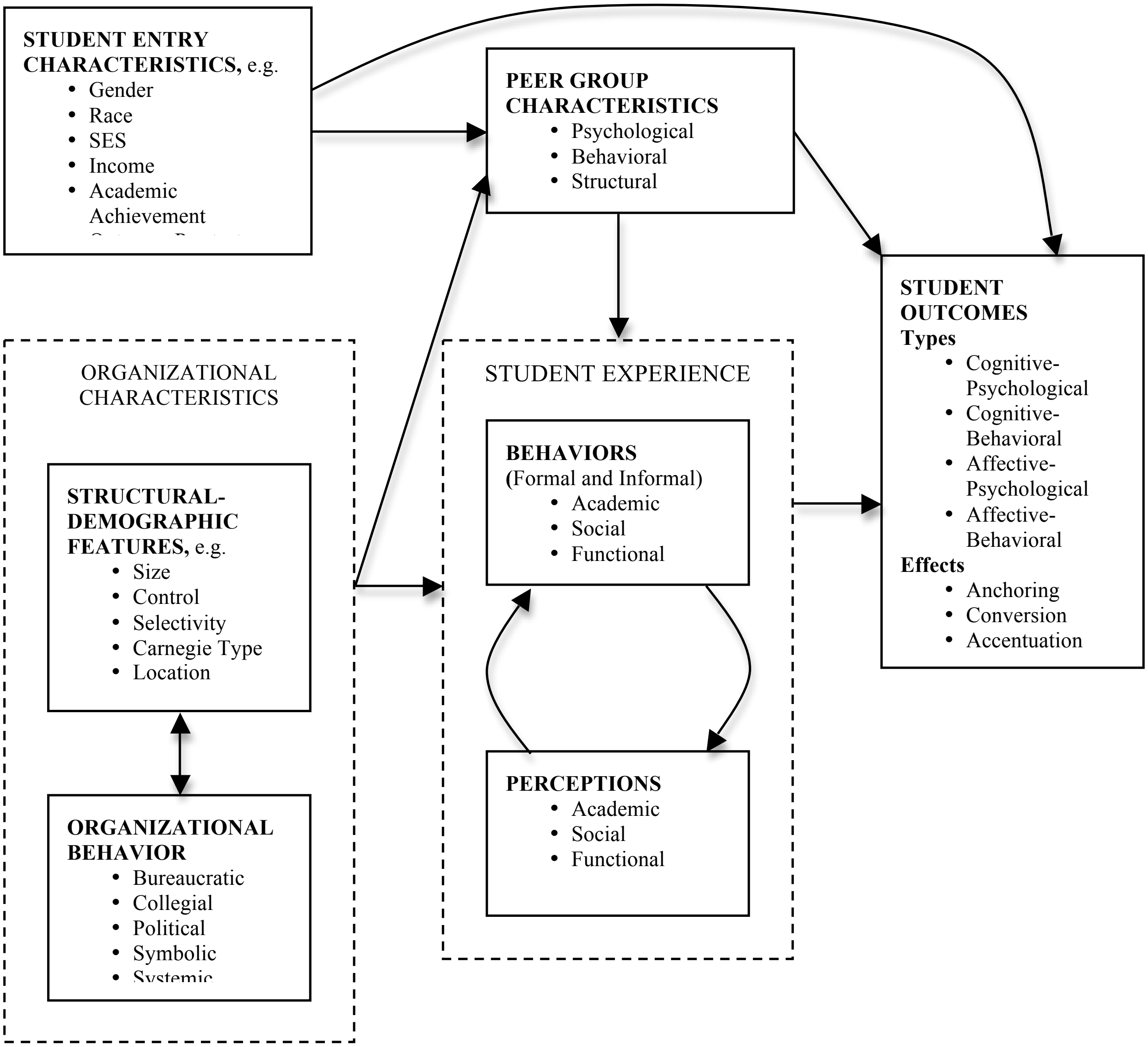

STUDENT ENTRY CHARACTERISTICS, e.g.
Gender
Race
SES
Income
Academic Achievement
PEER GROUP CHARACTERISTICS
Psychological
Behavioral
Structural
STUDENT OUTCOMES
Types
Cognitive-Psychological
Cognitive-Behavioral
Affective-Psychological
Affective-Behavioral
Effects
Anchoring
Conversion
Accentuation
ORGANIZATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS
STRUCTURAL-DEMOGRAPHIC FEATURES, e.g.
Size
Control
Selectivity
Carnegie Type
Location
ORGANIZATIONAL BEHAVIOR
Bureaucratic
Collegial
Political
Symbolic
Systemic
STUDENT EXPERIENCE
BEHAVIORS
(Formal and Informal)
Academic
Social
Functional
PERCEPTIONS
Academic
Social
Functional

Figure 2.2. Researching Organizational Impact on Student Outcomes. Taken from Berger and Milem (2000).

Cultural Resource Centers

Although cultural resource centers have been in existence at institutions of higher education since the 1960s, very little has been documented in higher education scholarship about their form, function, and role in the overall campus climate and in serving students. The existing literature base is comprised of edited books (Hord, 2005c; L. D. Patton, 2010c), chapters in books on diversity in higher education (Sarabia, 1990; Stennis-Williams, Terrell, & Haynes, 1988; Young, 1990), dissertations (Toya, 2011; Welch, 2009), qualitative studies on the benefits of cultural resource centers to student development (L. Jones et al., 2002; L. D. Patton, 2006; Yosso & Benavides Lopez, 2010), and references to cultural resource centers in broader studies examining diversity experiences and student outcomes (Gurin et al., 2002; Harper & Hurtado, 2007; Hurtado, Milem, et al., 1998; Solórzano et al., 2000). This review on cultural resource centers is presented in four sections highlighting how the centers are situated within the campus climate for diversity. The first section provides an historical overview of how cultural resource centers developed on college campuses. The second section presents a broad understanding of cultural resource centers from existing scholarship, providing examples of programs and services for Students of Color. The third section examines the benefits of cultural resource centers for student development, particularly in the psychological and behavioral dimensions of the campus climate for diversity. The last section summarizes the literature and discusses how the current study attempts to fill the gap in the campus climate for diversity scholarship.

Historical Development of Cultural Resource Centers

The Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s was an era of pronounced student activism and engagement, in addition to broad-based community organizing against racism in the United States (L. D. Patton, 2005). In her historical overview of student activism and Black Culture Centers (BCCs), Patton (2005) traces BCC origins to student organizing efforts that began as part of the national movement for civil rights. One of the primary student organizing efforts, the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), began as an integrationist and non-violent organization and evolved into the Black Power Movement following internal conflicts and tensions between the Black student organizers and their comparatively privileged White student counterparts. Spearheaded by Stokely Carmichael, the Black Power Movement caught fire on college campuses and stoked Black students' passions for representation and recognition on their predominantly White campuses.

While the Civil Rights Movement and Equal Educational Opportunity Movement had opened the doors for Black students on traditionally White college campuses, they were met with a range of reactions that included hostility, discriminatory behavior, and dominant White cultural norms in everything from the physical space and statues to the curriculum and extra-curricular activities (Asante, 2005; L. D. Patton, 2005; Princes, 2005). Black students organized and made demands on college campuses for greater representation of Black faculty and staff (compositional diversity), changes to the curriculum that re-centered the knowledge, culture, and experiences of Africans and African Americans (organizational dimension), and increased Black enrollment (compositional diversity) (L. D. Patton, 2005). Additional demands emerged that included the creation of a center or house (organizational dimension) where Black students could gather, organize, educate, and find respite from the racism they encountered on a daily basis (behavioral dimension). Such physical centers are often referred to as "safe spaces" (Stewart, 2005). Stewart (2005) characterizes the "safe space" of the center as a:

> …home away from home, a place where you could listen to music, play bid whist, shuck and jive – just be BLACK! But, more importantly, the Black Cultural Center was, in the early years, a place where students cultivated and refined their political consciousness. It was the site where students could engage major local, national, and international political activist and progressive cultural performers and artists…where students could congregate without being scrutinized by white peers, a place where informal interaction among faculty, staff and students occurred regularly. (p. 76)

Black Cultural Centers emerged out of a social context of systemic racial discrimination and student agency seeking to address racism at institutional levels (L. D. Patton, 2005). One of the most highly documented organizing movements was the Third World Strike at San Francisco State College in 1968-69 where the Black Student Union and Third World Liberation Front organized for freedom and self-determination, which led to the creation of Ethnic Studies (Okihiro, 1994; L. D. Patton, 2005). The relationship between the creation of Ethnic Studies/Black Studies programs were intertwined with the creation of Black Cultural Centers and similar centers for other racial groups (L. D. Patton, 2005). The fight for self-determination and greater representation often included the demand for space to support Black student recruitment and retention. In this history, we see the interaction between various dimensions of the climate illustrating how both internal and external forces shape institutional efforts on diversity.

To further identify the dimensions of campus climate for diversity in how cultural resource centers developed, the Malcolm X Institute established in 1970 at Wabash College, an all-male liberal arts college in Indiana, provides a vivid example (L. D. Patton, 2005). An act of protest by two students refusing to have a W shaved into their afros for not memorizing the school song served as the impetus for the founding of the Malcolm X Institute (behavioral dimension). In addition, although Black students had a residential facility in the Afro House, located on the outskirts of campus, they wanted an additional space (organizational dimension) to hold meetings and activities (behavioral dimension) (L. D. Patton, 2005). The naming of the Malcolm X Institute was not without controversy (behavioral dimension), with administrators concerned over the radical nature of its namesake and implicit symbolic meaning (psychological dimension). However, students "were adamant that the university would not decide how they would be identified" (L. D. Patton, 2005, p. 158). In this example of the creation of a Black cultural center, students demanded an organizational change within the institution, which in turn created spaces for them to develop along the psychological and behavioral dimensions of campus climate for diversity. This rich history of activism also provides context for Wabash College's historical legacy of exclusion and inclusion. The incident at Wabash was not an isolated one as the number of centers continued to grow.

In December 1975, the University of Virginia created a planning committee to establish the Office of Afro-American Affairs (now known as the Office of African American Affairs) following students' frustrations and feelings of alienation on the predominantly White campus (Bankole, 2005). The office included the Luther P. Jackson Cultural Center and served as a place to encourage involvement of African American students in campus life (behavioral dimension), promote retention (compositional dimension and DLE equity outcome), and foster community pride in and recognition of the African American community (psychological dimension). This is just another example of the movement on college campuses nationwide and the varying ways institutions sought to improve their campus climate for African American students.

Across the country, from the East Coast to the Midwest to the West Coast, college campuses created cultural resource centers to address the needs of not only Black students, but also Asian American, Latina/o, and American Indian students (L. D. Patton, 2010c; Princes, 2005; Stennis-Williams et al., 1988). The creation of the centers, typically a result of student organizing efforts, addressed the organizational dimensions of campus climate that would interact and support efforts in other dimensions of campus climate. The oldest documented cultural resource centers in Patton's (2010) groundbreaking book include: Paul Robeson Cultural Center at Rutgers University (est. 1967); Neal-Marshall Black Culture Center at Indiana

University (est. 1968); Asian American Studies Center at the University of California, Los Angeles (est. 1969); Centro Cultural de la Raza at the University of California, Berkeley (est. 1970); and the Native American Longhouse at Oregon State University (est. 1971).

Over time as institutions tried to meet the demands of an increasingly diverse student body, some campuses converted from a Black Cultural Center model into a Multicultural Center model (Princes, 2005; Stennis-Williams et al., 1988). The conversions from a race-specific to a multicultural emphasis led to a range of reactions from being opposed to transitioning the Black Cultural Center to supporting the change. When Indiana University of Pennsylvania was considering shifting the Black Cultural Center focus to a Multicultural Center, a Multicultural Committee composed of students and other university members from diverse backgrounds unanimously agreed to keep the Black Cultural Center and form a Multicultural Office to work with other Students of Color (Princes, 2005). Contrastingly, the University of Wisconsin established an Afro-American and Race Relations Center in 1968, closed the center in 1971, then established a Multicultural Resource Center in 1988 "to focus on the needs of five designated American ethnic groups: African American, Native American, Chicano/as, Asian American, and Puerto Rican" (University of Wisconsin-Madison, n.d., para. 9). A third scenario can be found in the University of Pennsylvania, where the institution created additional resource centers beyond the multicultural center in response to the growing demands of Students of Color. The Albert M. Greenfield Intercultural Center was established in 1984 to foster intercultural learning (learning across different communities) and to support Students of Color, particularly through the advisement and support of the United Minorities Council – the coalition of Students of Color that advocated for the center (University of Pennsylvania, 2009). As the population of Students of Color grew, Latina/o, Asian American, and African American students demanded greater resources and separate facilities thereby leading to the creation of La Casa Latina, Pan-Asian American Community House, and Makuu Black Cultural Center in 2000 while the Greenfield Intercultural Center expanded its efforts in intercultural programming and increased its support of Native American students. These three examples offer a beginning glimpse into understanding the diversity of cultural resource centers in higher education and reveal a snippet of the political dynamics surrounding the organizational behavior of institutions.

Another point of examination along the organizational dimension is the resource allocation of cultural resource centers. Oftentimes, discussions on resource allocation are intertwined with external forces (overall economic decline and budget cuts) and student activism (L. D. Patton, 2005; Shek, 2010). When cultural resource centers have been met with a threat of diminished resources – financial and human – students and alumni have rallied to their defense, often successful in their efforts to sustain or demand greater institutional support (L. Jones et al., 2002; L. D. Patton, 2006; Shek, 2010). A recent examination of cultural resource centers at four-year universities on the West Coast revealed relatively stable budget allocations for cultural resource centers during a period of retrenchment in comparison to the student affairs division and the overall institutional budget (Shek, 2010). Interviews with senior administrators and cultural resource center directors highlighted the important role of student activism in protecting the cultural resource centers from severely diminished resources. Students and alumni served as pressure points for the administration to keep their commitments to supporting Students of Color and fostering positive campus climates for diversity (Shek, 2010). Student activism influences the organizational dimension of campus climate through not only the resource allocation but also the purposes of cultural resource centers.

The purpose of the centers as reflected in their mission statements have yet to be captured systematically across the country. There is evidence that cultural resource centers serve as safe spaces (L. Jones et al., 2002; L. D. Patton, 2006; Shotton et al., 2010; Solórzano et al., 2000; J. B. Stewart, 2005; Turner, 1994; Yosso & Benavides Lopez, 2010), educational storehouses of cultural knowledge for marginalized communities (Asante, 2005; Badejo, 2005; Hord, 2005a; Liu, Cuyjet, & Lee, 2010; Lozano, 2010; Shotton et al., 2010; Young, 2005), and counterspaces - sites of resistance and empowerment (Solórzano et al., 2000; Yosso & Benavides Lopez, 2010). However, we do not understand the current national landscape of cultural resource centers and their missions. Information is needed on the uniformity or diversity of missions and structures among cultural resource centers in higher education, particularly in a contemporary rather than purely historical context. Such information would provide the foundation for further assessment of cultural resource centers and its relationship to student outcomes. The following section explores the ways cultural resource centers operate in a contemporary context as active contributors to the campus climate for diversity and agents in the recruitment and retention of Students of Color.

Contemporary Centers' Population, Organization, and Programs

On predominantly White campuses, cultural resource centers offer an empowering space and serve as a cultural sanctuary for Students of Color from the dominant and pervasive White culture at PWIs, also referenced as Traditionally White Institutions (TWIs) (Hurtado et al., 2012; Lozano, 2010; Shotton et al., 2010; Stovall, 2005; Turner, 1994). The centers provide critical navigational skills assisting in the recruitment and retention of Students of Color who otherwise would be pushed out of the institution (L. Jones et al., 2002; L. D. Patton, 2006; Yosso & Benavides Lopez, 2010). They serve as the institutional educational corrective for the systemic racism embedded in TWIs by supporting Students of Color holistically – through educational programs, leadership development, connection with the outside community, mentorship, academic support, counseling, and a supportive peer network – while also providing opportunities for the entire campus to engage in issues that are marginalized or ignored in the curriculum and programming (L. Jones et al., 2002; Ladson-Billings & Tate IV, 1995; Lozano, 2010; L. D. Patton, 2006; Shotton et al., 2010; Yosso & Benavides Lopez, 2010). This section explores cultural resource centers by their target populations, the organization of centers, and the programs and services offered as documented in extant research. Given the diversity of cultural resource centers across the country, the information presented here describes the range of centers based on existing literature, primarily consisting of case studies on a limited number of institutions, thus resulting in limited generalizability to the population of cultural resource centers nationally.

Target populations. Cultural resource centers emerged out of the Black Student Movement and were created to provide support for African American, Asian American, Latina/o, and Native American students (L. D. Patton, 2005, 2010c). The feelings of isolation and alienation at TWIs have been empirically shown to affect Students of Color's sense of belonging (Cabrera et al., 1999; Harper & Hurtado, 2007; Hurtado, 1992; Hurtado et al., 2008; Locks et al., 2008; Lozano, 2010; Toya, 2011; Welch, 2009) and academic success (Ancis et al., 2000; L. Jones et al., 2002; Liu et al., 2010; Lozano, 2010; Shotton et al., 2010). Beyond students, the scope of cultural resource centers has expanded to include Staff and Faculty of Color in light of negative racial climates and the growing need to create opportunities for community building amongst underrepresented populations in various roles within institutions (Lozano, 2010; Shotton et al., 2010). Experts recommend faculty and staff also be included in institutional diversity efforts, particularly in improving the compositional and organizational dimensions of the climate (Hurtado et al., 2012; D. G. Smith, 2009).

In addition to students, staff and faculty, Alumni of Color and the broader community serve and are also served by cultural resource centers (Hord, 2005a; Jenkins, 2010; Lozano, 2010; J. B. Stewart, 2005). As mentioned previously, alumni and community members have often come to the defense of cultural resource centers, particularly in their involvement with community partnerships that bridge students with the surrounding community (Shek, 2010). As finances dwindle, cultural resource centers have leveraged and cultivated their alumni to protect and grow their operating budgets (Jenkins, 2010; Shek, 2010). Alumni who have benefited from participation in cultural resource centers maintain relationships with cultural resource center staff and are not afraid to voice their concerns when centers' statuses or budgets are being targeted (Shek, 2010). Alumni with connections to the centers are also more likely to contribute to the institutions by donating to the cultural resource centers rather than the institution overall (Lozano, 2010). With regards to the broader community, cultural resource centers that have access to local and nation-wide Communities of Color serve as the primary bridge for both recruitment purposes and community development (Lozano, 2010; Shotton et al., 2010). Lozano (2010) describes how community and family outreach can take the form of speaking to Spanish-speaking parents about educational access, tutoring for Latina/o youth, and workshops on immigration rights. Shotton and colleagues (2010) share how American Indian culture centers serve as a gathering place for American Indian students and American Indian community members to build relationships. Not only are broader Communities of Color incorporated into the work of cultural resource centers, but other populations are also considered.

Even though cultural resource centers are often seen as spaces solely for People of Color, their educational programs often target White students (L. D. Patton, 2010a; Princes, 2005). Patton (2010a) describes how a majority of the Malcolm X Institute membership at Wabash College are White students, thus countering broader claims of how exclusionary the center is to non-Black students. Princes (2005) notes that oftentimes there are “more majority members – students and faculty alike – [who] attend Black Cultural Center events than minority members” (p. 141). These findings are aligned with Espenshade and Radford’s (2009) recommendations for institutions to engage White students with Students of Color since they tend to be the most racially isolated.

One recommendation for engaging racially privileged group members is to resituate cultural resource centers within a social justice framework to be inclusive of Whiteness and the exploration of White privilege within the racial hierarchy (Benitez, 2010). Benitez (2010) argues for centers to engage White students in “conversations about Whiteness, racism, and other issues related to power, dominance, and social justice education from a critical non-Eurocentric antiracist lens aimed at cultivating politicized discourse and shattering homogeneous ideology” (p. 130). The involvement of White students in cultural resource centers is neither new nor outside the scope of the centers so data are collected on the extent to which cultural resource centers target efforts towards White students. While the cultural resource centers in this study are ones that have historically and currently serve Students of Color, it does not mean centers that serve White students are excluded. The study captures centers engaged in diversity work, which on many college campuses focuses on racial diversity. Additionally, the sample does not exclude centers working with faculty, staff, or alumni although students are the primary population of interest.

In review, what is apparent through the scant literature on select cultural resource centers is that cultural resource centers may have a much broader target population than what is perceived. This claim, however, needs to be verified empirically at a national level and is addressed in the current study. While Students of Color tend to be the primary focus for the centers, the nature of the work (i.e., creating a more welcoming campus climate for Students of Color) have led centers to reach broadly to faculty, staff, and White students (Benitez, 2010; D. G. Smith, 2009). Reaching White students, faculty, and staff is considered strategic because of their positionality as privileged groups to challenge racism at interpersonal and systemic levels. What complicates the issue further is the increased diversity on campus, the intersectionality of social identities, and the evolving nature of some centers from race-specific spaces to multicultural or intercultural spaces (Benitez, 2010; Mena, 2010; Princes, 2005). For example, social identities, such as gender, sexual orientation, and religion, are also salient within racial identity groups thereby enhancing the scope and range of who is actually being served by cultural resource centers. Despite the challenges of growing diversity, particularly around the increasing visibility of Multiracial students, the additional facets of diversity can offer new ways of engaging social justice within the campus climate. Aside from documenting the target populations of cultural resource centers and identifying innovations around approaches to diversity, attention also needs to be given to how centers are structured to meet their missions.

Organizational structure of cultural resource centers. There are a number of ways to discuss how cultural resource centers are structured. Considerations in understanding the organizational structure of cultural resource centers include understanding what division the center is housed in, whether the center is race-specific or multicultural/intercultural, how the centers are staffed, and the programs/services offered (Berger & Milem, 2000; Horton et al., 2003). In 1998, a survey of twenty-three Black Cultural Centers found the centers were organized within Student Affairs or Academic Affairs (Bankole, 2005). This is indicative of the varying responsibilities given to cultural resource centers. For example, the Center for Black Culture and Research at West Virginia University is housed in Student Affairs but administers the Africana Studies Program (Bankole, 2005). The Asian American Studies Center at the University of California, Los Angeles is housed in Academic Affairs but also provides student support for Asian American student organizations (UCLA Asian American Studies Center, n.d.). These examples illustrate the various forms cultural resource centers can take within existing institutional structures that encompass Academic Affairs and Student Affairs. Variation is also found in the target population and areas of emphases for the centers.

As discussed earlier, cultural resource centers can be race-specific, multicultural, or intercultural. Race-specific centers may exist within the context of a broader multicultural center or remain as autonomous units (Bankole, 2005; Princes, 2005). Mena (2010) conceives of cultural resource centers as single identity-based (one racial/ethnic group) compared with "ALANA/AHANA (African, Latino/Hispanic, Asian American, and Native American), multicultural, intercultural, or unity centers with various missions to serve broader audiences" (pp. 179-180). Cultural resource centers may start out in one structure but change to serve different student populations, as was the case in Foote's (2005) examination of three Black Cultural Centers (BCCs). Black students were concerned that a conversion of the BCCs into Multicultural Centers (MCCs) would diminish resources and support for Black students. On the other hand, one institution began their BCC with a multicultural perspective involving Puerto Ricans and other Students of Color from its founding in the late 1960s so the transition from BCC to MCC was a welcome change (Foote, 2005). The variation in the focus of cultural resource centers shows the dynamic nature of the centers and can affect how these spaces are staffed.

Staffing levels for cultural resource centers can range from one-person units to multiple person units (Jenkins, 2010; Sutton & McCluskey-Titus, 2010). In some cases, the centers may be primarily student driven and student-run, as is the case with the Malcolm X Institute at Wabash College (L. D. Patton, 2005). In other cases, the professional staff providing leadership for the center may or may not be well-versed in the cultural heritage, knowledge base, and unique needs of Students of Color (Bankole, 2005; Sutton & McCluskey-Titus, 2010). Unfortunately, there appears to be no data on the types and ranges of staffing at cultural resource centers across the country and whether the organization of the centers vary by the centers' mission; this study begins to fill that void.

Programs and services offered. One of the primary characteristics of cultural resource centers, as identified in the literature, is the physical space for personnel, student organizations, and activities (Hord, 2005b; L. D. Patton, 2010c). In addition to the space, cultural resource centers offer a number of programs and services for the campus community and particularly for Students of Color (Bankole, 2005; L. D. Patton, 2010c). The 1998 survey sent to twenty-three Black Cultural Centers revealed centers were responsible for cultural events (i.e. Black History Month, Kwanzaa, African Dance, etc.), leadership training, library/reading rooms, diversity initiative planning, career development, conflict resolution, advising for student organizations, orientation, recruitment, volunteer opportunities, and academic support, just to name a few (Bankole, 2005).

With staff of cultural resource centers advising student organizations, they serve an important role in helping students address racial tensions, conflicts, and misunderstandings

(Princes, 2005; Yosso & Benavides Lopez, 2010). Princes (2005) details one incident at Indiana University of Pennsylvania where “a [W]hite student apparently understood an African American student as saying to the [W]hite student ‘no [W]hites allowed’” while trying to attend a party sponsored by an African American student organization (p. 142). The student and community responses to the accusation included widespread support from students of all racial backgrounds. Princes (2005) attributes the positive responses and constructive handling of the situation on campus to the Black Cultural Center, which reflects this type of service.

Leadership development is also a central service and program to cultural resource centers (L. Jones et al., 2002; Liu et al., 2010; Lozano, 2010; L. D. Patton, 2010a). Centers provide opportunities for Students of Color to organize programming and manage funding for events, as in the case of the Malcolm X Institute at Wabash College (L. D. Patton, 2010a). The central location of a cultural resource center for student organizations facilitates opportunities for younger students to learn from more mature student leaders within their own communities (Lozano, 2010). The mentorship also extends to the professional staff who serve as role models for students (Lozano, 2010; Yosso & Benavides Lopez, 2010). In addition, centers may develop more formal leadership programs that cultivate the next generation of student leaders within Communities of Color (Balón & Shek, 2013). The centers provide the support and encouragement needed for students to become involved in the larger campus who may have otherwise been discouraged (Foote, 2005).

These examples of programs and services are gathered from discrete sources of information from particular campuses (L. Jones et al., 2002; Lozano, 2010; L. D. Patton, 2006; Yosso & Benavides Lopez, 2010) and from the 1998 survey distributed to Black Cultural Centers (Bankole, 2005). From a climate perspective, the programs and services address the psychological and behavioral dimensions of campus climate for diversity via the organizational dimension. However, more information is needed to understand the organizational capacities of cultural resource centers in providing such programs and services. The relationship between the structures of centers and the climate can provide insight for center staff assessing their organizational structures to better serve students. This in turn can affect the other dimensions of the climate leading to improved student outcomes.

Cultural Resource Centers and Student Development

The limited research on cultural resource centers has demonstrated the beneficial aspects of the centers on the development and success of Students of Color (L. Jones et al., 2002; L. D. Patton, 2006; Yosso & Benavides Lopez, 2010). The findings present a picture of cultural resource centers as counterspaces for Students of Color as they deal with racial microaggressions and the institutional racism within TWIs (Solórzano et al., 2000; Yosso & Benavides Lopez, 2010). Counterspaces serve as "sites where deficit notions of people of color can be challenged and where a positive collegiate racial climate can be established and maintained." (Solórzano et al., 2000, p. 70). In essence, counterspaces operate within the organizational dimension of campus climate for diversity that influence the psychological and behavioral dimensions; the psychological and behavioral dimensions also influence the organizational dimension, as seen in the historical creation and evolution of these centers. How this may play out for institutions where White students are not the majority is unclear since there is limited research on cultural resource centers overall, regardless of the institution's racial demographics. This section highlights empirical studies on student experiences with the centers.

Solórzano, Ceja, and Yosso (2000) characterize cultural resource centers as counterspaces for students to deal with racial microaggressions, and to affirm and support students' racial identities. The centers provide educational campus programs featuring prominent speakers within Communities of Color along with speakers who come from the dominant White racial group and do anti-racist work. Staffed centers also provide support for ethnic/racial student organizations and activities that range from cultural events and heritage months to intergroup dialogue programs and leadership workshops. In addition, centers provide valuable outreach and retention services for Communities of Color by hosting preview programs for prospective students, study hours, academic workshops, mentoring programs, and cultural graduation recognition ceremonies (L. Jones et al., 2002; Lozano, 2010; L. D. Patton, 2006; Shotton et al., 2010). The breadth and depth of services provided by cultural resource centers may vary by institution depending on their level of staffing and financial support; however, these spaces are shown to have a positive impact on students' educational experiences and to assist in the recruitment and retention of Students of Color (L. Jones et al., 2002; L. D. Patton, 2006). Information on the organizational capacity and its relationship to the ability of cultural resource centers to address campus climate for diversity are still needed in order for institutions to understand how to structure institutional diversity efforts. This study identifies the variation in capacity by type of institution and other structural characteristics.

While there are references to resource capacities in the literature, the evidence comes solely in the form of student perceptions rather than in budgetary data (L. Jones et al., 2002; L. D. Patton, 2006). Students of Color importantly share concerns about the lack of financial support for diversity programs, including the cross-cultural center, while also feeling the need to constantly justify the center's existence (Jones et al., 2002). Similar to Patton's (2006) study of Black students and their involvement with the Black Culture Center, students see the cross-cultural center as a safe space and haven. They are able to develop their leadership skills and offer critiques of institutional efforts on diversity, notably challenging the differential financial allocations given to athletics compared to diversity initiatives (Jones et al., 2002; Patton, 2006).

The benefits associated with cultural resource centers related to leadership are also evident in studies focusing on the retention of Students of Color (Toya, 2011; Welch, 2009). Cultural resource centers serve as an entry point for students to build relationships with like-minded peers, staff, and faculty and promote student retention (Toya, 2011; Welch, 2009). The relationships lead to education and affirmation of students' identities while also challenging them to think more critically about their lives, including their academic major choice (Toya, 2011; Welch, 2009). One student shares:

> …going to the events, going to some of the staff members who are involved in different programs and events and dealing with identifying social issues has been a guiding light to me. That’s why I know…I would like to get into sociology…So definitely the Cross Cultural center has given me a purpose (Toya, 2011, p. 110).

For marginalized and underrepresented students that are engaged across difference in ways dominant student groups are not, the centers represent the counterspace and safe space notions discussed earlier (L. Jones et al., 2002; Milem et al., 2005; L. D. Patton, 2006; Sidanius et al., 2004; Solórzano et al., 2000). Additionally, these spaces provide opportunities for cross-racial interactions and support the extensive literature on the benefits of cross-racial interaction and its related student outcomes (M. Chang, Altbach, & Lomotey, 2005; M. J. Chang et al., 2004; Denson & Chang, 2009; Espenshade & Radford, 2009; Gurin et al., 2002; Nelson Laird, 2005). Unique to the centers, students experience a greater sense of belonging to the institution and receive sources of support, both academically and socially, that students say they are unable to receive elsewhere (Jones, et al., 2002; Patton, 2006; Toya, 2011; Welch, 2009). However, as mentioned earlier, many of the studies on cultural resource centers are case-specific with limited generalizability. More importantly, the focus on student outcomes offers limited organizational analysis of the cultural resource centers and their ability to meet these outcomes. The next section focuses on the organizational capacity of cultural resource centers leading to an overview of the organizational assessment framework guiding the study.

Capacity of Cultural Resource Centers

A growing body of literature has made the connections between the existence of cultural resource centers and student development, persistence, and retention (L. Jones et al., 2002; L. D. Patton, 2006; Toya, 2011; Welch, 2009). However, cultural resource centers are often perceived as having limited resources to meet their missions and tend to be subject to intense scrutiny (L. Jones et al., 2002; Longerbeam, Sedlacek, Balón, & Alimo, 2005; L. D. Patton, 2006; Shek, 2010). Issues around staffing and budget allocations have been examined without concrete data, with the known exception of Shek's (2010) study on budget allocations at six cultural resource centers on the West coast. Shek (2010) finds that cultural resource centers at private institutions have relatively stable budgets compared to the overall institutional budget and student affairs budget; whereas, centers at public institutions are subject to greater variability. However, in many of the cases, the centers' budgets are protected due to student organizing and the institution's commitment to creating supportive campus climates for Students of Color.

Unfortunately, very little empirical data have been gathered to explore issues of resource capacity in cultural resource centers to support or dispute claims of limited resources on a national level. Existing literature has made students or staff as the primary units of analysis. This study uses an embedded case study design that focuses on the institution as the primary unit of analysis with the cultural resource centers as an embedded unit of analysis. By making the institutions and the centers the units of analyses, greater attention is given to the structural elements including missions and organizational capacities. The emphasis on the organizational dimensions of campus climate for diversity, specifically on the organizational structure and processes, addresses one of the major research gaps in scholarship (Hurtado et al., 2012). To assist with operationalizing the organizational dimension, this study combines the concepts from Berger and Milem's (2000) model on Researching Organizational Impact on Student Outcomes with an organizational assessment framework taken from literature in community development.

Organizational Assessment Framework

While the conceptual model offered by Berger and Milem (2000) focuses on student outcomes, an organizational assessment framework focuses on organizational effectiveness and highlights organizational capacities (Horton et al., 2003). Drawing from research outside the education realm, one of the more comprehensive frameworks for understanding organizational assessment comes from literature on partnerships between community development organizations. The framework identifies four elements to consider in organizational assessment – organizational performance, organizational capacity, external operating environment, and the internal environment (Horton et al., 2003). An overview of each element is presented, with a focus on organizational capacity, which is a focus of this study.

Three elements of organizational assessment are important to acknowledge briefly, but are not connected strongly to the current study – organizational performance, external operating environment, and internal operating environment. First, "organizational performance refers to the ability of an organization to meet its goals and achieve its mission" (Horton et al., 2003, p. 21). There are four key indicators of organizational performance: effectiveness ("degree to which the organization achieves its objectives"), efficiency ("the degree to which it generates its products using a minimum of inputs"), relevance ("the degree to which the organization's objectives and activities reflect the necessities and priorities of key stakeholders"), and financial stability ("the conditions to make an organization financially viable") (Horton et al., 2003, p. 21). Second, the external operating environment is similar to the external forces identified in the campus climate for diversity research and references the environmental forces and policies that may impact an organization (Horton et al., 2003; Hurtado et al., 2012; Hurtado, Milem, et al., 1998). The internal environment includes consideration of organizational culture, policies, and practices, which may also include organizational behavior as defined by Berger and Milem (2000) as well as the organizational dimension of campus climate for diversity (Hurtado et al., 2012; Milem et al., 2005). These three elements are important to note but are not the primary focus of this study. Instead, the emphasis of the study is on organizational capacity in order to identify the structural elements that inform the behavioral elements.

Organizational capacity encompasses "the resources, knowledge, and processes employed by the organization" which includes "staffing; infrastructure, technology, and financial resources; strategic leadership; program and process management; [and] networks and linkages with other organizations and groups" (Horton et al., 2003, p. 21). The elements of organizational capacity can be framed in terms of resource capacities and management capacities. Given the purpose of this study, the emphasis is on resource capacity – specifically staffing and financial resources, which are similar to the structural characteristics identified in Berger and Milem's (2000) model and are representative of the organizational dimension of campus climate for diversity (Hurtado et al., 2012; Milem et al., 2005). Identifying and operationalizing the organizational dimension of campus climate for diversity in this manner not only addresses the research gap but also allows for a systematic examination of cultural resource centers across the

United States. The elements of resource capacity are broken down in the survey instrument and provide a framework for developing a taxonomy of cultural resource centers, which is explained further in the methods chapter.

Summary

The campus climate for diversity framework (MMDLE) situates cultural resource centers within the broader discourse on diversity efforts in higher education. The multidimensional model acknowledges the interplay among the psychological, behavioral, and organizational dimensions along with the institution's legacy of exclusion and inclusion and compositional diversity (Hurtado et al., 2012). Because institutions of higher education are open systems (Scott & Davis, 2007), they are also subject to socio-historical forces and operate within a racial paradigm that privileges Whiteness and other social identities (Hurtado et al., 2012; Milem et al., 2005). Cultural resource centers operate within this larger framework for understanding diversity and represent the organizational dimension of the campus climate by serving as an institutional structure to meet the needs of Students of Color (Solórzano et al., 2000; Yosso & Benavides Lopez, 2010), which often requires addressing racial justice for White students as well.

This chapter provides an overview of the campus climate for diversity literature, highlighting organizational dimensions of climate along with alternative organizational models for understanding diversity. There is a noticeable gap in the literature on organizational structures in higher education that this study begins to fill. Using Berger and Milem's (2000) model of Researching Organizational Impact on Student Outcomes, this study applies the concept of organizational characteristics broken down into structural-demographic features and organizational behavior.

A review of known literature on the organizational characteristics of cultural resource centers related to their target populations, structure, and programs/services illustrates the narrow knowledge base on cultural resource centers at a national level, with the primarily qualitative case having limited generalizability. However, the case studies offer valuable insight into how cultural resource centers address the psychological and behavioral dimensions of campus climate, while also addressing the institution's legacy of inclusion/exclusion and compositional diversity (L. Jones et al., 2002; Lozano, 2010; L. D. Patton, 2006; Shotton et al., 2010; Solórzano et al., 2000; Yosso & Benavides Lopez, 2010). At a broader level, cultural resource centers' missions need to be examined for commonalities and differences across institutions as well as for alignment with earlier studies indicating that they play an important role in the campus climate for diversity.

Another area of limited attention is a focus on the resource capacities of cultural resource centers to fulfill their missions. Studies have importantly focused on student outcomes related to cultural resource centers (L. Jones et al., 2002; L. D. Patton, 2006; Solórzano et al., 2000; Yosso & Benavides Lopez, 2010). However, these studies provide an incomplete picture without complementary research on organizational capacity, which undoubtedly plays a role in affecting student outcomes (Berger & Milem, 2000). By combining concepts from Berger and Milem's (2000) model on organizational impact with Horton and colleagues' (2003) organizational assessment framework, the organizational dimension of the campus climate for diversity can be operationalized to include mission, staffing, infrastructure, and budget allocations. Additionally, the organizational behavior framework outlined by Berger and Milem (2000) offer an interpretive lens for analyzing how cultural resource center staff perceive the influence of organizational structure on their strategies and efforts to address campus climate for diversity.

Through this review of the literature, important gaps are shown in understanding the organizational dimension of campus climate for diversity and the role cultural resource centers play in institutional diversity efforts. There are no large-scale quantitative or qualitative studies to date that examine the organizational capacities and missions of cultural resource centers and how these structures influence the strategies centers use in addressing campus climate. The review informs not only the research questions but also the research design, which is detailed in the next chapter. The embedded multiple-case study design is discussed as the most appropriate methodology given the research questions, scope of the study, and existing gaps in the literature.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, I outline the methodology for this study on cultural resource centers by providing a review of the research purpose and research questions followed by an explanation of the research design. The research design is an embedded case study design, allowing for both quantitative and qualitative methodology appropriate to answer the research questions (Scholz & Tietje, 2002). The chapter concludes with limitations of the research design, positionality as a researcher, and summary of the methodology.

Purpose and Research Questions

The purpose of this research was to examine characteristics within the organizational dimension of the campus climate for diversity by focusing on the capacity of cultural resource centers to meet the needs of Students of Color and the relationship between cultural resource centers structures, strategies, and the climate. By honing the lens on organizational structure, this study presents a portrait of how higher education institutions approach meeting the needs of Students of Color through cultural resource centers in uniform or dissimilar fashions while also addressing the issue of what role cultural resource centers play in the campus climate for diversity. Specifically, this research analyzed the missions, organizational structures, and strategies of cultural resource centers in higher education and answered the following research questions:

(1) How do campus cultural resource centers converge and differ in their stated missions?

(2) What are the commonalities and differences in the organizational structures of campus cultural resource centers?

(3) How do those structures shape strategies and efforts to address the campus climate for diversity?

Research Design

In order to grasp the scope of cultural resource centers on an organizational level while also capturing the details of how cultural resource centers operate within their resource constraints, an embedded case study design with multiple cases was the most appropriate approach to this research (Scholz & Tietje, 2002). According to Yin (2009), "a case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (p. 18). Embedded case study emphasizes multiple units of analysis and the utilization of both quantitative and qualitative approaches (Scholz & Tietje, 2002). This study utilized the institution as the primary case and the cultural resource centers, as well as the center staff as the embedded units of analysis. The cultural resource centers as the embedded unit of analysis lent itself to the creation of a taxonomy based on the organizational characteristics of staffing, target population, and budgeting.

The research design can also be captured utilizing Creswell's (2003) description of the sequential transformative strategy. The sequential transformative strategy was similar to the embedded case study design in its use of both qualitative and quantitative methodologies. In addition, this approach employed a conceptual framework to guide the study and integrated the methodologies for the interpretation of the findings. This study was divided into two phases for data collection and analysis. The first phase was the survey distribution, addressing the first two research questions on missions and organizational structures of cultural resource centers. The second phase included multiple case studies, addressing the final research question on the influence of structures on the strategies of cultural resource center staff. Surveys distributed to cultural resource centers gathered the more objective data measures while interviews, observations of the physical space, and document analyses at selected sites offered the subjective data revealing organizational behavior and the center's institutional context. Additionally, the multiple data points assisted with data triangulation. Within the description of each phase in the research design, there are details on the instrumentation, participants, procedures, and data analysis. Included in the appendices are the informed consent forms for both survey participation (see Appendix A) and case study participation (see Appendix B).

Phase One: Survey Distribution

Instrumentation. I emailed a link to an online survey (see Appendix C) to higher education listserves, posted to Facebook, and directly emailed 272 cultural resource centers (one additional cultural resource center was established after the survey distribution) at four-year non-profit institutions across the United States to gather information on mission statements and organizational structures thereby addressing the first two research questions (see Appendix C for the draft survey). Although there was no published listing of all cultural resource centers at four-year institutions, I identified centers mentioned in prior research, professional associations, online searches, and referrals yielding a population of 273 cultural resource centers – 119 Multicultural, 60 African American, 36 Latino, 34 Asian American and Pacific Islander, and 24 Native American. As illustrated in Figure 3.1, multicultural centers represent the largest proportion of cultural resource centers in the country (44%). African American resource centers represent the next largest proportion of cultural resource centers at 22%, which is not surprising considering they are also among the oldest of the cultural resource centers.

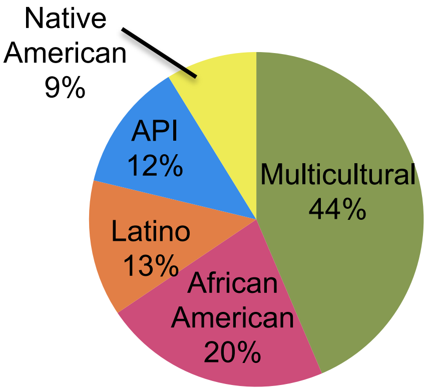


Figure 3.1. Population of Cultural Resource Centers by Type

In addition, I also gathered the years in which the institutions established the centers to confirm the historical development and growth of different types of centers. Figure 3.2 depicts the development of race-specific centers from 1960s to 2010s as a decline in new centers, whereas multicultural centers continued to emerge in recent decades. African American cultural resource centers were among the first of the cultural resource centers to be established yet there were not as many new centers started since the 2000s. There was a growth of Latino cultural resource centers in the 1970s and 1990s potentially coinciding with student organizing movements. The 1990s and 2000s saw growth also for Asian American and Pacific Islander (AAPI) centers. New Native American centers were established from the 1970s to the 2000s with slightly more centers in the later years. Multicultural centers appeared to be the overwhelming model for institutions particularly from the 1990s onward. The preference for multicultural center models may not preclude the presence of race-specific centers at the same institution.

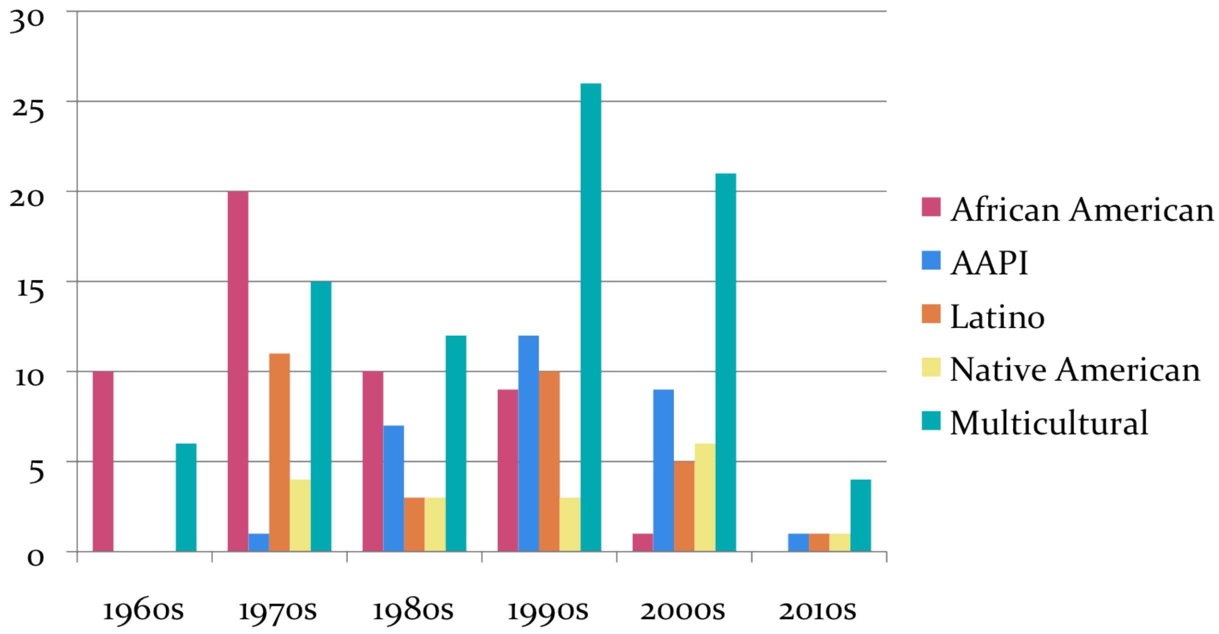


Figure 3.2. Timeline of New Cultural Resource Centers Established

Further analysis of the data on the population of cultural resource centers yielded information on the geographic dispersion of cultural resource centers in four-year non-profit institutions of higher education. Figure 3.3 illustrates a concentration of cultural resource centers in the northeast, Midwest, and west coast United States. African American cultural resource centers were the most established and spread out among the race-specific centers, however, multicultural centers were the most dispersed of all center types across the United States (see Figures 3.4 for African American/Black, Figure 3.5 for Asian American and Pacific Islander, Figure 3.6 for Latino/Hispanic, Figure 3.7 for Native American/American Indian, and Figure 3.8 for multicultural resource centers). There is a noticeable dearth of cultural resource centers in the central United States and in the South, which may be due in part to a lack of critical mass or organizing efforts. Another possibility may be there are centers in institutions in these areas that I was unable to capture through my research.

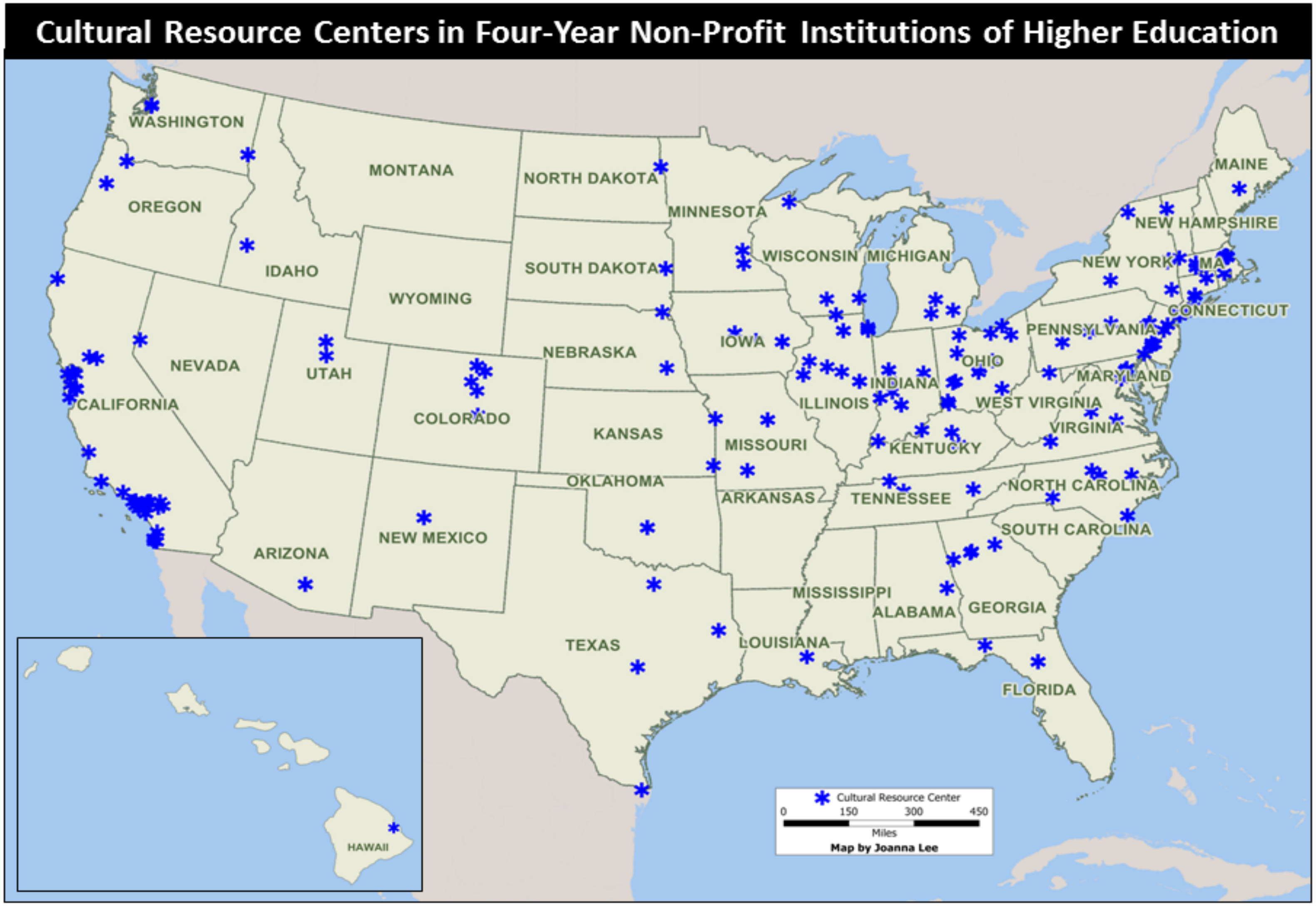

Cultural Resource Centers in Four-Year Non-Profit Institutions of Higher Education
WASHINGTON
OREGON
CALIFORNIA
NEVADA
IDAHO
MONTANA
WYOMING
UTAH
ARIZONA
COLORADO
NEW MEXICO
NORTH DAKOTA
SOUTH DAKOTA
NEBRASKA
KANSAS
OKLAHOMA
TEXAS
MINNESOTA
IOWA
MISSOURI
ARKANSAS
LOUISIANA
WISCONSIN
ILLINOIS
MICHIGAN
INDIANA
OHIO
KENTUCKY
TENNESSEE
MISSISSIPPI
ALABAMA
GEORGIA
FLORIDA
SOUTH CAROLINA
NORTH CAROLINA
VIRGINIA
WEST VIRGINIA
MARYLAND
PENNSYLVANIA
NEW YORK
CONNECTICUT
MA
NEW HAMPSHIRE
MAINE
HAWAII
Cultural Resource Center
0
150
300
450
Miles
Map by Joanna Lee

Figure 3.3. Cultural Resource Centers in Four-Year Non-Profit Institutions of Higher Education.

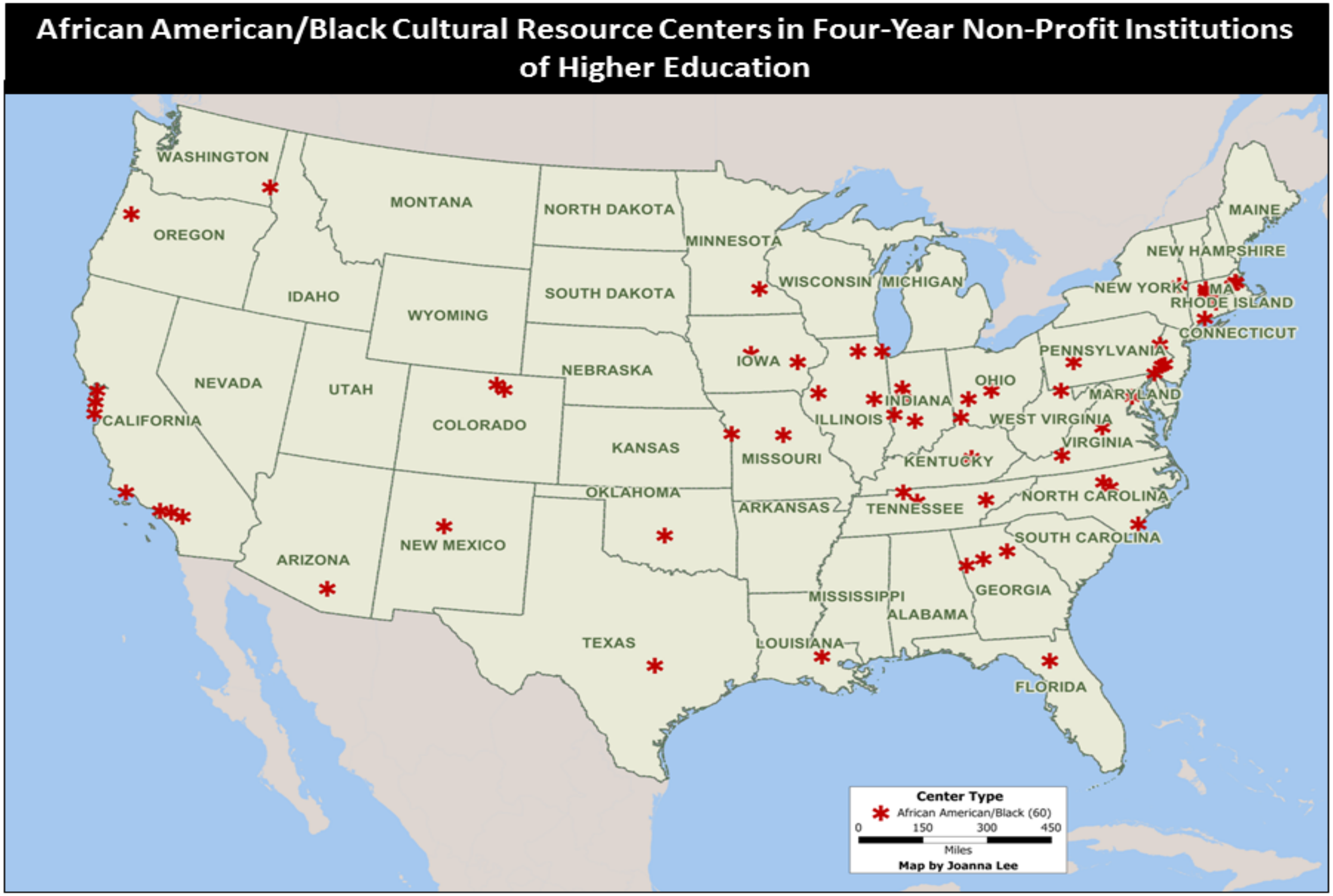
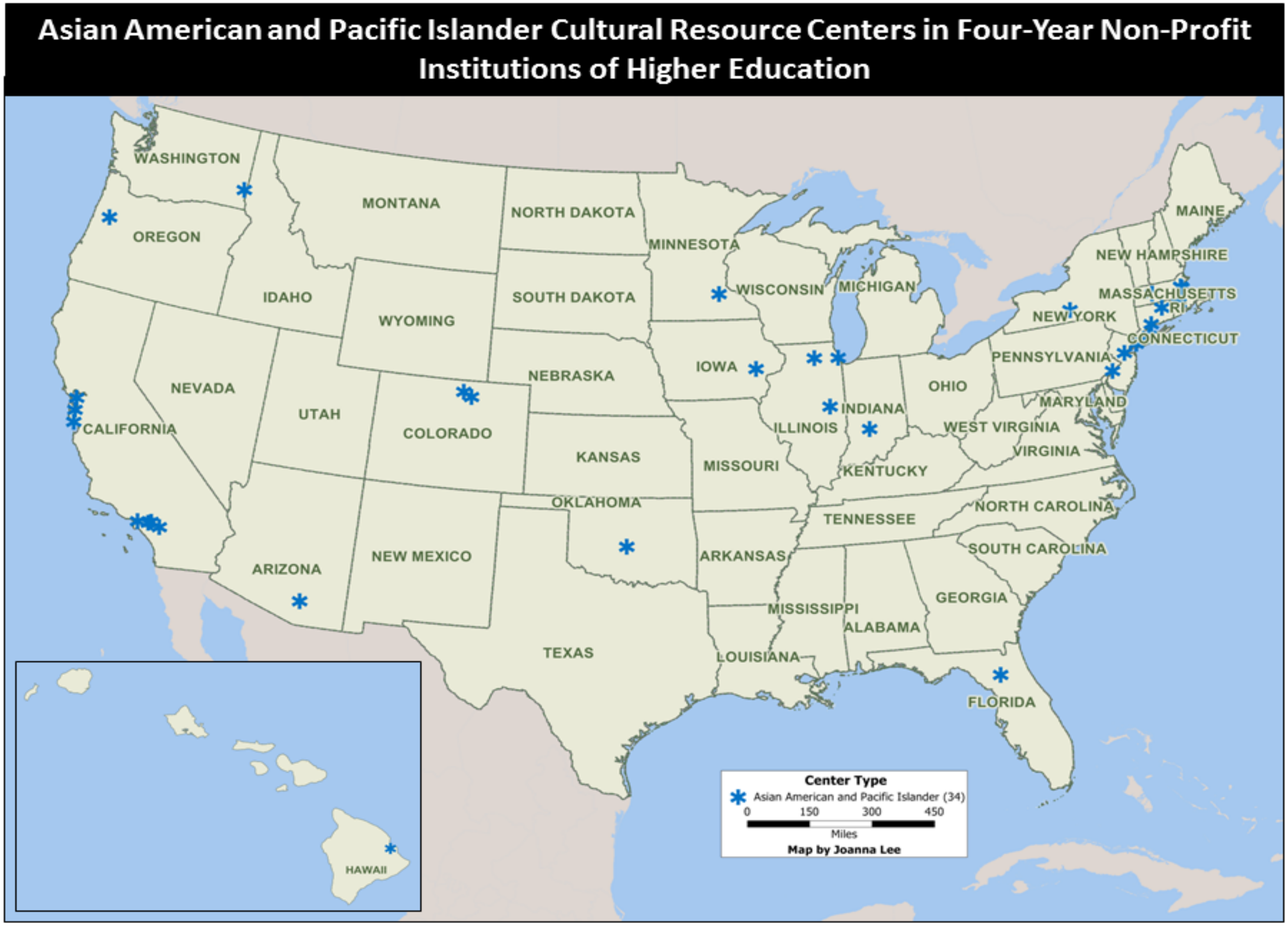

African American/Black Cultural Resource Centers in Four-Year Non-Profit Institutions of Higher Education
WASHINGTON
OREGON
CALIFORNIA
NEVADA
IDAHO
MONTANA
WYOMING
UTAH
COLORADO
ARIZONA
NEW MEXICO
NORTH DAKOTA
SOUTH DAKOTA
NEBRASKA
KANSAS
OKLAHOMA
TEXAS
MINNESOTA
IOWA
MISSOURI
ARKANSAS
LOUISIANA
WISCONSIN
ILLINOIS
MICHIGAN
INDIANA
OHIO
KENTUCKY
TENNESSEE
MISSISSIPPI
ALABAMA
GEORGIA
FLORIDA
SOUTH CAROLINA
NORTH CAROLINA
VIRGINIA
WEST VIRGINIA
MARYLAND
PENNSYLVANIA
NEW YORK
MA
RHODE ISLAND
CONNECTICUT
NEW HAMPSHIRE
MAINE
Center Type
African American/Black (60)
0
150
300
450
Miles
Map by Joanna Lee

Figure 3.4. African American/Black Cultural Resource Centers in Four-Year Non-Profit Institutions of Higher Education.



Asian American and Pacific Islander Cultural Resource Centers in Four-Year Non-Profit Institutions of Higher Education

WASHINGTON
OREGON
MONTANA
NORTH DAKOTA
MINNESOTA
IDAHO
WYOMING
SOUTH DAKOTA
WISCONSIN
MICHIGAN
MAINE
NEW HAMPSHIRE
MASSACHUSETTS
RI
NEW YORK
CONNECTICUT
PENNSYLVANIA
NEVADA
UTAH
COLORADO
NEBRASKA
IOWA
ILLINOIS
INDIANA
OHIO
MARYLAND
WEST VIRGINIA
VIRGINIA
CALIFORNIA
KANSAS
MISSOURI
KENTUCKY
OKLAHOMA
TENNESSEE
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
ARIZONA
NEW MEXICO
ARKANSAS
MISSISSIPPI
ALABAMA
GEORGIA
TEXAS
LOUISIANA
FLORIDA
HAWAII
Center Type
Asian American and Pacific Islander (34)
0
150
300
450
Miles
Map by Joanna Lee

Figure 3.5. Asian American and Pacific Islander Cultural Resource Centers in Four-Year Non-Profit Institutions of Higher Education.

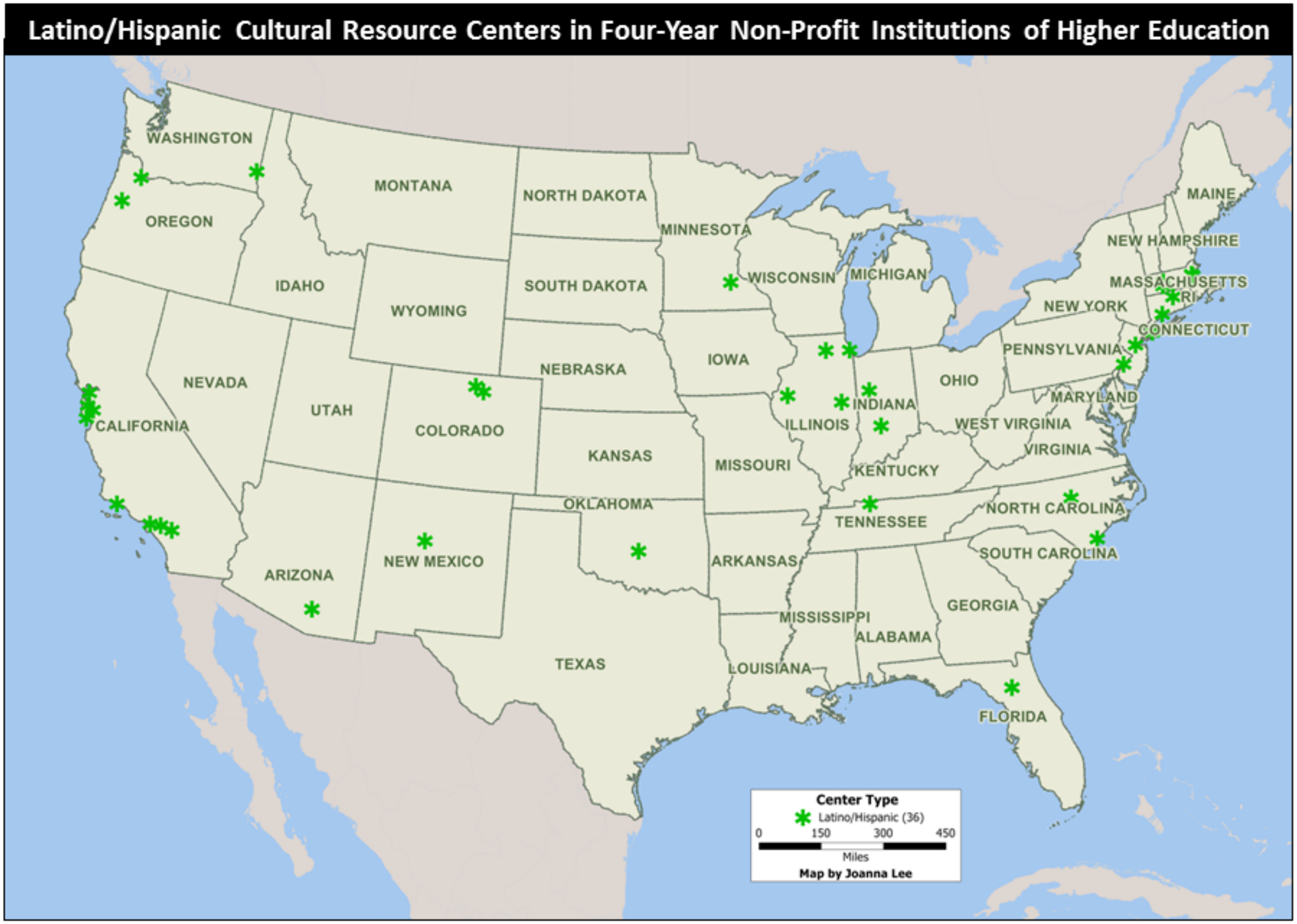

Latino/Hispanic Cultural Resource Centers in Four-Year Non-Profit Institutions of Higher Education
WASHINGTON
OREGON
CALIFORNIA
NEVADA
IDAHO
MONTANA
WYOMING
UTAH
COLORADO
ARIZONA
NEW MEXICO
NORTH DAKOTA
SOUTH DAKOTA
NEBRASKA
KANSAS
OKLAHOMA
TEXAS
MINNESOTA
IOWA
MISSOURI
ARKANSAS
LOUISIANA
WISCONSIN
ILLINOIS
MICHIGAN
INDIANA
KENTUCKY
TENNESSEE
MISSISSIPPI
ALABAMA
OHIO
GEORGIA
FLORIDA
SOUTH CAROLINA
NORTH CAROLINA
VIRGINIA
WEST VIRGINIA
MARYLAND
PENNSYLVANIA
NEW YORK
CONNECTICUT
RI
MASSACHUSETTS
NEW HAMPSHIRE
MAINE
Center Type
Latino/Hispanic (36)
0
150
300
450
Miles
Map by Joanna Lee

Figure 3.6. Latino/Hispanic Cultural Resource Centers in Four-Year Non-Profit Institutions of Higher Education.

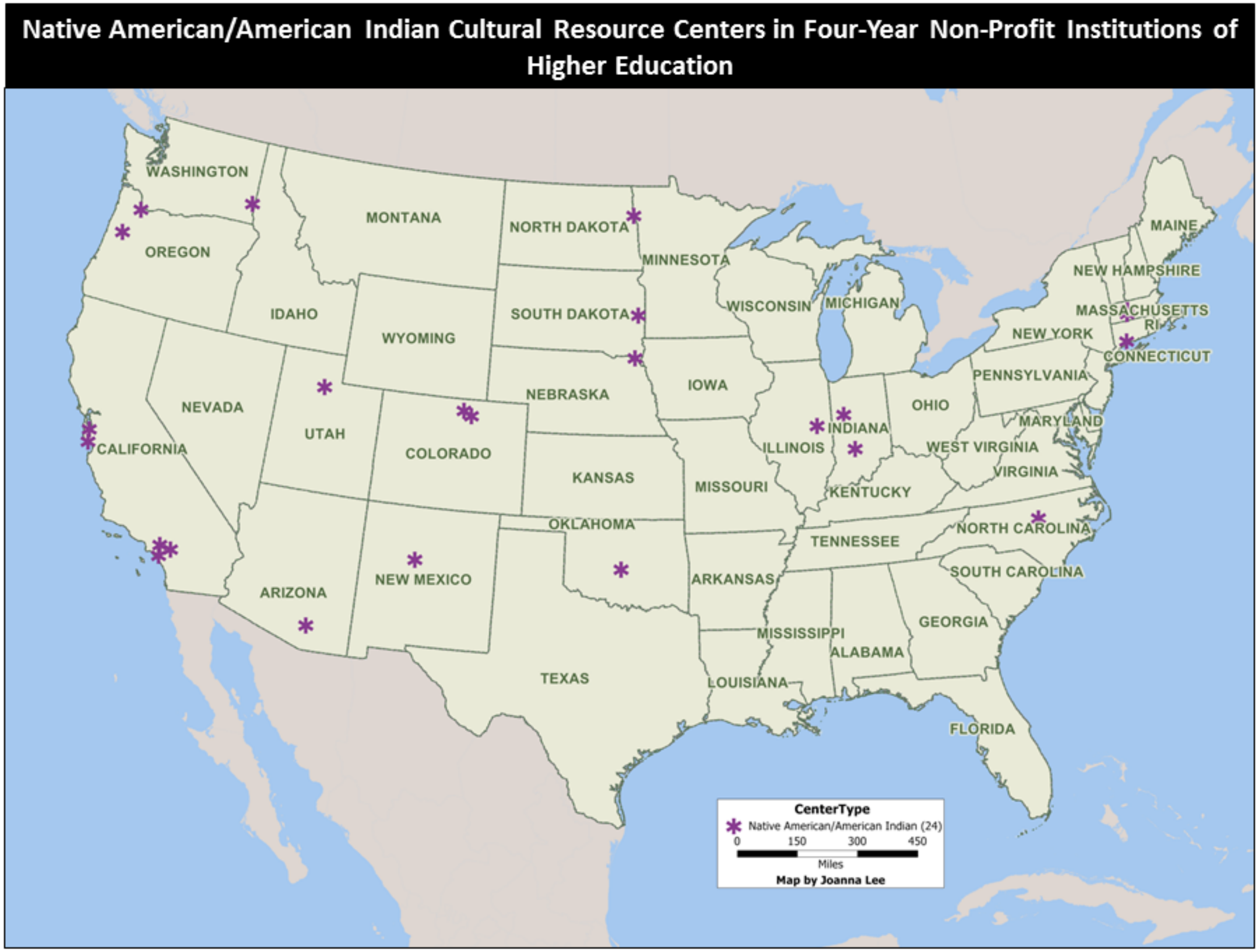

Native American/American Indian Cultural Resource Centers in Four-Year Non-Profit Institutions of Higher Education
WASHINGTON
OREGON
CALIFORNIA
NEVADA
IDAHO
MONTANA
WYOMING
UTAH
ARIZONA
COLORADO
NEW MEXICO
NORTH DAKOTA
SOUTH DAKOTA
NEBRASKA
KANSAS
OKLAHOMA
TEXAS
MINNESOTA
IOWA
MISSOURI
ARKANSAS
LOUISIANA
WISCONSIN
ILLINOIS
MICHIGAN
INDIANA
OHIO
KENTUCKY
TENNESSEE
MISSISSIPPI
ALABAMA
GEORGIA
FLORIDA
SOUTH CAROLINA
NORTH CAROLINA
VIRGINIA
WEST VIRGINIA
MARYLAND
PENNSYLVANIA
NEW YORK
CONNECTICUT
RI
MASSACHUSETTS
NEW HAMPSHIRE
MAINE
CenterType
Native American/American Indian (24)
0
150
300
450
Miles
Map by Joanna Lee

Figure 3.7. Native American/American Indian Cultural Resource Centers in Four-Year Non-Profit Institutions of Higher Education.

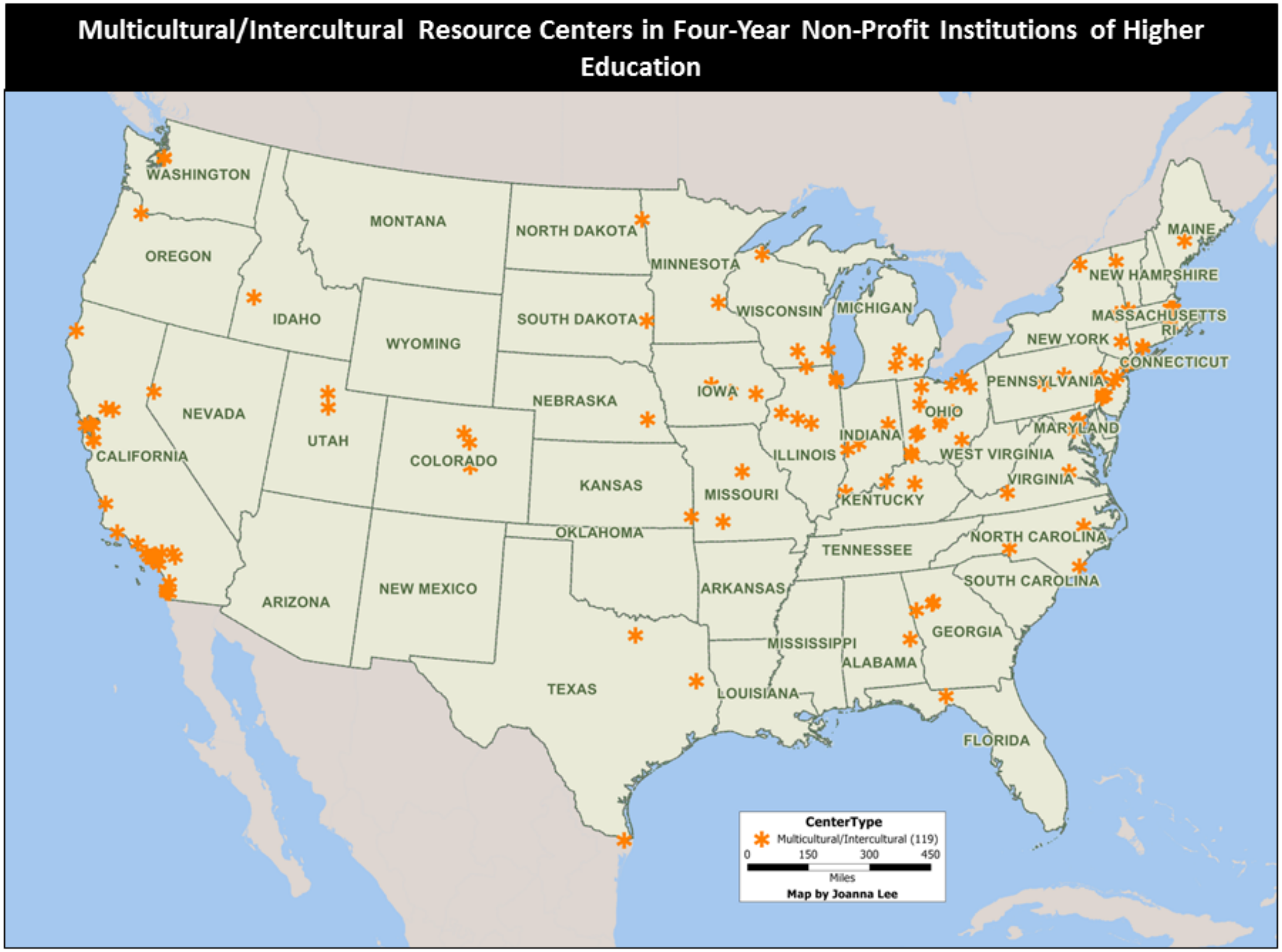

Multicultural/Intercultural Resource Centers in Four-Year Non-Profit Institutions of Higher Education
WASHINGTON
OREGON
IDAHO
MONTANA
NORTH DAKOTA
SOUTH DAKOTA
WYOMING
NEVADA
CALIFORNIA
UTAH
COLORADO
NEBRASKA
KANSAS
ARIZONA
NEW MEXICO
OKLAHOMA
TEXAS
MINNESOTA
IOWA
MISSOURI
ARKANSAS
LOUISIANA
WISCONSIN
ILLINOIS
MICHIGAN
INDIANA
OHIO
KENTUCKY
TENNESSEE
MISSISSIPPI
ALABAMA
GEORGIA
FLORIDA
SOUTH CAROLINA
NORTH CAROLINA
VIRGINIA
WEST VIRGINIA
MARYLAND
PENNSYLVANIA
NEW YORK
CONNECTICUT
RI
MASSACHUSETTS
NEW HAMPSHIRE
MAINE
CenterType
Multicultural/Intercultural (119)
0
150
300
450
Miles
Map by Joanna Lee

Figure 3.8. Multicultural/Intercultural Resource Centers in Four-Year Non-Profit Institutions of Higher Education.

After gathering all the data on the populations of centers, I made an initial request to each center and sent follow up emails for inclusion in the study. The initial survey asked for information on mission, staffing, structure, and budgeting, as well as additional questions on institutional documents (strategic plans, diversity plans) and campus climate. After five months of limited and incomplete survey responses, I created a shortened version of the survey (see Appendix D) to encourage a higher response rate and more focused data collection. The short survey clarified questions so respondents would not use acronyms for the center and the institution. I also reordered the survey questions asking for mission statements and structure towards the beginning rather than the end. The multiple versions of the survey led to uneven responses for different components of the survey.

The surveys allowed me to collect objective and subjective information within a contemporary context to answer the research questions (Yin, 2009). The survey data also informed the selection of cases for the last research question examining how structures influence the strategies and efforts of cultural resource centers to address campus climate for diversity. Although I shortened the survey during data collection, the data of interest to the research study was consistent in both versions.

Since surveys were distributed through multiple avenues, the instrument provided detailed information on criteria for who should complete the survey (see Appendix C and Appendix D). The targeted audience was cultural resource center directors, although they had the option to authorize another staff person to complete the survey. There was information included along with the informed consent so individuals could understand what they were completing and who should complete the survey. The survey asked cultural resource center staff, primarily directors, to self-report their formal mission statements. I also requested information on staffing, reporting lines, and budgets to understand the organizational capacity of cultural resource centers. The selection of the organizational structure items was related to understanding the resource capacities identified as important elements in organizational assessments (Horton et al., 2003). The data were primarily quantitative (number of full-time professional staff, programming budget, etc.) with some qualitative data (titles and reporting lines). General descriptive information from the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS) provided additional details on the center's institution. The information included the size, control, Carnegie type, location, and student racial demographics of the institution. The institutional descriptive data aligned with Berger and Milem's (2000) structural-demographic features of an organization and provided context for where cultural resource centers were located. This data also informed the data analysis by institution type for the second research question.

Participants. At the time of the study, I had no baseline or centralized data to know the true population of cultural resource centers at four-year higher education institutions in the United States and where the centers were situated. However, the existing networks of cultural resource centers provided an adequate starting point to employ criterion, snowball, and convenience sampling strategies. The criteria for inclusion in the study were that the cultural resource center must have an historical and/or contemporary mission to work with Students of Color, be housed at a four-year non-profit institution of higher education, and have professional staff members operating the space. I used multiple sampling strategies to reach cultural resource center staff so that purposeful sampling balanced the initial convenience sampling. Purposeful sampling yielded information-rich cases and provided a solid base to sample for the last research question on how structures influenced strategies of cultural resource centers (M. Q. Patton, 2002).

In lieu of monetary incentives for participation, cultural resource centers had the option of receiving an executive briefing of the survey findings. I also relied on the goodwill of cultural resource center staff looking for more research that would help guide their work since there was no current research focused on cultural resource centers with a national scope. Participants in the case studies were enthusiastic about contributing to the nascent research on cultural resource centers and indicated their willingness to participate in the case study through their survey responses.

Procedures. I initially piloted the survey with a select group of cultural resource center staff to clarify survey language and identify any additional edits needed. The pilot group consisted of five cultural resource center staff representing a range of institution types (size, public vs. private) and organizational structures. The pilot group offered some refinement in language and led to slight modifications in the survey.

Following revisions, I distributed the long survey (Appendix C) across higher education and cultural resource center listservs. I sent the survey through the multicultural affairs and Communities of Color networks in national organizations including College Student Educators International (ACPA) and Student Affairs Administrators in Higher Education (NASPA). The Association for Black Culture Centers and National Association of Diversity Officers in Higher Education (NADOHE) had policies precluding them from distributing the survey to their membership. I also sent the survey out to regional networks including the Ohio Consortium of Multicultural Centers in Higher Education (OCMCHE), Pennsylvania Association of Liaisons and Offices of Multicultural Affairs, and California Council of Cultural Centers in Higher Education (CaCCCHE).

In addition, I created a Facebook group for the study to outreach to cultural resource center staff in my existing networks. As a former cultural resource center staff member at multiple institutions of higher education, I tapped into my network of colleagues at cultural resource centers across the country to recruit participants. The Facebook group served as a point of reference for people who could refer other cultural resource center staff to this study, although it yielded very few participants. In order to address the potential of multiple staff members at a single cultural resource center filling out the survey, instructions were listed on the survey's consent form (Appendix A) and reiterated on the survey (Appendix C) asking that the Director or another approved staff member complete the survey on the institution's behalf. The Facebook group differed from the online database in that it was primarily a recruiting and networking tool, whereas the database contained detailed information and resources.

I distributed the survey in December 2011 with a deadline set for one month later. I sent a follow up email in January 2012 two weeks before the deadline. Individuals who contacted me after the deadline were given an extension to the deadline. Although 63 started the survey, 56 agreed to informed consent, 44 answered questions related to the center, and 17 finished the long survey. Some responses were non-sensical indicating interest in the survey rather than interest in completing the survey.

I revised and shortened the survey in May 2012 and emailed the new survey to the population of cultural resource centers, as well as listservs in June 2012. The initial deadline was set for the end of June however I collected data through November 2012. For the short survey, 96 started, 86 consented to the study, 82 answered questions, and 59 finished the survey. Below is a breakdown of the number survey responses for each component of the survey. In total, I collected 101 surveys with various levels of completion. Table 3.1 provides the number of responses for each survey component along with the response rate based on the total population (N=273).

Table 3.1

Survey Responses by Survey Component

Survey Component	Number of Responses	Response Rate (%)
Mission	91	33
Structure	95	35
Staffing	97	36
Budget	68	25

Data analysis. To answer research questions one and two, I analyzed the mission statements and organizational structures of the cultural resource centers for similarities and differences using a constant comparative method (Charmaz, 2006; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). By identifying similarities and differences in mission, we gain a better understanding of the range of purposes cultural resource centers have at their institutions and the extent these purposes address the campus climate for diversity. I did an initial read of the mission statements to get an idea of what was in the data broadly. The second read of the mission statements included highlighting key words, leading to an initial codebook of 31 codes. The third pass at the mission statements led to a refinement of codes with an additional coder, leading to 29 codes. After discussion with the additional coder, I further refined and identified key terms in the mission statements leading to the final codebook of 32 codes grouped under three categories: goal, target population, and vehicle (method/approach). The analyses included themes for the overall population, center type, and institutional control. I calculated intercoder reliability between two coders (myself included) using 11% of the data, a selection of codes (campus mission, success, broad population, and cultural), and online software (Freelon, 2010).

I answered the second research question through both qualitative and quantitative analyses of the organizational structures data. Using the institution as the unit of analysis and relying on the center survey data that identified the number and types of cultural resource centers at their institution, three major categories of cultural resource centers emerged and formed the Taxonomy of Cultural Resource Centers in Higher Education. Taxonomies are a schema to "classify a phenomenon through mutually exclusive and exhaustive categories" (M. Q. Patton, 2002, p. 457). The newly created taxonomy was then used as the framework for analysis of reporting lines, staffing, and budgets for the cultural resource centers.

Descriptive statistics and crosstabulations from SPSS informed the data analysis on structure, staffing, and budgeting by taxonomy. I initially analyzed and grouped the data on supervisor title and lead staff title qualitatively. I then quantitatively calculated percentages of the titles for the entire sample then by taxonomy model.

The descriptive, exploratory quantitative analyses contributed to understanding the resource capacities within the Organizational Assessment Framework (Horton et al., 2003). I identified the range of staffing and budget allocations as well as the mean, mode, and standard deviation on the quantitative data collected. The range for staffing and budgeting provided a big picture perspective of cultural resource centers and the variability of cultural resource centers across the country (Agresti & Finlay, 2009). The mean provided the average for the centers, whereas the mode revealed the value occurring most frequently for staffing and budget allocations (Agresti & Finlay, 2009). I reported the descriptive data according to the taxonomy in Chapter 4. To address the credibility of these findings, I examined the data for negative cases that did not fit within the taxonomy (M. Q. Patton, 2002). Within the sample, there were no negative cases falling outside of the Taxonomy of Cultural Resource Centers in Higher Education.

In summary, the first phase using the survey data addressed the first two research questions about the similarities and differences in missions and structures of cultural resource centers in higher education. Both quantitative and qualitative data offered insight into the purpose and overall organizational structure as revealed through staffing, budgeting, reporting lines, and overall structural-demographic characteristics of the centers and their institutions. The data informed the creation of a Taxonomy of Cultural Resource Centers in Higher Education and led to the selection of cases for the second phase of data collection – the multiple case studies.

Phase Two: Multiple Case Studies

Site selection. Multiple case studies provided the rich, contextual data needed for the last research question on how structures influence the strategies and efforts of cultural resource centers to address campus climate for diversity (Scholz & Tietje, 2002; Yin, 2009). A case study approach was an appropriate method to answer the final research question, focusing on in-depth explanations in a contemporary context (Yin, 2009). I used a combination of interviews, observations of the physical space, and document analyses as part of the multiple case studies design. Following the creation of the taxonomy, I narrowed the list of case study options to institutions fitting each model of the taxonomy that expressed interest in participating in the second phase. I approached center directors for in-person interviews and access to institutional documents.

Through maximum variation sampling, I identified cases representing variation in the Taxonomy of Cultural Resource Centers in Higher Education (M. Q. Patton, 2002). Maximum variation sampling was a form of purposeful sampling to identify patterns across the sample, as well as any unique variations (M. Q. Patton, 2002). The institution served as the primary unit of analysis with the cultural resource center and its staff as embedded units of analysis. I first filtered the sample by those who agreed to serve as a case study site. I then examined the sites for variation in organizational structure leading to four institutions and seven cultural resource centers. I added one cultural resource center during the site visit at an institution and its respective survey data. I included the data in the final analysis leading to eight cultural resource centers in the study. All center staff agreed to participate in the study using the UCLA IRB approval and no further institutional approval was needed.

The Taxonomy of Cultural Resource Centers included three primary models: Model A – institutions with solely a multicultural center; Model B – institutions with race-specific centers; and Model C – institutions with both race-specific and multicultural centers. Within Model A, there were three sub-models for the different staffing levels. Model A1 indicated minimal staffing of only one professional staff. Model A2 indicated multiple professional staff with responsibilities that were divided programmatically. Model A3 indicated multiple professional staff with responsibilities that were delegated for each racial group. The sites selected for the multiple case studies represented each model within the taxonomy except for Model A1 due to limited resources.

The four institutions were located in different regions of the United States – the east coast, Midwest, southwest, and west coast. Two of the institutions were public institutions and two were private institutions. There was one small, private faith-based institution in the study. The remaining three cases were large institutions reflective of the majority in the sample.

Interviews. I conducted in-person, semi-structured interviews lasting approximately an hour and 15 minutes to two hours and forty-five minutes with eight cultural resource center directors (see protocol in Appendix E). Interviews primarily took place in the staff person's office with the exception of two cultural resource centers where there was no private space in the center's temporary location. The interviews for these two individuals took place in a conference room and in a stairwell that had tables set up for students to study. I kept any personal identifiable information separate from the interview data and created identification codes for each participant (see Appendix F). I encrypted data files to maintain confidentiality.

The interviews explored how the organizational structures of the cultural resource centers shaped the strategies and efforts to address campus racial climate. Cultural resource center staff provided unique perspectives on how financial and human resources supported or constrained their efforts. They spoke to not only the implications of resources but also the political dynamics around resource allocation and organizational structure. The interviews provided rich, contextual data about the relationship between structure and the center's campus racial climate efforts. Since the interviews focused on the center leadership, they had both a big picture understanding and a daily operational understanding of the importance of resource allocation and organizational structure.

I piloted the interview protocol with two cultural resource center staff with no revisions to the protocol (see Appendix E). Since the interview was semi-structured, the protocol had a mixture of set questions as well as topics I pursued in a more open-ended fashion. A combination of a flexible interview guide with a more structured set of interview question ensured that some questions were asked across sites (M. Q. Patton, 2002); the list of topics allowed for interviews to be tailored and gave space for probing areas that were unique to the site. To improve the rigor of the research design, I conducted observations of the physical space, referred back to the survey data, and gathered documents at the site to triangulate data. Data triangulation allowed for testing the consistency of findings (M. Q. Patton, 2002).

Observations of the physical space. The observations at the cultural resource center allowed me to see how resources affected the ways cultural resource centers operated and how they sought to address campus climate. Observations were limited due to my resources as a researcher and the time intensive nature of observations. I focused my observations on the physical space of the centers and how staff utilized their resources to address student needs. I also took photos of the space to provide additional documentation of the facilities and wrote memos following each interview.

Document analysis. Document analysis focused on public materials (brochures, flyers, websites) and annual reports institutions were willing to share. Documents served as an additional data source to triangulate with interviews and survey data. The triangulation of data sources improved the reliability of the study and was a method of verifying findings (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Scholz & Tietje, 2002; Yin, 2009). I asked specifically for annual reports, strategic plans, assessments, and brochures containing information related to the organizational structure of the cultural resource centers. I also collected materials on site, such as flyers and websites, without needing to get permission from the cultural resource center staff and institution since the materials were publicly accessible. I examined the documents for content related to the organizational structure and used them to verify earlier data gathered in the survey and interviews.

Data analysis. I conducted a cross case analysis to address the final research question and compared the responses, observations, and documents across cultural resource centers (Yin, 2009). Since each case represented the variation in organizational structure of cultural resource centers in the study, a cross case synthesis illuminated both implicit and explicit ways the structures and the overall climate influenced cultural resource centers (Yin, 2009). The implicit influences were teased out through comparisons of the documents and observations of the cultural resource centers while the explicit influences were gathered directly through the interviews with the center directors. For the cross case synthesis, I created word tables to compare the codes that emerged from the interview data. Yin (2009) describes this method of analysis as a way to "display the data from the individual cases according to some uniform framework" (p. 156). While I took a grounded theory approach to analyzing the data (Charmaz, 2006; Glaser & Strauss, 1967), I was informed by the organizational behavior frames outlined by Berger and Milem (2000) – bureaucratic, collegial, political, symbolic, and systemic. The next section summarizes the measures I took to ensure validity and reliability in the study.

Validity and Reliability

As with any research design, I needed to put into place mechanisms to ensure the validity and reliability of the study (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Yin, 2009). I addressed the construct validity for the study through triangulation of multiple data sources – surveys, interviews, observations of the physical space, and document analysis (Yin, 2009). I verified the survey data during site visits through the interview with the cultural resource center staff, document analysis, and IPEDS data. I paid particular attention to negative or disconfirming cases that did not fit within the categories that emerge for the mission statements and taxonomy of organizational structures (Miles & Huberman, 1994; M. Q. Patton, 2002). I addressed reliability by providing a case study protocol (see Appendix G) that other researchers may follow to replicate the study. Yin (2009) advises documenting procedures and general rules for using the protocol as a way to increase reliability for the case study. I also employed an additional coder to address consistency in coding for the mission statements analysis.

As noted by Charmaz (2006), achieving objectivity through research is difficult since we are informed by our own experiences and paradigms. These paradigms inform the types of questions I asked, how I interpreted data, and the implications I identified through this study. My approach to the dissertation included positivist and constructionist perspectives. Positivist in that there was something to be learned and valued in examining the structures of cultural resource centers in higher education. There was an objective reality out there about how these centers were structured that had relationships to the types of institutions they resided in. However, I also took a constructivist approach in that there were meanings assigned to these structures and process that revealed how cultural resource centers fulfilled their mission statements within their institutional contexts. I discuss my own experiences later in this chapter and focus on grounding my findings through the conceptual frameworks and the triangulation of data.

Limitations

There were limitations to the study around the sampling, survey data, accessibility of documents. One of the largest limitations in the research design was the sampling method. Without a proper understanding of the total population of cultural resource centers at four-year institutions of higher education, I could not determine the representativeness of the sample in the study thereby limiting generalizability and representativeness of survey respondents. The sample was self-selected leaving out a number of institutions with limited time and resources to complete the survey.

The survey data had missing data because of the long format when I initially distributed it and because some center staff chose to not report certain data. Specifically, budget data were missing for centers that either were unsure of their budgets or felt they were not at liberty to release the data. In addition, it appeared that individuals may have misunderstood the differences between annual permanent allocation and operating budget. The annual allocation should have added up to a combination of the operating budgets, programming budgets, and potentially any discretionary funds. However, there were cases where the operating budgets were larger than the annual allocations. Due to this limitation, I used programming budgets as a proxy for institutional support rather than the permanent annual allocation.

The last major limitation in the study was around the accessibility of documents for the case studies. I was given a wide range of access to institutional documents with some centers giving me center and institutional reports, strategic plans, and memos while others were unable to locate or send me annual reports or survey data. In all cases, I researched the institutional website to identify press releases, websites, or any other publicly accessible record of the cultural resource centers which was useful in providing supplementary information to cases where I was lacking documents.

Positionality of Researcher

Researchers are not blank slates and objective vessels who process data in value-neutral ways (Charmaz, 2006). Rather, researchers are shaped by life experiences framed by a broader social context including their familial upbringing, work experiences, educational trajectories, disciplinary training, and ideologies (Charmaz, 2006). I, as a researcher, am shaped by my experiences as an Asian American, Christian, heterosexual, able-bodied woman who has worked in the arena of diversity and social justice for over fifteen years – first as a student activist then as a student affairs professional, community educator, and research analyst.

While I have been aware of racism and injustice for as long as I can remember, my involvement in equity issues did not occur until I was an undergraduate at the University of Virginia (UVA). I walked into an environment steeped in White, male privilege and where Students of Color formed coalitions to fight for greater representation in the curriculum and in administration. My mentors were Black administrators from the Office of African American Affairs who taught me the importance of organizing, coalition building, and empowerment of "minority" communities.

It was also during my time at UVA that the institution wrestled with the idea of re-visioning the Office of African American Affairs into a multicultural center. The politics around these discussions afforded me an opportunity to see the complexity and the value of creating spaces and having resources for Students of Color within and across racial groups. In the end, the Office of African American Affairs maintained its historical mission and two administrators were hired in the Office of the Dean of Students to work with Asian American and Latina/o students.

I was also informed by my work as a former cultural resource center staff, having worked at an intercultural center, Asian American resource center, multi-ethnic academic center, and multicultural leadership center. I worked in Ivy League, public flagship, and state comprehensive broad access institutions and witnessed the range of resources and structures for cultural resource centers. This array of experience propelled me to conduct research that would be educational and relevant for higher education institutions, cultural resource center staff, and students.

I found over time that many students and educators were unfamiliar with the purpose of cultural resource centers and in the same breath critiqued these spaces. There was an ambiguity in the perception of cultural resource center missions and I wanted to offer clarity. I was a beneficiary of and an agent in cultural resource centers as vital spaces for creating welcoming campus climates for diversity so I recognized the bias I brought to this study. However, I tried to put into place mechanisms that would allow the data to speak for itself. The primary mechanism was triangulation of data sources. I also used the conceptual frameworks as the primary source for data analysis. Any biases that may have come through were addressed in the final chapter as part of the subjective nature of my role as a researcher. Therefore the findings and implications should be considered with this understanding.

In addition, my interest in organizational structures, specifically the resource capacities, of cultural resource centers was due to my professional experiences of working within the bounds of these structures to serve students, where I felt constrained but also freed to innovate and be resourceful. My experiences were neither representative nor unique as far as I knew because information had not been collected at a systemic level. Regardless of the personalities operating cultural resource centers, the structures and resources institutions gave to the operation of these spaces remained my focus of inquiry. This study was only the beginning of a line of research I hoped to pursue on cultural resource centers and their impact on student outcomes.

Summary of Methodology

In order to address the study's three research questions examining mission, structures, and interactions of cultural resource centers with the campus racial climate, I employed an embedded case study design using quantitative and qualitative data (Scholz & Tietje, 2002; Yin, 2009) and a sequential transformative strategy (Creswell, 2003). The primary unit of analysis was the institution, and the embedded unit of analysis was the cultural resource center. The study began with a national survey gathering qualitative and quantitative data on the mission, structure, and strategies. The survey allowed for a broader picture understanding of cultural resource centers along organizational characteristics. Following an analysis of the survey data to identify themes in missions and the development of a taxonomy of cultural resource center structures, I selected cases for the next phase of the study involving semi-structured interviews, observations, and document analyses. I conducted interviews with cultural resource center directors to gain a more in-depth understanding of the role of cultural resource centers in addressing campus racial climate and how their structures influenced their strategies. However, a different story emerged as I saw interactions between the cultural resource centers and the climates leading to a revision of the third research question revealed in Chapter 5. This research design therefore provided a broad overview by mapping out the terrain of cultural resource centers on a national scale and then offered a more in-depth examination of particular cases of cultural resource centers within the new Taxonomy of Cultural Resource Centers in Higher Education.

CHAPTER 4: SURVEY RESULTS

One of the purposes of this study is to identify and categorize the organizational structures of cultural resource centers. The analysis in this chapter is focused on a national survey distributed to multicultural, intercultural, and race-specific resource centers at four-year colleges and universities. There have been only a few published findings based on surveys of Black cultural centers (Bankole, 2005) and multicultural student services in higher education (Shuford, 2011; D. L. Stewart & Bridges, 2011) providing descriptive information about the programs and services offered in these offices. This study distinguishes itself from prior research in its attention to cultural resource centers, which is more encompassing of centers beyond Black cultural centers but more focused than multicultural student services. In addition, this study offers a Taxonomy of Cultural Resource Centers in Higher Education to categorize the institutional models gathered from the data. Chapter 4 focuses on findings from the survey to answer the following two research questions:

(1) How do campus cultural resource centers converge and differ in their stated missions?
(2) What are the commonalities and differences in the organizational structures of campus cultural resource centers?

The first research question is answered through the mission statements provided by cultural resource center staff. Results are presented for the entire sample, by center type (African American, Asian American and Pacific Islander, Latino, Native American, and multicultural/intercultural), and by institutional control (public versus private). Overall, the mission statements for cultural resource centers converge around two purposes – serving a broad population and being an educational resource. The unique findings by center type and by institutional control are also highlighted in this chapter.

In the process of analyzing data for the second research question, a taxonomy of cultural resource centers at four-year institutions of higher education emerged. Three models of cultural resource centers are present in the survey data and comprise the Taxonomy of Cultural Resource Centers in Higher Education (seen in Figure 4.1): (1) Model A – campuses with a multicultural or intercultural center; (2) Model B – campuses with race-specific centers; and (3) Model C – campuses with both race-specific centers and multicultural or intercultural centers.

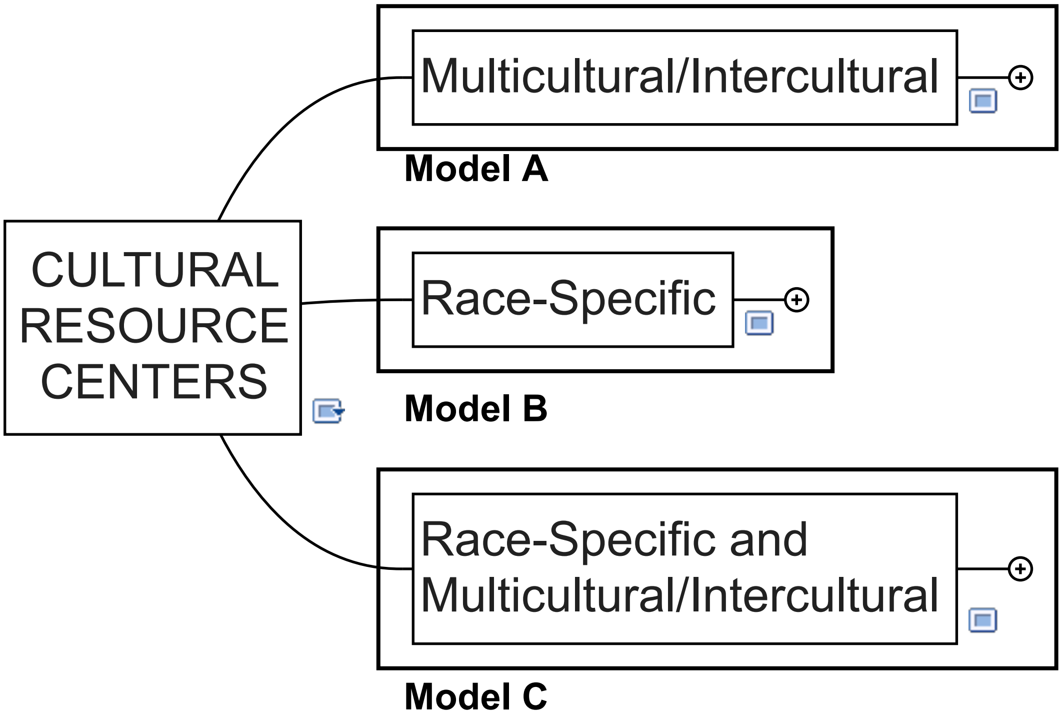

CULTURAL RESOURCE CENTERS
Multicultural/Intercultural
Model A
Race-Specific
Model B
Race-Specific and Multicultural/Intercultural
Model C

Figure 4.1. Taxonomy of Cultural Resource Centers in Higher Education.

The findings for the second research question are organized according to the three models for cultural resource centers focusing specifically on reporting lines, staffing profiles, and budgetary data. Reporting lines offered insight to where cultural resource centers were placed within the organizational hierarchy. In particular, the divisional home of cultural resource centers indicated how institutions perceived the roles of cultural resource centers. Staffing profiles had not been captured in prior research and provided empirical data on the combination of professional, administrative, and student staffing for many cultural resource centers. The last structural element of budgetary data gave institutions and cultural resource centers benchmarks for funding and provided a better understanding of additional funding sources beyond the institutional allocations. I offer up in this chapter a picture of cultural resource centers that have grown beyond their historical missions of serving Students of Color and whose organizational structures provided indicators of institutional commitment to diversity.

Mission Statements

Mission statements are part of the symbolism of an organization, guiding people to work towards a purpose (Berger, 2000; Berger & Milem, 2000; Jaffee, 2001). As higher education continues to focus on being mission-driven and institutions further develop assessment efforts, an examination of mission statements becomes even more crucial in understanding what cultural resource centers do and where they are headed. While one could debate the congruence between the stated mission and the enacted mission for a center, the survey captured stated missions reported by staff. Further, a few centers reported unofficial mission statements because there were no official ones. Therefore, I conducted the data analyses using the self-reported mission statements.

I present the major findings along three segments to offer points of comparison for cultural resource center staff and higher education administrators: (1) the entire sample from the survey; (2) center type (African American, Asian American and Pacific Islander, Latino, Native American, and Multicultural); and (3) institutional control (public and private). The sample for the mission statements analysis was not the same as the overall sample of survey respondents due to missing responses. Therefore I provide descriptions of the sample for each segment of data analysis. In order to answer the first research question, I generated codes based on the text and analyzed them to identify how missions converge and diverge as described in the methods section of Chapter 3.

Sample

Of the 101 center participants in the survey, 91 centers from 73 different institutions reported mission statements. Twelve institutions indicated they have multiple centers based on the mission statements data analysis, with 7 institutions having 2 centers in the study, 4 institutions with 3 centers in the study, and one institution with 4 centers in the study. As indicated in Table 4.1, large, public institutions with student enrollment of over 20,000 were the largest proportion of the sample (45%) followed by small, private institutions with student enrollment under 5,000 (18%). Mid-size, public institutions (14%) were the next largest sub-sample with student enrollments of 10,000-19,999. A majority of the institutions in the study were public colleges and universities (62%) and skewed the analyses of mission statements for the entire sample. Therefore, I also provide analyses based on institutional control type.

Table 4.1

Mission Statements Sample - Number of Institutions by Control and Size (N=73)

	Size of Institution				
Control	Less than 5,000	5,000-9,999	10,000-19,999	20,000+	Total
Public	1	1	10	33	45
Private	13	4	8	3	28
Total	14	5	18	36	73

I offer a further breakdown of the sample by center type, institutional control, and institution size to illustrate the types of centers represented across institutions (see Table 4.2). It is important to note the sample size in Table 4.2 is based on the embedded unit of analysis (i.e. cultural resource centers) rather than the primary unit of analysis (i.e. the institutions). Therefore, the sample size presented in Table 4.2 is different from Table 4.1. Multicultural centers at large, public institutions represented the largest proportion of the sample (20%) followed by African American resource centers at large, public institutions (12%) and multicultural centers at small, private institutions (12%). The private institutions in the sample tended to have multicultural centers rather than centers dedicated to specific racial groups. In addition, there were no Native American resource centers and only one Latino resource center in the private institution sample.

Table 4.2

Mission Statements Sample – Types of Center by Institution Control and Size (N=91)

	Institution Size				
Control	Less than 5,000	5,000-9,999	10,000-19,999	20,000+	Total
Public	1	1	11	47	60
African American	0	0	3	11	14
AAPI	1	0	0	8	9
Latina/o	0	0	1	7	8
Native American	0	0	2	3	5
Multicultural	0	1	5	18	24
Private	13	4	9	5	31
African American	1	0	1	1	3
AAPI	1	0	1	3	5
Latina/o	0	0	1	0	1
Native American	0	0	0	0	0
Multicultural	11	4	6	1	22
Total	14	5	20	52	91

Convergences and Differences Among Mission Statements

Overall, cultural resource centers shared common goals in their stated missions. There were some distinct characteristics by center type and by institutional control that are explored later in the chapter. Through qualitative coding and analysis, the data yielded 32 codes focused on center goals, the vehicles for accomplishing their goals, and their target populations (see Table 4.3 for intercoder reliability on selected codes and Appendix H for the complete codebook).

Table 4.3

Intercoder Reliability Measurements on Selected Codes

	Reliability Measurements			
Code	% Agreement	Scott's Pi	Cohen's Kappa	Krippendorff's Alpha (nominal)
Campus Mission	90%	0.733	0.737	0.747
Success	90%	0.798	0.8	0.808
Broad Population	60%	0.167	0.286	0.208
Cultural	100%	1	1	1

Across the entire sample, the mission statements reflected the intent to work with a *broad population* and serve an *educational* purpose. In their mission statements, the centers made explicit that their target group was a *broad population* rather than any one racial group. There were many references to serving the entire campus or the surrounding community thereby countering the notion that cultural resource centers served only targeted racial groups or Students of Color. An example includes the following mission statement from an African American resource center:

> [The center] supports the academic and diversity missions of the University by engaging campus and community partners in innovative cultural, social and scholarly activities that examine African-American and African-Diasporan identities, traditions and creative practices through a social justice lens. The [center] recognizes that identities are socially constructed and intersectional. To that end, the Center especially supports programs and initiatives that promote collaboration and experiential learning.

Although cultural resource centers have historically been created to work with marginalized student populations (Bankole, 2005; L. D. Patton, 2010c; Stennis-Williams et al., 1988), the contemporary mission statements of these centers seemed to extend beyond its historical mission or mask its emphases on particular racial groups. This finding was similar to a survey done on multicultural student services where three-fifths of the respondents reported the population they served expanded over time (D. L. Stewart & Bridges, 2011). For the survey of multicultural student services, the offices included providing support in the areas of sexual orientation, class, religion, and ability. While the mission statements did not always list these additional student populations, the survey captured information on the various social identity groups served by the cultural resource centers corroborating the findings of serving multiple social identities, particularly for multicultural centers.

The mission statements also indicated a responsibility to serve the campus community and, at times, the surrounding community. Cultural resource centers may serve as a point of connection for students with the surrounding community, particularly for Communities of Color. However, the mission statements articulated the population more broadly as if the centers were meant to be a community resource and a campus-wide resource. One potential explanation for broadening the mission statement may be the political environment where race-conscious programs and services have been targeted as discriminatory and/or illegal. This move to explicitly mention serving a wider population may be a protective measure for institutions concerned with legal recourse or bad publicity related to targeted racial programs and offices.

The second main theme in the mission statements was serving an *educational* purpose. The centers focused on increasing understanding and raising awareness of different cultures, heritages, and issues for the broader campus and community. Depending on the type of center, the education may be cross-cultural, focus on specific racial groups, and/or focus on the diaspora of a particular racial group. For many of the centers, the cultural education happened in the form of programming efforts through lectures, workshops, performances, exhibits, or offering courses in partnership with academic departments. Because the cultural resource centers were located within institutions of higher education, it was not surprising that *education* would be prominent and explicitly stated.

In addition to serving a *broad population* and having an *educational* purpose, the other notable codes included serving a *cultural* purpose, coordinating *programs*, and helping with the *personal development* of students. Particularly in regards to Students of Color, *cultural* programming within cultural resource centers tended to be related to *personal development*, as it affirmed and empowered students in their racial identity development. Therefore, although the codes of serving a *cultural* purpose, coordinating *programs*, and helping with the *personal development* of students were listed separately, the codes were pragmatically interrelated.

These findings were consistent with prior case study and survey research on the purposes of cultural resource centers in higher education as safe spaces, educational, programmatic, and developmental (Lozano, 2010; L. D. Patton, 2006, 2010a; Shuford, 2011; Solórzano et al., 2000; D. L. Stewart & Bridges, 2011; Toya, 2011; Turner, 1994; Welch, 2009; Yosso & Benavides Lopez, 2010; Yosso et al., 2009). The contribution of this study is its emphasis on cultural resource centers across center types. The purposes of cultural resource centers, as conceptualized in this study, were not available at a national level in prior research. In addition, I conducted a more focused analysis by center type thereby contributing to a greater understanding of the less studied center types (i.e. Asian American and Pacific Islander, Latino, and Native American). For more information on the most common codes for all centers and to see how the codes compared by center types, please refer to Appendix I. The following section highlights the differences indicating the particular needs for each student population that may have been discussed in prior research.

Distinctions in Mission by Center Type

Many of the centers stated common purposes, however, the notable distinctions are presented in this section by center type. I grouped cultural resource centers into one of five categories based on the primary population they served or stated area of expertise: (1) African American; (2) Asian American and Pacific Islander (AAPI); (3) Latino; (4) Native American; or (5) multicultural/intercultural. The AAPI category included centers that were specifically oriented towards Pacific Islanders due to the small population of Pacific Islander centers and the need to mask the centers as well as their institutions. There was not much variation by center type with regards to their overall purposes, with the exception of Native American resource centers (see also Appendix K), reflecting the earlier findings on the intent to reach a *broad population* and serve an *educational* purpose. Therefore, I highlight interesting aspects of the stated missions for each center type and focus on characteristics not as apparent in the overall analysis. The organization of this section begins with the most distinct center type in the study - Native American resource centers.

Native American resource centers as spaces for recruitment and retention. This study found that Native American resource centers had a more distinct stated mission statement than other cultural resource centers in the study. Native American resource centers explicitly stated a recruitment and retention function for Native American students, with some centers inclusive of Native Hawaiian, Alaskan Native, and Pacific Islander students. The issue of underrepresentation in higher education for Native American students was prominent, leading to the centers focusing primarily on recruitment and retention (Shotton et al., 2010). Related to the recruitment and retention function was the importance of providing academic support and academic success (see Appendix K for full listing of prominent codes). This may be done through peer mentoring programs or providing a study space in an affirming environment (Shotton et al., 2010).

The mission statements also articulated the importance of the center's *space*. Eighty percent of Native American resource centers emphasized the importance of creating a *space* or home for students. For example, one center's mission was the following:

> The mission of the ___ is to provide a "cultural home" where Native American, Alaskan Native and Pacific Islander students connect to other students, faculty, staff and community members in an inclusive and supportive environment. At the Center, students may build community, receive assistance in support of their academic goals, and explore and develop cultural identities and intercultural alliances.

While the Native American resource centers represented the largest proportion of any center type to explicitly mention *space*, other centers also referenced being a safe *space* and home away from home for Students of Color (see Appendix J for a comparison of prominent codes for each center type). For Native American students at predominantly White institutions, these resource centers provided community and comfort in a hostile environment (Shotton et al., 2010). Although the centers served a very focused population, they also tended to highlight serving a larger population – reaching out to the entire campus and into the surrounding community. Reaching *a broad population* included connecting Native American students with the Native American community in the region. Because the sample was small ($N = 5$), findings should be interpreted with caution (see Appendix K for additional codes for Native American resource centers).

Latino centers as cultural resources and developing leaders. For Latino resource centers, serving a cultural purpose and being a resource for students and community members were higher priorities compared to other center types (see Appendix J). More than any other type of center, Latino resource centers sought to share Latino culture with others, enhance cultural awareness, and celebrate the Latino culture (78%) although other cultural resource centers also tended to note cultural purposes in their mission statements. With regards to serving as a resource, 56% of Latino resource centers reflected this code in their mission statements compared to 35% of African American and 36% of Asian American resource centers (Appendix J). In this study, the resource code included advising and providing services for students, as well as explicit mentions of resources.

In addition, Latino resource centers also indicated a purpose of developing leaders (i.e. *leadership development* code). Although I did not find this code in a majority of the Latino centers (see Appendix L for a listing of prominent codes), it was still an interesting code that appeared more frequently among the sample of Latino centers and AAPI centers compared to other center types. Lozano (2010) stated leadership development was inherent in the activities of the Latino resource centers referring to student organization advisement, the availability of the physical space for meetings, and the support of center staff. For centers that explicitly stated *leadership development*, it would be interesting to gather more detail on how they developed leadership in more intentional ways than what Lozano described as inherent.

AAPI centers focused on academics and leadership development. Asian American and Pacific Islander (AAPI) resource centers were more likely than other center types to indicate an academic purpose and leadership development role, with the exception of the centers stated earlier. Approximately half of the AAPI centers stated an academic purpose in their missions although these were often connected to references to cultural and programmatic functions (see Appendix M). The attention to academics runs contrary to the model minority myth which presumes Asian Americans are academically successful and do not need academic support (Teranishi, 2010). AAPI centers may serve as spaces able to attend to the diversity within the population when the larger environment may treat Asian American students as if they did not need academic help. The expertise and attention to unpacking the racial grouping of AAPIs would give AAPI resource centers an advantage over other campus units that may ignore Asian American students.

The second interesting code appearing in AAPI resource centers was the *leadership development* code. Balón and Shek (2013) discussed the growing interest in Asian American leadership development in higher education and presented different institutional models across the country. They provided examples of curricular and co-curricular partnerships with one co-curricular model housed in an AAPI resource center. The attention to developing leaders may have indicated a need in both the Latino and AAPI populations that was not met at their campuses or it could have alluded to broader societal goals of building community conscious leaders. Leadership development may take the form of targeted leadership programs and workshops or support of student organization leaders (Balón & Shek, 2013).

African American resource centers as academic and programming spaces. Similar to the Native American and AAPI resource centers, African American resource centers tended to mention academics in their mission statements (Appendix J). Approximately 65% of African American resource centers stated they had an academic purpose although these were often related to cultural and programmatic goals (see Appendix N for full listing of codes). Academic support may take the form of tutoring services, study groups, mentoring programs based on academic majors, or workshops training students on time management and study skills (Hord, 2005c; L. D. Patton, 2010c; D. L. Stewart, 2011). The attention to academics may reflect the history of the cultural resource centers and its role in the academic support of Students of Color. For centers that may not mention academics explicitly in the mission statements, one reason may be that academic support services for their particular student populations were already offered through other campus units (i.e. Equal Opportunity Programs, Mathematics Engineering Science Achievement, etc.). African American resource centers have been critiqued or noted to offer parallel academic support services to other campus units, both generalized and specialized spaces of support (Bankole, 2005). However, the argument was that the African American resource centers provided a more welcoming space for students than general academic support units or used culturally-relevant approaches.

A higher percentage of African American resource centers (71%) mentioned a *programmatic* function than the other center types (range of 20% - 57%) although a majority of the centers also held programs for their campuses (Appendix J). Programs may include speakers, workshops, exhibitions, heritage month events, or graduate recognition celebrations. The emphasis on hosting programs for the campus community confirms earlier survey research on Black cultural centers conducted by Bankole (2005) and the Association of Black Culture Centers. These programs would also be public programs to enhance the educational understanding of issues in the African American community and/or African diaspora.

Multicultural centers as cross-cultural and social justice spaces. The multicultural centers were distinct in their missions compared to the other center types because of its emphases on developing cross-cultural skills and competencies as well as having a social justice focus (see Appendix O). This was not a surprising finding given that multicultural centers served students from many different social identities beyond race and ethnicity as part of their evolution in purpose (Princes, 2005; Shuford, 2011; D. L. Stewart & Bridges, 2011). Multicultural centers represented approximately 60%-80% of the centers that indicated working with LGBT students, White students, faith-based student populations, and international students, which was not surprising since they would be the most explicitly broad resource centers of the types in the study. This does not mean that other center types did not also address other social identities, however, they may not have been focal areas or seen as an integral part of their mission.

Multicultural, and particularly Intercultural, centers tended to highlight their role in building *cross-cultural* competencies and creating opportunities for interactions between different cultures through diversity trainings and intergroup dialogues. This is important to note considering the importance of student engagement in diversity issues leading to democratic student outcomes (Gurin et al., 2002; Hurtado et al., 2012; Hurtado, Milem, et al., 1998; Hurtado et al., 1999; Milem et al., 2005; Nagda, Kim, & Truelove, 2004; Nelson Laird, 2005). The focus on *social justice* was also more prevalent for multicultural centers than other center types, using a term that was encompassing of the marginalization of different communities. This finding seems to align with the move of centers away from just a celebration of cultures into work that addresses systemic forms of oppression as well as avenues for social change (Shuford, 2011).

Discussion of findings across center type. The findings of the overall sample and across center type counter claims that cultural resource centers served a narrow purpose and were exclusive spaces. The missions included serving the campus community through culturally relevant programming and services accessible to any student regardless of their racial background. Especially in the social context where race-conscious practices were challenged, cultural resource centers had to adjust and evolve to make explicit their programs were neither exclusive nor discriminatory.

The differences by center type indicated variations in how centers focused efforts with some emphasizing academics and others leadership development. The areas of distinction for each center type were consistent with scholarship on the needs of Students of Color highlighting the various roles cultural resource centers (Bankole, 2005; Lozano, 2010; L. D. Patton, 2006, 2010a; Shotton et al., 2010; Yosso & Benavides Lopez, 2010) depending on the student population. These distinctions may indicate the importance of race-specific centers and their capacity to provide targeted support. Another implication may be for multicultural and intercultural centers to incorporate the different focal points in their own programs and services so each student group's unique needs are met rather than having those differences in needs subsumed under a singular approach for all Students of Color. Some multicultural centers may already be able to accomplish this task if they have multiple staff members who have the relationships, skills, and knowledge base that can address each racial group's needs.

While I created distinctions in coding the mission statements (i.e. cultural, academic, personal development, etc.), many of these categories could be considered within the realm of serving as a resource. I parsed out the focal points to understand the different approaches, vehicles, or goals of cultural resource centers in order to find interesting points of divergence. For example, centers that connected students to ethnic studies programs, provided internship opportunities through community organizations, or offered peer mentoring programs would all be elements of having a resource function.

The mission statements analysis of connecting their resource work with the broader campus appeared to support the bridge building purpose of cultural resource centers (Bankole, 2005; Lozano, 2010; L. D. Patton, 2006; Shotton et al., 2010; Yosso & Benavides Lopez, 2010). Center staff not only connected students with existing resources through other campus units, they may also have offered parallel student services, such as academic counseling, leadership training, career counseling, or tutoring (Bankole, 2005; Toya, 2011; Welch, 2009) because other campus units were not as culturally responsive or welcoming. Unfortunately, the survey data did not capture how many of the centers offered parallel services to other campus units and greater details on the programs and services.

Centers at Public versus Private Institutions

Although a majority of the centers in the sample were located in public institutions, there was a sizeable proportion of private institutions (34%) in the study. When examining the findings by institutional control, the results were similar to the broader findings with some interesting variations in the areas of emphases. It was important to delve into the institutional control to identify differences that would not show up in the aggregate analyses. However, because the sample was skewed not only by institutional control but also by institutional size, the results could be related to the combination of institutional characteristics rather than just the institutional control.

There was greater variation among centers at public institutions than at private institutions when examining the relative presence of different purposes mentioned in the mission statements. Interestingly, codes such as *advocacy*, *serving other identities*, and serving a *social* purpose were noticeably less common among public institutions compared to private institutions (see Table 4.4). This may be related to the environment of smaller, private institutions as places of even greater isolation for Students of Color in locations where there may not be a critical mass of People of Color (Ferguson & Thomas-Rashid, 2011) leading to more intentionality around advocacy, multiple identities, and providing social avenues. Another explanation may be the larger proportion of multicultural centers in private institutions compared to public institutions (refer to Table 4.2).

Table 4.4

Most Common Mission Statement Codes and Ranking by Institutional Control

Code	% Private (N=31)	Rank	% Public (N=60)	Rank
Broad Population	74	1	75	1
Educational	65	2	72	2
Personal Development	58	3	45	5
Programs	58	3	52	4
Leadership	45	5	32	9
Resources	45	5	38	8
Academic	42	7	45	5
Cross Cultural	42	7	28	10
Cultural	39	9	60	3
Advocacy	36	10	23	11
Other Identities	36	10	2	13
Social	36	10	17	12
Space	36	10	45	5

The variation by institution control appeared in more centers at public institutions (60%) having a *cultural* purpose than private institutions (39%). This difference may be attributed to the greater number of race-specific resource centers at public institutions than private institutions in the study (refer to Table 4.1). A larger percentage of centers at public institutions (45%) included creating a safe *space* or home for students in their mission statements than centers at private institutions (36%). This finding was in contrast with *advocacy* appearing more frequently in the mission statements at private institutions. Since large, public institutions made up the majority of the sample, centers in the public institutions may have appealed to students by providing a smaller space for students to connect in an otherwise large and decentralized campus. Further analysis within public institutions found that centers at large institutions with enrollment over 20,000 tended to include creating a safe *space*, haven, or welcoming environment for students over other public institutions.

A closer examination by size within institutional control type revealed only slight differences. Among the private institutions that have 5,000 – 19,999 students, connecting to the campus mission, collaboration, and addressing other identities appeared more frequently in their mission statements compared to other private institutions. Small, private institutions of less then 5,000 students were more likely to include cross cultural skills and competency in their mission statements than other types of private institutions. These findings may be reflective of the institutional approach to serving Students of Color, particularly through multicultural centers. Multicultural centers were the most prominent center type among small, private institutions. Additional research may be needed to see if institutional control and size are related to particular strategies used by cultural resource centers.

Unique Codes

The unique codes in the mission statements revealed differences in approaches by cultural resource centers and framing of the work. In addition to the *personal development* purpose, some centers also mentioned *professional development* to highlight long-term benefits following graduation. At times, *professional development* was tied to *globalization* and preparing students to be leaders in a diverse society. This framing situated resource centers not only within the institution's educational context but also the societal context.

I also noted less frequently occurring codes such as *building community* and focusing on *interactions between different groups of people* that were tied to some of the other codes such as creating a *space* for students and developing *cross-cultural* skills among students. There were also mentions of *advocacy* and *celebration* though they were not necessarily co-occurring in the mission statements. *Advocacy* included advocating for the needs of underrepresented students and empowering Students of Color, which was inherent in the historical mission of cultural resource centers (Bankole, 2005; L. D. Patton, 2010c). The explicit reference to *advocacy* may have indicated how the centers approached their work from a more critical perspective. The contrast would be the use of *celebration* in the mission statements illustrating a more surface approach to diversity. Another term that may have indicated a more critical approach would be *social justice* which was also less frequent among the mission statements, although it was more prevalent among multicultural centers compared to other center types. Identities other than race were also mentioned, though not as frequently. This seemed to go with the effort of some centers to broaden their target population and make the center more inclusive of different communities, whether it was by sexual orientation, class, or religion. One center's mission statement stated a "promise to prepare people to lead extraordinary lives requires us to truly be a home for all cultures and people, by embracing all races, sexes, gender identities, religions, ethnic backgrounds, socio-economic classes, sexual orientations, and abilities."

Summary of Mission Statement Analyses

To answer the first research question of how cultural resource centers converged and diverged in their mission statements, I sent an online survey that in part asked for mission statements of the centers. The study found that cultural resource centers converged around education, programmatic purposes, cultural, and personal development for broad populations and diverged by center types and their areas of emphases. Rather than focusing on a specific population, which was the primary purpose for many cultural resource centers when they were first established on college campuses, the contemporary cultural resource centers served not only Students of Color but a much broader population including other students, faculty, staff, and community members. Although it was unclear if the mission statements of the centers evolved over time or these were the original mission statements, the cultural resource centers in the study made it a point to connect their purpose to more than a particular racial group. The appeal to a broader population may be a strategy of cultural resource centers to protect against opponents of race-based programs or a response to the evolving diversity conversation. Scholars have noted and argued for inclusiveness in their diversity frameworks while also paying attention to equity for marginalized student populations (Hurtado et al., 2012; D. G. Smith, 2009). Cultural resource centers may either be reacting to these broader social pressures or envisioning new diversity frameworks for not only their centers but also their campuses.

Along with efforts to connect the work of cultural resource centers to a broader population, cultural resource centers explicitly mentioned serving an educational purpose. In doing so, they aligned themselves with the purpose of higher education while also stating benefits for the campus community. Cultural resource centers often served as hubs of cultural knowledge and skills building around multicultural and diversity issues (L. D. Patton, 2010c; Stennis-Williams et al., 1988; D. L. Stewart, 2011). They were also important spaces for recruitment and retention, whether explicitly or implicitly stated in their mission statements. Serving as a safe space, educational and cultural hub, and educating others about difference were all involved in recruiting and retaining Students of Color. In summary, the analyses of cultural resource center mission statements provided empirical support for cultural resource centers across the country having a shared purpose and vision with slight variations by center type thus answering the first research question. While there were great similarities in purpose for cultural resource centers, there was greater variation in how they were structured, as explored through the second research question. The next section explores the organizational structures and resource capacities of cultural resource centers along with the development of the Taxonomy of Cultural Resource Centers in Higher Education.

Organizational Structures

The second research question inquired what were the commonalities and differences in the organizational structures of cultural resource centers. I built off the descriptive information about mission statements and delved deeper into how the centers were structured to meet their mission statements. Prior research gathered information on professional staffing levels and reporting lines of multicultural student services (D. L. Stewart & Bridges, 2011), however, this study focused specifically on cultural resource centers and developed a Taxonomy of Cultural Resource Centers in Higher Education of different institutional models for structuring these centers. For the purposes of this study, I combined the Organizational Assessment Framework (Horton et al., 2003) and the Researching Organizational Impact on Student Outcomes Framework (Berger & Milem, 2000) to identify the following structural elements: reporting lines, staffing, and budgets.

Reporting lines helped to indicate where in the institutional hierarchy cultural resource centers were located and helpful in understanding the power or status of the center (D. L. Stewart & Bridges, 2011). Through the survey (see Appendices C and D), center staff provided the division in which the center was housed, along with the titles of the person responsible for the daily operations of the center and the person's respective supervisor. Staffing data included a breakdown of professional and administrative support staff by full-time and part-time status. Because cultural resource centers were known to have student staffing (Lozano, 2010; L. D. Patton, 2010a), this survey also gathered information on paid and unpaid graduate, as well as undergraduate students. I gathered these data to gain a better understanding of how much staff support cultural resource centers had in fulfilling their missions with an emphasis on paid staff to understand the institutional support given to centers through both financial and human resources.

The budgeting data included the permanent annual allocation, operating budget, programming budget, endowment funds, internal grants, external grants, and discretionary funds for the academic year, 2011-2012. Through initial analysis of the budgeting data, there appeared to be inconsistencies in how participants interpreted permanent annual allocation and operating budgets. The inconsistencies made the data unreliable leading to a focus instead on the programming budgets and the additional types of funds in centers that were outside of their annual allocation (i.e. internal grants, external grants, endowments, and discretionary funds). The programming budget served as proxy for “hard money” the centers received from the institution as opposed to the additional types of funds representing “soft money” and inconsistent financial support.

I analyzed the data using the entire sample to identify similarities and differences in structures, staffing, and budgets. The analyses on the entire sample provided greater understanding of the range of institutional support among cultural resource centers across the country. However, in order for the findings to be useful to institutions, I also conducted analyses utilizing the taxonomy to better understand how different institutional models structured their support for cultural resource centers.

Using institutions as the primary unit of analysis, three models of cultural resource centers emerged to create the Taxonomy of Cultural Resource Centers in Higher Education. The three models included: Model A – institutions with only a multicultural or intercultural center; Model B – institutions with race-specific centers; and Model C – institutions with both race-specific and multicultural or intercultural centers. The embedded units of analysis were the cultural resource centers and used to more closely examine the structural elements of each center in findings related to the overall sample. Results on reporting lines, staffing, and budgets are presented for the entire sample followed by an overview of the taxonomy and findings for each model within the taxonomy.

Overall Findings

Very little is known about the landscape of cultural resource centers around the country although there have been attempts to survey African American cultural centers in the past (Bankole, 2005) and more recently multicultural student services (Shuford, 2011; D. L. Stewart & Bridges, 2011). This study offers empirical evidence for how cultural resource centers are structured, staffed, and financially resourced to serve their institutions. As stated earlier in the analyses with the mission statements, there were varying levels of responses for survey items leading to different sample sizes for each portion of the analyses. Information on the sample is provided in each subsection of results. Findings are presented for the reporting lines, staffing levels, and budgetary information.

Reporting lines. Of the 101 cultural resource centers participating in the survey, 95 cultural resource centers reported information on where their centers were housed. A majority of cultural resource centers (70%) were located in the Student Affairs Division of their institution. There was a relatively even distribution of cultural resource centers housed in Academic Affairs (8%), Multicultural Affairs (9%), and the Provost/Chancellor's Office (7%). That most are in the Student Affairs Division was not a surprising finding given the history of cultural resource centers as primarily co-curricular spaces. Centers housed in Academic Affairs had a primarily academic or scholarly mission while also working with students and traditionally had strong partnerships with faculty and ethnic studies (Hord, 2005c). I also found Multicultural Affairs as a growing division established in higher education institutions to focus on diversity efforts. In some cases, cultural resource centers were housed in the Provost, Chancellor's, or President's

Office. For the purpose of the study, Provost, Chancellor, and President references indicated a more senior level reporting relationship and involvement of senior administrators. Of the centers housed in the Provost/Chancellor/President's Office, six of the seven centers reported to a staff person within that office who specialized in diversity, equity, and access. This structure was distinct from the Multicultural Affairs Division even though the supervisors may have had similar titles.

This study documents the more recent emergence of Multicultural Affairs Office or Provost/Chancellor's Office as homes for campus diversity efforts. Similar to earlier studies (Bankole, 2005; D. L. Stewart & Bridges, 2011), most of the cultural resource centers continued to fall under Student Affairs or Academic Affairs but new structures have also emerged through this data. The development of a centralized diversity office or elevating cultural resource centers to senior administrative levels may be reflective of the increasing importance of diversity work on college campuses (Harper & Hurtado, 2007; Hurtado et al., 2012; D. G. Smith, 2009).

Unlike the division, reporting lines for the cultural resource centers were more varied and often related to the staffing available at the centers. Of the 101 centers in the study, 96 centers reported the staffing title of the person responsible for the daily operations of the cultural resource center and the supervisor title, the person to whom the cultural resource center staff reported. The person overseeing the daily operations of the center held titles such as Coordinator, Assistant Dean of Students, Associate Dean and Director, Dean of Intercultural Development, and Associate Vice President for Student Affairs/Director of Multicultural Affairs. The most common title for the staff person overseeing the center was Director (25%), whether it was a stand-alone title or in combination with another title.

Of particular interest were centers reporting that the title of the staff person was known as Director even though it was classified differently within the institution's staffing classifications, typically at a more junior level. Although the staff person was commonly known as the Director of the cultural resource center, the official standing in the institution, which included their salary, reflected otherwise. This presented an interesting disconnect for these individuals as to how stated institutional commitment to diversity did not always match behavior.

Centers reporting to senior administrators (Dean, Vice Provost) tended to have greater levels of staffing support than those who reported to mid-level managers (Assistant or Associate Dean). The difference in staffing may have indicated the political positioning of cultural resource centers at their institution, with centers higher up in the organizational hierarchy allocated greater human resources. The hierarchy may not be related to the characterization of the office as a general unit or a diversity unit. Most of the cultural resource centers reported to supervisors who oversaw general offices within the institution, such as Student Affairs or Student Life (62%). The remainder reported to administrators whose titles included responsibility for diversity and inclusion (38%). The politics and symbolism of these structures are explored further through the case studies in Chapter 5.

Staffing. Through examination of the staffing data as a whole, there appeared to be an identifiable matrix of professional and student staffing support for cultural resource centers. This matrix is presented in Table 4.5. The 96 cultural resource centers reported staffing information that can be described in a 3 (paid student staff) x 5 (professional and administrative staff) matrix. Among the student staffing support, centers were grouped by having less than five paid graduate or undergraduate student staff, five to ten paid graduate or undergraduate student staff, and more than ten paid graduate or undergraduate student staff. Among the professional and administrative staffing support, the five categories were centers with less than one full-time professional (FTP) staff member (this includes part-time professional staff), only one FTP, one FTP and additional staff (full-time or part-time administrative staff or part-time professional staff), two to four FTPs and other staff, and five or more FTPs with other staff. This staff matrix focused on paid professional, administrative, and student staff to illustrate the institutional support for the cultural resource centers although there were cultural resource centers that had unpaid volunteer student staff to run their programs.

Table 4.5

Matrix of Staffing Profiles (N=96)

	Professional Staff (%)				
Paid Student Staff	< 1 FTP	1 FTP	1 FTP and other staff	2-4 FTP and other staff	5+ FTP and other staff
<5	2 (2%)	8 (8%)	3 (3%)	7 (8%)	4 (4%)
5-10	2 (2%)	7 (8%)	7 (8%)	18 (19%)	8 (8%)
10+			7 (8%)	9 (9%)	14 (15%)

The most common staffing profile of the cultural resource centers in the study, which represented 51% of the centers, were those with at least 2 full-time professional staff, at least one administrative staff, and at least five paid student staff members. As mentioned earlier, centers reporting to more senior administrators tended to have greater levels of staffing. The less common staffing profiles were centers that had one full-time professional staff member or a part-time professional staff with any combination of student workers. While at first glance these findings were encouraging, one must keep in mind the self-selective nature of survey research. The sample included self-selected cultural resource centers, which may have lent itself to center staff with greater staff support more willing and able to complete the online survey. It was difficult to determine how representative these staffing profiles were of the entire population of cultural resource centers, however, this study provided some baseline information for future research.

Budgets. I focused the data analysis on programming budgets as a proxy for "hard money" and access to additional sources of funding through internal grants, external grants, endowments, and discretionary funds as indicators for "soft money." As indicated through the analyses on mission statements, integral components to the missions for cultural resource centers were educational and cultural programming. Examining programming budgets, while not the ideal indicator, provided a glimpse of institutional support for the missions of the cultural resource centers. The analyses on additional sources of funding revealed how cultural resource centers often supplemented institutional support through their hard line budgets with resources from both within the institution and external to the institution. The "soft money" available to the centers were inconsistent and temporary revenue streams for cultural resource centers.

While there was a wide range of programming support for cultural resource centers, most centers worked with limited budgets. Considering programming was a major component of the mission of cultural resource centers, helping to meet its educational and cultural purpose, such a small budget was cause for concern. Budgetary data were the least reported items in the survey with only sixty-six cultural resource centers reporting their budgets. Of the centers reporting programming budgets, 13.6% indicated $0 in programming funds. The median programming budget among the centers was $15,570. The mean programming budget was $32,000 but that was skewed high due to an outlier of $320,000 for a multicultural center at a private institution. Once the outlier was removed, the mean programming budget was $28,000 with a range of $0 - $138,000 and *SD* = $31,000. When viewing these amounts in light of the purpose to serve a broad population, including the entire campus community, cultural resource centers appeared to have meager resources. However, a majority (70%) of cultural resource centers had access to additional revenue streams such as endowments, internal grants, external grants, and discretionary funds. Table 4.6 outlines the number of centers with soft monies and descriptive statistics for each type of funding. Outliers were taken out of the reporting of descriptive statistics but included in the total number of centers.

Table 4.6

Supplemental Funds for Cultural Resource Centers

	# Centers	Range*	Mean*	SD*	Outliers
Internal Grants	32	$500-$50,000	$9,000	$10,000	$110,000
Discretionary	22	$100-$20,000	$6,000	$5,000	$41,000 and $50,000
External Grants	18	$2,000-$71,500	$16,000	$20,000	$400,000
Endowments	10	$24,000-$160,000	$83,000	$48,000	$328,000

* Outliers were removed from the reporting.

The most common type of additional financial support was internal grants (49%). Internal grants were not necessarily regular allocations to the cultural resource centers although there may have been instances where agreements were made to support ethnic student organization programming through student government funds. Internal grants were additional funds provided by the institution through other units, which may have included special allocations from sources such as a campus-wide Diversity Fund. One multicultural center at a private institution represented the outlier of $110,000, which was not surprising considering private institutions generally had greater resources. The findings indicated a wide range in support coming from internal grants indicating that centers may be somewhat to very reliant on campus partners and institutional sources of funding to supplement their programming efforts.

Discretionary funds were the next most common source of additional support for cultural resource centers. They were unrestricted money that may come from gifts, rollover amounts from the previous year, or special allocations from the division. A third of cultural resource centers (*N* = 22) had access to discretionary funds beyond their operating and programming budgets. There were two outliers of $41,000 and $50,000 reported by a race-specific center at a public institution and a multicultural center at a private institution, respectively. Discretionary funds while common had a narrower range than internal grants.

As institutions of higher education move towards greater privatization, cultural resource centers may also be expected to seek out external grants. In this study, a little over a quarter of cultural resource centers (*N* = 18) received external grant support indicating their fundraising efforts. Of particular note was the $400,000 external grant that established a cultural resource center from the ground up. The grant funded operating costs and programming for the center. It was unclear if the $400,000 was distributed over a period of time or if this was a lump sum given for one year. In examining the other external grants beyond the outlier, there was a much wider range and standard deviation than internal grants indicating that although there were smaller numbers of centers seeking external support, those who did received a higher payoff.

The least prevalent type of additional funding support was endowments indicating this area of fundraising was not as well-developed among cultural resource centers. Endowments represented long-term funding sources for cultural resource centers and resources centers may have only limited access to during the year. As expected, endowments were more common for centers in private institutions. The largest endowment and the outlier to the group was a $328,000 fund for a multicultural center at a private institution. The endowments represented the widest variation among the soft monies available to cultural resource centers but may be a growing trend in the future particularly as these centers may represent the primary source of engagement for Students of Color and provide an avenue for development officers to cultivate new donors.

The cultural resource centers in this study reported a range of funding support, with some notable outliers indicating they were well-resourced. Typically the cultural resource centers with the largest amount of additional funding were located in private institutions. Lastly, while 70% of cultural resource centers indicated access to "soft monies," roughly a third of the entire sample had a combination of funding support to supplement their regular allocations. These findings may be interpreted either as the centers being resourceful in gathering additional financial support for their work or as institutions not adequately funding cultural resource centers. In either case, institutions may not have provided cultural resource centers with enough consistent financial support to meet its educational mission of serving the campus leading them to seek additional resources. The most promising sources of revenue appeared to be external grants and building endowments. The former may be a competitive process, particularly for larger grants from foundations, corporations, or governmental agencies. The latter could be a more worthwhile and long-term initiative for cultural resource centers especially since students often viewed these spaces as home away from home.

The overall findings using cultural resource centers as the embedded units of analysis revealed the diversity in the organizational capacities of cultural resource centers. Although a majority of the centers were housed in Student Affairs, different models have begun to emerge. The different reporting lines offer alternative structural models for institutions to consider, especially if they want to increase the visibility of cultural resource centers.

The survey data also confirmed the relationship between staff titles and staffing profiles, with more prominent titles related to greater human resources. The consistency between status and resources would be important for institutions to consider if they want to make sure they are fulfilling their commitments to diversity through their support of cultural resource centers. For centers that had missions of serving the entire campus community, the budgetary information would need to be compared against more explicitly generalized campus units to see if they were sufficiently institutionally funded or if they had a greater burden to seek out supplemental funds. In an effort to offer more useful data broken down by institutional models, the remainder of this chapter presents findings based on the models within the Taxonomy of Cultural Resource Centers in Higher Education.

Taxonomy of Cultural Resource Centers in Higher Education

As institutions continue to explore ways to improve campus climates, institutional models for cultural resource centers provide options of how to structure support spaces for Students of Color. Three primary models and three sub-models comprise the Taxonomy of Cultural Resource Centers in Higher Education. The taxonomy developed from analysis of cultural resource centers by center type, the presence of other resource centers at the institution, staffing profiles, and staff responsibilities. I grouped ninety-seven centers in the study into the three categories of the taxonomy based on the structural data available from the survey: Model A (39%) – institutions with a multicultural or intercultural center to work with Students of Color, Model B (35%) – institutions with race-specific centers, and Model C (26%) – institutions with both race-specific and multicultural or intercultural centers. As a point of clarification, the Taxonomy of Cultural Resource Centers in Higher Education focused on resource centers whose responsibilities included supporting Students of Color or providing expertise on the history, culture, and contemporary issues pertaining to Communities of Color. Table 4.7 presents the distribution of the taxonomy by institutional control and size using the institution as the unit of analysis.

Table 4.7

Taxonomy by Institutional Control and Size (N=79)

	Institutional Size				
Institutional Control	Less than 5,000 students	5,000-9,999 students	10,000-19,999 students	20,000 students	Total
Public	1	1	11	35	48
Model A [x only]	0	0	4	12	16
Model B [y only]	0	0	4	12	16
Model C [x + y]	1	1	3	11	16
Private	15	4	9	3	31
Model A [x only]	12	4	6	0	22
Model B [y only]	2	0	2	1	5
Model C [x + y]	1	0	1	2	4

Notes. Institutional size data reflect IPEDS enrollment for 2011-2012. The use of x only represents a single multicultural or intercultural center. The use of y only represents only race-specific centers.

Among public institutions in the study, all three models were represented in equal proportions, whereas Model A, x only, was the most prevalent model among private institutions. While there was disproportionate representation of small, private institutions in the study with Model A, there was not a statistical difference within private institutions on the models by institutional size. The sample sizes for the private institutions were so small that the representativeness and generalizability of these findings would be dubious.

Rather than using the model to generalize, the Taxonomy may be used to offer institutions different structural approaches to support Students of Color. Peer institutions by size and control serve as starting points for comparisons of institutional models and benchmarking of resources. For this study, the creation of the taxonomy also informed the selection of case studies for Chapter 5 to provide an in-depth look at how the structures of cultural resource centers related to their abilities to meet their mission statements. However, for the remainder of this chapter, the emphasis is on the structural data gathered through the survey to offer institutional benchmarks for each model.

Model A – Multicultural Center Only

Multicultural centers represented the largest sample in the study, which also revealed the greatest variation in structure, staffing, and budgeting. Some of the multicultural centers had origins as race-specific centers and then evolved to meet the changing demographics of college campuses, which began to appear in the 1980s (Princes, 2005; Stennis-Williams et al., 1988). Others were created specifically to serve a larger population that extended beyond racial identity groups and into other social identities. Thirty-eight institutions had a multicultural center to work with Students of Color.

Within this model, three significant sub-models emerged based on the staffing profiles of the centers illustrated in Figure 4.2. Model A1 included centers employing one full-time professional or less (includes part-time), comprising 26% of the sample of multicultural centers at institutions with only one cultural resource center for Students of Color (i.e. Model A). Model A2 included multicultural centers with multiple full-time professionals whose responsibilities are divided programmatically. This model was the most common sub-model at 66% of the sample of centers in Model A. Model A3 represented multicultural centers with multiple full-time professional staff whose titles indicated responsibilities focused on particular racial groups. This model was the least common at 8% of the sample in Model A.

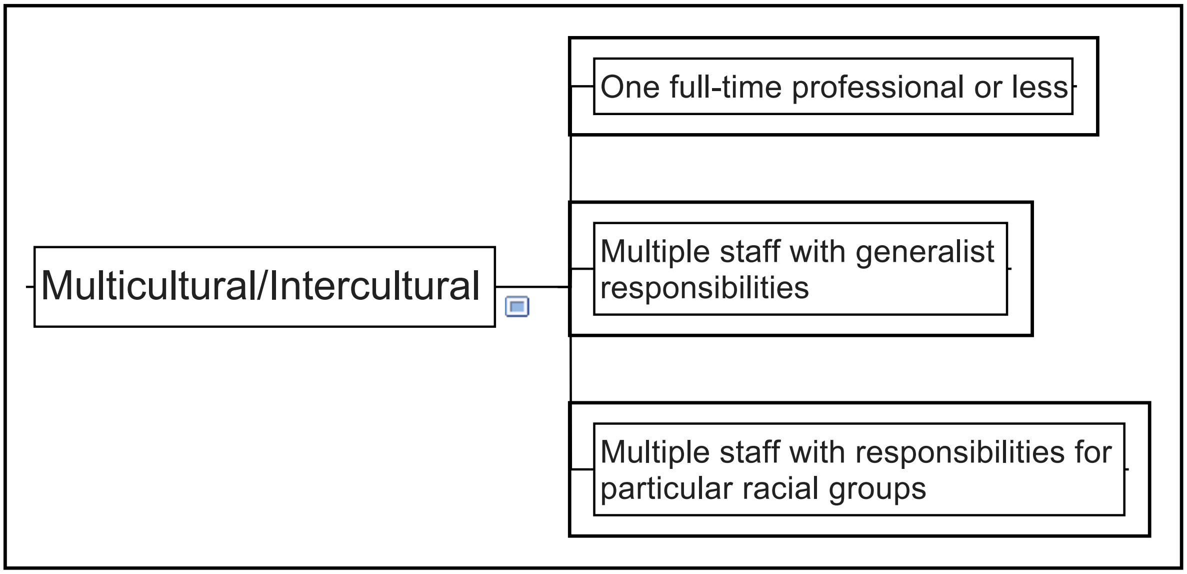

Multicultural/Intercultural
One full-time professional or less
Multiple staff with generalist responsibilities
Multiple staff with responsibilities for particular racial groups

Figure 4.2. Model A and sub-models of institutions with only a multicultural center.

A majority (61%) of the multicultural centers were the only cultural resource centers on their campus as indicated in survey responses. The remainder reported a range of 2-4 additional resource centers on the campus including Women's Resource Centers, Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transgender (LGBT) Centers, and International Centers. When the multicultural center was the only cultural resource center on campus, a majority of the centers mentioned working with LGBT students. Almost half included working with students on faith issues and over half with White students. The survey accommodated for a broader interpretation of cultural resource centers when asking respondents to indicate how many other cultural resource centers were present at the institution. Participants listed the additional resource centers through an open response item, thereby allowing me to parse out the findings for the taxonomy.

Similar to prior research, centers and offices working with multicultural student populations typically encompassed more than Students of Color (Shuford, 2011; D. L. Stewart & Bridges, 2011). Survey responses indicated the additional student populations included international students, first-generation college students, women, and students with disabilities. There appeared to be a wide target population for multicultural centers, confirming earlier findings from the mission statements about serving a broad population.

Reporting lines. The predominant model of divisional homes for multicultural centers was in Student Affairs, as indicated in Table 4.8. This table details where centers were housed using the institution as the unit of analysis since the taxonomy was based on the institutional structure rather than on individual cultural resource centers. In instances where there were multiple centers at a single institution in the study, one center was selected as the primary case to represent the home division for all the centers.

Table 4.8

Reporting Divisions by Taxonomy

	Division							
	Student Affairs		Academic Affairs		Multicultural Affairs		Provost/Chancellor	
Taxonomy	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*	*N*	*%*
All (N=77)	59	71	5	6	8	10	5	6
Model A (n=38)	29	76	1	3	5	13	3	8
Model B (n=19)	13	62	3	14	2	10	1	5
Model C (n=20)	17	85	1	5	1	5	1	5

There was a larger number of cultural resource centers in Model A reporting to Multicultural Affairs and the Provost/Chancellor's Office than the other models, although the difference in percentage was small. Considering many of the cultural resource centers were student services oriented, Student Affairs was a logical home for many of the centers (Shuford, 2011; D. L. Stewart & Bridges, 2011). Multicultural Affairs as a division was a relatively more recent development so it followed that it was not as prevalent a home for multicultural centers although if this survey were to be done again in another five to ten years, we may find different results. As institutions move to centralize their diversity efforts, cultural resource centers may find restructuring in their future. In the course of this study, one institution from the case studies transitioned its cultural resource centers from Academic Affairs to Multicultural Affairs, known as the Office of Diversity, which is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5.

Having access to senior administration indicated a potentially greater political influence for the multicultural or intercultural center compared to centers reporting to mid-level managers such as Directors or Assistant/Associate Deans. The positioning may also give an indication of how the institution both prioritized and approached its diversity initiatives. While Smith (2009) recommended distributed leadership and commitment to diversity, she also promoted greater coordination of institutional diversity initiatives which could include Chief Diversity Officers. How close cultural resource centers aligned with these structures and initiatives were therefore important to examine, even in the title and responsibilities given to those who operated the cultural resource centers on a daily basis. Half of the centers in Model A reported to a senior administrator - Vice Provost/Chancellor/President (26%) or to an Assistant/Associate Vice Provost/Chancellor/President (24%). The remainder reported to Deans (16%), Assistant/Associate Deans (16%), or Directors (8%). Additional supervisor titles, which were not as common, were Dean of Multicultural Affairs, Assistant to the President for Diversity, Chief Diversity Officer & Special Assistant to the President for Multicultural Initiatives, and Chief of Staff – Human Resources. From these analyses, approximately half of multicultural centers in this model reported to senior administration potentially indicative of its status in the institution.

Supervisor and staff titles tended to indicate the center's position in the institutional hierarchy as well as the center's staffing profile. The higher up on the institutional hierarchy the center was, the greater the likelihood the center had multiple professional and administrative staff to operate the cultural resource center. Director titles also tended to relate to more staffing and managerial responsibilities that were not present in centers led by Coordinators. The staff titles within this model were overwhelmingly Directors (76%). Among the 29 Directors, four held dual titles such as Associate Vice Provost or Assistant Dean, which may indicate generalist responsibilities beyond the daily operations of the cultural resource center. Assistant or Associate Director was the next most common title (16%). The remaining staff titles were Assistant/Associate Dean with only one Coordinator level position in Model A.

Staffing profiles. Model A represented the extremes in the staffing profiles for cultural resource centers. Multicultural centers in this model were generally well-resourced in professional, administrative, and paid student staff. However, there were examples of multicultural centers that were severely under-resourced with only a half-time professional staff person (see Table 4.9). One multicultural center with a part-time professional staff only had one unpaid undergraduate student staff. The other two centers with part-time professional staff were better resourced with a range of 7 to 10 paid undergraduates. The least resourced centers in terms of professional staff also had limited student staff. Table 4.9 presents a breakdown of staffing profiles within Model A using cultural resource centers as the units of analysis.

Table 4.9

Matrix of Staffing Profiles for Model A in Percentages (N=38)

	Professional Staff				
Paid Student Staff	< 1 FTP	1 FTP	1 FTP and other staff	2-4 FTP and other staff	5+ FTP and other staff
<5	3	8	3	18	3
5-10	5		5	13	8
10+			5	13	16

Considering the broad population served by the multicultural or intercultural centers within Model A, one may have expected there to be multiple professional staff members with the training and expertise to work with the diverse needs of these students. Not only were multicultural centers expected to meet the common and unique needs of Students of Color, they were also asked to do diversity training across social identities, work with LGBT students, students with disabilities, first-generation college students, and address gender issues. Considering intersectionalities in social identities, it was unclear if the centers approached working with these student populations in overlapping or separate ways.

Even if a professional staff person had the content expertise and skills in all these areas, one may reasonably conclude a single person could still not adequately meet all these needs. So how many more staff members would be needed to have the training and expertise to work with the populations of interest to the cultural resource centers? One Multicultural Center in the case studies offered insights into these staffing challenges in light of institutional shifts to expand its mission and target populations.

Budgeting. Cultural resource centers in Model A had modest access to financial resources as indicated by their programming budgets and access to additional funds. Of the 28 centers reporting programming budgets, the range was \$0 - \$320,000 with the \$320,000 being the outlier. Half of the centers reported programming funds from \$0 - \$15,750 with four centers having over \$100,000 for programming. The top quartile had programming budgets of over \$50,000 making Model A the most highly resourced in programming out of the three models. Three multicultural centers from private institutions had endowments ranging from \$30,000 - \$328,000 although it is unclear how they established the endowments (private or corporate donors).

Roughly one-third of multicultural centers in Model A reported internal grant monies ranging from $500 - $110,000. The internal grants typically were under $12,000. The outlier of $110,000 was from a multicultural center at a private institution as well. Almost a quarter of centers reported external grants ranging from $2,000-$50,000. Thirty-eight percent of centers reported discretionary funds of $100 - $50,000. The centers with larger amounts of discretionary funding typically were located in private institutions although there was a center in a public institution with over $10,000 in discretionary funds. Almost 60% of the centers in Model A reported access to some additional funding, even though there was a wide range of support. A little less than a third of the centers reported having access to a combination of additional funding support.

From these findings, a majority of multicultural centers in this model appeared to supplement their existing regular budgets with grants and discretionary funds both within and external to the institution. However, compared with the other models in the taxonomy, centers in Model A tended to have a larger programming budget although they were the least likely of the three models to have additional funding. Access to larger programming budgets may be related to the broader population the centers were expected to serve compared to institutions with only race-specific centers or a combination of centers. While on the surface, the Model A programming budgets were larger in comparison to individual cultural resource centers in other models, they were typically less when compared to the aggregate institutional resources for centers within Models B and C.

Model B – Race-specific Centers

The second model within the taxonomy highlights institutions with race-specific cultural resource centers focusing on particular racial groups. For the purpose of this study, the following racial groups were represented in the centers: African Americans, Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders (AAPI), Latino, and Native American. In this sample, there were multiple centers at a single institution in Model B, which was useful in interpreting the findings. Thirty-four centers in the study were at institutions with race-specific centers only. In this model, institutions chose to provide dedicated resources for particular racial groups, often establishing more than one race-specific center (see Figure 4.3). There were only a couple instances where the institution had only one race-specific center. Over 90% of the institutions in Model B had at least 2 cultural resource centers on their campus. Typically there were 3-4 race-specific centers to work with the racial groups listed earlier.

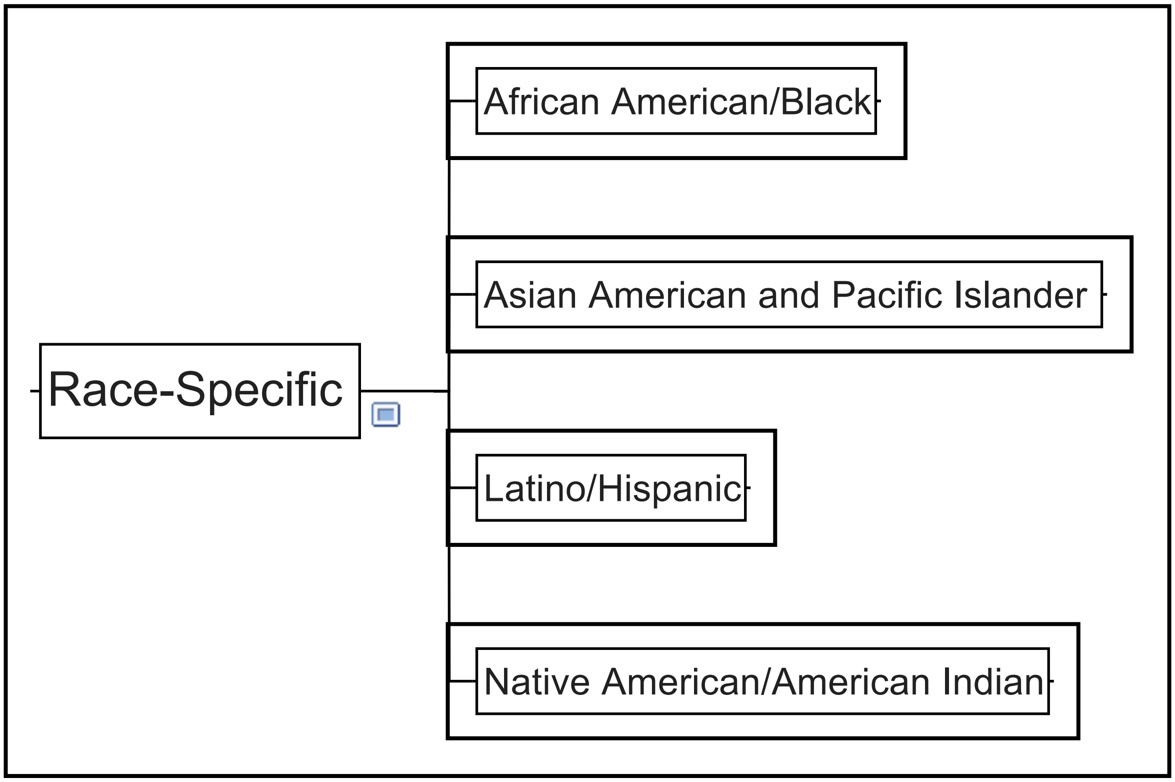

Race-Specific
African American/Black
Asian American and Pacific Islander
Latino/Hispanic
Native American/American Indian

Figure 4.3. Model B – Institutions with race-specific centers.

Similar to Model A, many of these institutions also had centers to work with LGBT students, women, and international students even if they indicated their centers also served those student populations. What follows is a discussion on the reporting lines and budgeting for centers in Model B. Although I used the institution-level data to create the Taxonomy, I analyzed structural data (reporting lines, staffing profiles, and budgets) using individual cultural resource centers. The use of center data as the embedded units of analyses was important considering not all centers at a single institution held the same structure.

Reporting lines. Model B had a larger percentage of centers in this model reporting to Academic Affairs compared to the other models in this study (see Table 4.8). Academic Affairs may be a more likely home for Model B centers depending on the impetus for the creation of the centers (academic support, recruitment, retention) and any connections they may have with the establishment of ethnic studies programs or departments (Bankole, 2005). As indicated in the mission statement analyses, recruitment and retention were key functions for Native American resource centers and academic support appeared more frequently in African American and AAPI centers than multicultural centers. But there may be additional academic support offices on the campus to work with Students of Color making Student Affairs a preferable home still for race-specific centers considering 62% still reported Student Affairs as their division home.

There was a much wider distribution in the titles of supervisors for race-specific centers than for multicultural centers in Model A. The most common supervisor titles for cultural resource centers in Model B were either Vice Provost/Chancellor/President or Director, each representing 27% of the sample. The next most common supervisor titles were Assistant/Associate Vice Presidents (24%) and Assistant Deans (18%). In some cases, Assistant Vice Chancellors held dual titles of Deans. In about half of the cases for both the Vice

Provost/Chancellor/President and Director, the titles indicated responsibilities for diversity and inclusion. Otherwise, the centers reported to a general office such as Undergraduate Affairs or Student Life. The outlier among the supervisors was the Dean of Undergraduate and Graduate Students. The range of supervisor titles, most notably the larger percentage of Model B centers reporting to Directors compared to Model A, may indicate lower status for race-specific centers compared to multicultural centers. This finding corresponds with the staffing titles for the centers.

A majority of the staff titles for the centers were Directors (67%) with about a quarter of the directors holding additional titles like Dean, Business Operations Specialist, Assistant Dean, Associate Dean, and Assistant Director. While the Business Operations Specialist seems out of place, there was no other information to provide greater context on this staffing title in the survey responses. The other staff titles were Coordinator/Program Director (21%) and the remaining were Assistant Directors (9%) with one outlier of a Dean of Intercultural Development. There was a much larger proportion of Coordinators in Model B than in Model A, which was aligned with the larger presence of Directors as supervisors. Coordinator level staffing also related to fewer human resources allocated to those centers, explored next in the staffing profiles.

Staffing profiles. A slight majority of the race-specific centers in Model B had multiple full-time professional staff, administrative staff, and paid student staff, as indicated in Table 4.10. Many of the centers had administrative staff support, either full-time or part-time, as well as significant paid student staff. The most common staffing profile was to have two to four FTP and administrative staff with five to ten paid student staff (graduate and undergraduate).

Table 4.10

Matrix of Staffing Profiles for Model B in Percentages (N=33)

	Professional Staff				
Paid Student Staff	< 1 FTP	1 FTP	1 FTP and other staff	2-4 FTP and other staff	5+ FTP and other staff
<5		6%	6%	12%	3%
5-10		12%	9%	21%	3%
10+		3%	12%	6%	6%

Relating the staffing profiles with the reporting lines findings, all Coordinator-led race-specific centers had only one full-time professional staffing the space. Other centers with one FTP include those led by Directors. Approximately 48% of race-specific centers had one FTP representing the largest proportion of centers across the different models. Institutions with only race-specific centers in this study were more likely to have limited staffing compared to other institutional models, including those with only multicultural centers. While on the surface this may look bleak for race-specific centers, the combined resources of staff focused on each racial group still outnumbered institutions having a single multicultural center staffed by one FTP. In the end, Students of Color may receive more support through Model B if the institution has multiple race-specific centers in place.

Budgeting. The race-specific centers in Model B had a more narrow range compared to Model A in terms of its programming funds. Twenty-three centers had programming monies in the range of $0 - $100,000 with a median of $18,000. The top quartile of the group had programming budgets of at least $40,000 with an even distribution among public and private institutions. Only three of the centers held endowments with a range of $24,000 to $160,000. Interestingly, the center with the largest endowment was located in a public institution whereas the other centers were in private institutions.

Almost 60% of centers had internal grants in the range of $1,000 - $25,000. Most of the internal grants were $7,000 or less. Of the larger grants, a majority were centers in public institutions. A much smaller portion of centers had external grants, approximately 27%. External grants ranged from $5,000 - $71,500 with most of the centers also in public institutions. Over a third of the centers had discretionary funds of $350 - $41,000. Most of the centers had discretionary funds of $4,000 or less. The outlier in this group was a race-specific center with access to a multi-year grant and this center had the largest discretionary fund and external grant.

An overwhelming majority of centers in Model B had access to some level of additional funding (82%). Given the modest programming support race-specific centers had, it was understandable many centers supplemented their budgets. This may have entailed collaboration with other campus units or applying to grants both internal and external to the institution. Almost half (46%) of the centers held a combination of additional funding indicating the resourcefulness of race-specific centers in Model B.

These findings indicated race-specific centers may not have had enough regular institutional support for their programming and services and therefore relied on other revenue streams. However, there are benefits to having multiple revenue streams for race-specific centers, including increasing the visibility of the center, building partnerships with other departments or foundations, and accessing unrestricted funding. Institutions using Model B for supporting Students of Color need to be attentive to the level of institutional support through "hard money" as opposed to any reliance on "soft money," particularly in times of resource constraint.

Although seeking additional funding is generally viewed as a positive attribute, institutions may attempt to move race-specific centers away from institutional support and towards a greater reliance on external sources. Not only does this convey a message that cultural resource centers are not as central to the institution and therefore undeserving of institutional support, but also the center staff may be pulled away from the educational programming and services work of the center in order to fundraise and write grant proposals. In one case, which is explored further in the next chapter, a race-specific center received external grants to fill gaps in programming and staffing following reduced state funding. But the grants also allowed the center to innovate and grow. At the same institution, additional funding for the centers also represented one-time allocations as new directors were hired. These context-specific scenarios illustrate the complexities in interpreting funding data for cultural resource centers based solely on survey results and underscores the importance of case study research.

Model C – Race-specific and Multicultural Centers

The least common model in the study and what could be interpreted as the most resourced of the models was the structure of race-specific resource centers and multicultural centers. Twenty-five centers in the study were cultural resource centers fitting Model C (see Figure 4.4). The multicultural center in this model may be structured as intercultural or a social justice office but was named as multicultural for easier discussion.

In some cases, this model had only one race-specific center and one multicultural center. There were four institutions where there was one race-specific center and a separate multicultural center to work with other Students of Color. Eighty-percent of the institutions had at least three centers that were a combination of race-specific and multicultural, as well as women's centers, LGBT centers, or international centers. This likely indicated the institutional philosophy of having targeted support services for each specialized student population or interest area.

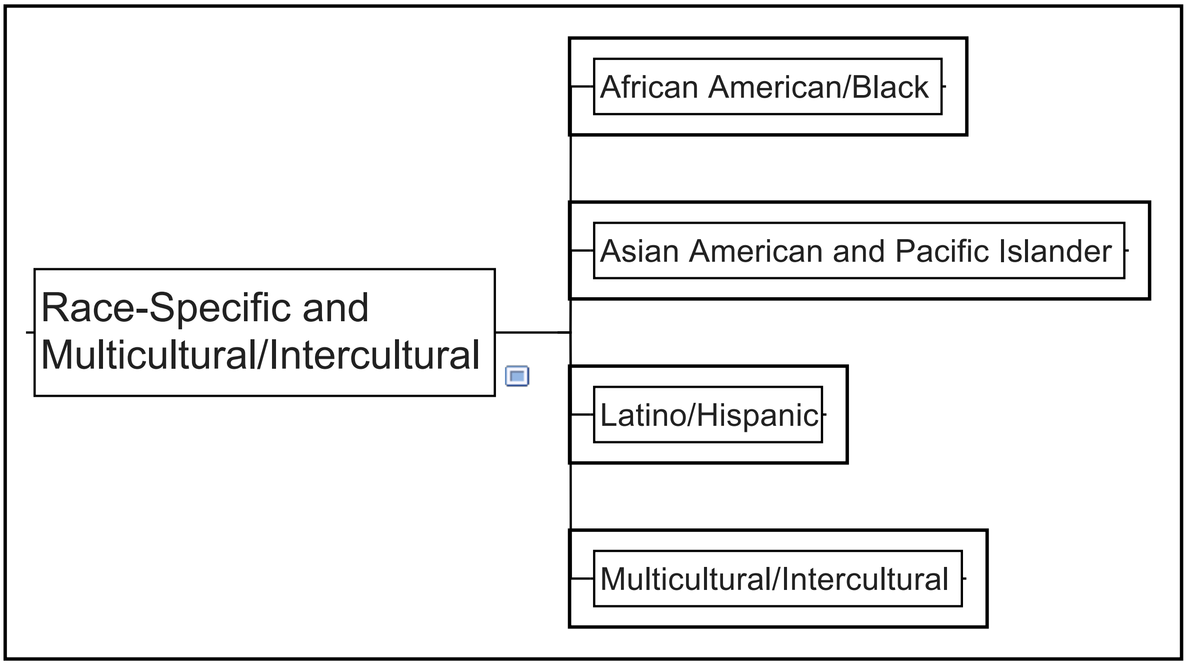

Race-Specific and Multicultural/Intercultural
African American/Black
Asian American and Pacific Islander
Latino/Hispanic
Multicultural/Intercultural

Figure 4.4. Model C – Institutions with race-specific and multicultural centers.

Reporting lines. As mentioned earlier, reporting lines indicated the institution's philosophical approach for cultural resource centers, status of the center, and accompanying institutional resources. More than the other models of the taxonomy, centers within Model C were housed under Student Affairs (85%). There was only one institutional example of centers reporting to Academic Affairs, Multicultural Affairs, and the Provost/Chancellor (please see Table 4.8). This was not surprising considering how many of the centers were student affairs oriented. By having both race-specific and multicultural centers, there needs to be an even greater level of centralization or coordination of efforts in working with Students of Color.

Overall, there was a range of supervisory titles that spanned the institutional hierarchy and appeared to more closely reflect the patterns of supervision found in Model B. There was a mix of supervisors whose primary responsibilities included diversity and multicultural affairs. The most common supervisor title was Director (28%) although about half of the Directors held dual titles of either Assistant Vice Chancellor or Associate Dean of Students. The multiple titles could indicate higher status for those who are Assistant Vice Chancellor compared to Associate Dean of Students, however, this interpretation would be dependent on the overall organizational hierarchy as some institutions may have Dean of Students offices operating at the same level as a Vice Chancellor. Other supervisory titles included Assistant/Associate Vice President (24%), Vice Chancellor/Provost (20%), Dean of Students (8%), or Associate Directors (8%). The outliers were an Associate Dean of Students, Chief Diversity Officer, and Provost.

Among the centers in Model C, the most common title for the staff person responsible for the daily operations of the center was Director (68%). Two of the Directors held a dual title of Assistant Dean. Two were titled Executive Director but grouped with the Directors in the analysis. Almost a quarter of the centers were led by Coordinators, which aligned with reporting to Directors. There was only one case of a Coordinator reporting to the Assistant Vice Provost for Access and Equity. The outliers in leading the centers were one Associate Provost and one Community Center Specialist. There appeared to be a wide range in staffing titles for Model C and similar to Model B, particularly in the prevalence of Coordinators leading the cultural resource centers. In institutions choosing a mixed model of race-specific and multicultural centers, there does not appear to be any uniformity in how they were structured not only in the institutional hierarchy but also in their staffing.

Staffing profiles. Model C, similar to Model A, represented the spectrum of staffing profiles. However, given how there were multiple cultural resource centers at the institutions within this model, the situation did not appear as disconcerting when looking at the centers with limited FTP staff. As illustrated in Table 4.11, the most common staffing profile for centers in Model C was to have 2-4 FTP and other staff along with 5-10 paid student staff (undergraduate and graduate). In fact, a majority of the centers had numerous student staff to support their work, both paid and unpaid. This finding confirmed how many cultural resource centers rely on student staff to operate their programs (Lozano, 2010; L. D. Patton, 2010a). Even for the center with a full-time administrative staff member, there was a paid graduate student staff to assist with the programs. There also appeared to be a relationship between the larger numbers of professional and administrative staff support with paid student staff. Centers that were highly resourced in professional and administrative staff were also highly resourced in paid student staff. These centers may be examples of institutions placing a high priority on diversity and supporting Students of Color not only through the presence of multiple centers but also in its staffing.

Table 4.11

Matrix of Staffing Profiles for Model C in Percentages (N=25)

	Professional Staff				
Paid Student Staff	< 1 FTP	1 FTP	1 FTP and other staff	2-4 FTP and other staff	5+ FTP and other staff
<5	4%	12%		4%	
5-10		8%	4%	32%	4%
10+			8%	12%	12%

Budgeting. Centers within Model C appeared to be less financially resourced than centers in other models. Fifteen centers reported a programming budget range of $0-$70,000 with a median of $7,500. The top quartile of the centers had programming budgets over $35,000. Only four of the centers held endowments ranging from $48,000 - $106,000. Centers with endowments were present in both public and private institutions in this model.

Centers at public institutions appeared to be more represented among those holding internal and external grants compared to private institutions. Sixty-percent of centers had internal grants ranging from $1,200 - $50,000. The larger internal grants were in centers located at public institutions. One-third of centers had external grants ranging from $5,000 - $400,000. The outlier of $400,000 was a race-specific center at a public institution and comprised the entire funding support for that center. It was unclear in the study whether the centers at public institutions sought out internal and external grants in proactive or reactive manners. The acquisition of grants at public institutions may be indicative of the growing privatization of higher education and reduced state funding.

Only 20% of centers had access to discretionary funds ranging from $2,000 - $10,000. These were pretty modest funds compared to the centers in the other models within the taxonomy. For centers in Model C, over 70% had access to supplemental funding and a third had a combination of additional funding sources. Interestingly, centers within this model were more likely than centers in Model A to acquire additional funding although Model B had the highest percentage of centers with access to supplemental monies.

The institutional funds, "hard money," for Model C centers while modest at the individual level were comparable to or exceeded Model A allocations. The funding was reflective of institutional priorities so it would follow that institutions with multiple cultural resource centers would also allocate greater financial resources for those spaces than institutions with only a multicultural center. Looking at the aggregate however does not alleviate concerns for funding the individual centers. Given the modest programming budgets, Model C centers had push factors to pursue additional funding support for their programs. Their resources may not match what is needed for the needs of their respective student populations or their missions to serve the entire campus community. Lastly, as mentioned in the discussion of Model B centers, there were benefits and drawbacks to “soft money” in supporting their programs and services. While cultural resource centers were resourceful in acquiring additional funding, the effort it would take to seek out that funding may pull them away from other responsibilities for the centers, as is illustrated in the case studies in Chapter 5.

Conclusion

An embedded case study design allowed for a more complete picture of a research phenomenon by combining quantitative and qualitative methods (Scholz & Tietje, 2002). In the first half of the study design, the surveys provided empirical data on the purpose and structure of cultural resource centers in four-year non-profit institutions of higher education. The first research question asked about convergences and differences in mission statements for cultural resource centers. The analyses indicated more commonalities than differences in the purpose of mission statements across institutional control and center type. Cultural resource centers shared a common purpose of educating the campus community on diversity issues and serving a broad population beyond what may be indicated by their name or by their historical mission to serve Students of Color. They also served cultural and programmatic purposes as well as assisted with the personal development of students.

Native American resource centers stood out as centers whose mission was explicitly stated as serving a recruitment and retention function for Native American students in addition to serving a broad population similar to the other centers. However, this did not mean that other center types did not also serve a recruitment and retention function. The articulation of the purposes to serve as educational, cultural, and academic hubs were implicitly part of the recruitment and retention function of cultural resource centers and contributed to a positive campus climate. Many of the centers approached their work through education and empowerment of Students of Color thereby equipping them to succeed academically. More unique aspects of mission statements included advocacy, professional development, and leadership development although the centers may offer these services without explicitly stating them. All of these functions intertwined to support students holistically and have been demonstrated to improve students experiences on campus (Bankole, 2005; Brown, 2005; Ferguson & Thomas-Rashid, 2011; L. D. Patton, 2006, 2010a; Shuford, 2011; Toya, 2011; Welch, 2009; Yosso & Benavides Lopez, 2010).

In understanding structural similarities and differences for the second research question, a Taxonomy of Cultural Resource Centers in Higher Education categorized three primary institutional models. Model A illustrated how institutions create a multicultural center to serve multiple student constituencies including Students of Color. Model B used race-specific centers to work with particular racial groups, such as African Americans, Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, Latinos, and Native Americans. Model C was a combination of race-specific and multicultural centers which may give the impression that institutions were highly resourcing their campuses in working with Students of Color through cultural resource centers.

In comparing the organizational structures of the three models in the taxonomy, there were variations in reporting lines, staffing profiles, and budgets. The commonalities in the cultural resource centers include dreporting to Student Affairs, having a combination of full-time professional and paid student staff, and receiving supplemental funds to their programming budgets. Models B and C, which have race-specific centers, were more likely to be led by Coordinators than Model A which may indicate a lower status in the institutional hierarchy for those centers. Additionally, centers in Models B and C were more likely to have fewer human resources than Model A. Considering the survey data were primarily analyzed using the embedded unit of analysis, individual cultural resource centers, these findings need to be interpreted with caution. The aggregate resources allocated to serving Students of Color or educating the campus community on Communities of Color were perhaps better indicators of institutional support than looking at individual resource center data. However, not all the cultural resource centers within a given institution participated in this study making institutional comparisons of staffing and budgeting difficult.

Survey data can only reveal a partial picture of the realities of the cultural resource centers, even in trying to understand the organizational elements of the centers. Therefore, multiple case studies offered a deeper understanding of how the different models in the Taxonomy of Cultural Resource Centers in Higher Education operated within their organizational capacities. Four institutions with cultural resource center participants from the survey data were selected to represent the three different models. Two of the institutions fit within Model A – specifically Model A2 and Model A3. In Chapter 5, the analyses of the case studies are presented and address the third and final research question on the interactions between cultural resource centers and the campus climate.

CHAPTER 5: CASE STUDY RESULTS

Four case studies are presented to address the final research question: how do the structures of cultural resource centers affect the strategies used in addressing campus climate? Through data analysis, the case studies revealed a more complex picture of how structures and strategies interacted as dimensions of the campus climate rather than as separate forces to address the climate. Therefore, the third research question was modified to: how do cultural resource centers interact with the campus climate to meet their stated missions? Each case, rather than being representative of its category within the Taxonomy of Cultural Resource Centers in Higher Education, was selected for variation in reporting lines, institution type, and region.

Within the Taxonomy of Cultural Resource Centers in Higher Education, there are three models: (1) Model A - a single multicultural or intercultural center; (2) Model B - race-specific centers; and (3) Model C - race-specific and multicultural or intercultural center. For this study, two cases were selected within the single multicultural or intercultural resource center model to demonstrate different approaches to diversity. The remaining two cases reflected the institutional model of race-specific resource centers and the model with both race-specific and multicultural or intercultural centers.

In order to place the case studies within a framework, a brief review of the Multi-contextual Model of Diverse Learning Environments (MMDLE) is presented (Hurtado et al., 2012) with organizational behavior theories (Berger, 2000; Berger & Milem, 2000) overlaid onto the interplay between the MMDLE dimensions. The highlights of the institutional case studies are the dynamic relationships between the climate and cultural resource centers as examined through the center's structure and strategies. This chapter utilizes both the primary unit of analysis, the institution, and the embedded units of analysis, the individual cultural resource centers, to understand the interactions between the centers and the campus climate.   I selected the case studies to offer a point of comparison between the taxonomy models, however, each case had its own unique context.

This analysis was unique since other studies have not applied organizational behavior theories and the MMDLE to understanding cultural centers (Hord, 2005c; L. D. Patton, 2006; Shuford, 2011; D. L. Stewart & Bridges, 2011). In addition, prior research on campus climate tends to focus on one or two dimensions rather than the interactions between the dimensions (Hurtado et al., 2012; Hurtado et al., 2008). It is important to note that the names of offices, divisions, and committees are altered to mask the identities of the institutions and only a brief description of the case is provided. More detailed case descriptions are attached in the appendices (Appendices 5A-5D). This chapter closes with a cross case analysis and propositions about cultural resource centers. The final chapter synthesizes results from the embedded case study and discusses implications for research and practice.

Overlaying Organizational Behavior Onto MMDLE Dimensions

As noted by scholars (Hurtado et al., 2012; Hurtado, Milem, et al., 1998), the dimensions of campus climate interplay fostering improved climates for diversity. The Multi-contextual Model of Diverse Learning Environments (MMDLE), an evolution of the campus racial climate framework, is a comprehensive model in understanding internal and external forces in creating a diverse learning environment that influences student learning outcomes for the twenty-first century (Hurtado et al., 2012). The MMDLE identifies external contexts to the campus climate including the socio-historical, policy, and community contexts, as well as external commitments. The external contexts reflect larger environmental forces outside of the institution. Within the institution, there are five dimensions that help to make up the climate – compositional diversity, psychological, behavioral, organizational, and historical (Hurtado et al., 2012; Hurtado, Milem, et al., 1998; Milem et al., 2005).

The compositional diversity refers to the presence of Students of Color, as well as Faculty and Staff of Color (Hurtado et al., 2012; Hurtado, Milem, et al., 1998). The psychological dimension encompasses the attitudes and perceptions of campus stakeholders. The behavioral dimension refers to the interactions and relationships between different groups. The organizational dimension includes the structure, policies, and practices of the institution (Hurtado et al., 2012; Milem et al., 2005). The historical dimension captures the institution's legacy of exclusion or inclusion, which may also be characterized at the institution's culture related to diversity. The five dimensions help to frame the curricular and co-curricular processes on campus thereby leading to student outcomes such as lifelong learning, multicultural competencies, retention, and achievement.

Prior research on cultural resource centers has already demonstrated the centers role in producing student outcomes referenced in the MMDLE (L. Jones et al., 2002; Lozano, 2010; L. D. Patton, 2005, 2006; Pewewardy & Frey, 2002; Toya, 2011; Welch, 2009; Yosso & Benavides Lopez, 2010). This study turns attention specifically to the overall climate, its influence on the cultural resource centers, and the centers' influence on the climate. The centers' interactions with the climate are based on interviews, survey data, and document analyses, with only one of the cases having a climate survey measuring perceptions of the cultural resource center and its influence on campus.

The following case studies offer examples of different organizational behavior frames describing the interactions between the centers and the climate as well as its relationship to how the centers address their stated missions. The frames are used as a way to characterize the behaviors exhibited at both the center and institutional levels. While institutions need to take a multi-dimensional approach in creating a diverse learning environment, the organizational behavior frames can help institutions and cultural resource centers assess the dynamics already at work in their context before moving forward. In the following case studies, the dynamic relationships between the dimensions of the climate reveal influences on how the cultural resource centers are structured as well as how they are equipped to affect the climate.

In an attempt to characterize the ways the dimensions of climate may interplay, I utilize organizational behavior theories and overlay them onto the MMDLE dimensions based on the data from the institutions and cultural resource centers while attempting to remain consistent with the original concepts. As discussed in Chapter 2, there are five organizational behavior frames I use in this study: bureaucratic, collegial, political, symbolic, and systemic (Berger, 2000; Berger & Milem, 2000). These frames are discussed within the context of the case studies and accompanied by figures highlighting the centralized or prominent dimensions.

Intercultural Center Exhibiting a Cohesive Environment

The Intercultural Center (IC) at Simon College exhibited multiple frames of organizational behavior that Berger (2000) characterized as a cohesive environment. The multiple frames include the collegial, symbolic, and bureaucratic frames. This first case was illustrative of an institutional context where the combination of organizational behaviors advanced a diversity agenda addressing the dimensions of the diverse learning environment proposed by Hurtado and colleagues (Hurtado et al., 2012; Hurtado, Milem, et al., 1998; Hurtado et al., 1999).

The IC served as the educational resource on diversity matters for this small, private, faith-based institution. Although the center began out of institutional initiative with very limited staffing and funding, the IC experienced growth in staffing and resources aligned with the institution's prioritization of diversity work over the past several years. The center had three full-time professional staff members and 30 paid student staff to assist with its programs, however, one of the professional staff positions was vacant at the time of the study. Simon College was founded on the principles of social justice, which were closely aligned with the IC mission of creating an inclusive environment and educating the campus on social justice. For a more detailed case study description including the history of the center and greater institutional context, please review Appendix P.

This first case was characteristic of collegiality and symbolism found in many small, private institutions (Berger, 2000; Berger & Milem, 2000; Ferguson & Thomas-Rashid, 2011). The creation and growth of the IC reflected how much the MMDLE dimensions interplayed to respond to the climate and to change the climate for not only Students of Color but also the entire campus community. While the collegial and symbolic frames best described the interplay between MMDLE dimensions, the bureaucratic frame emerged as the institution focused its efforts on the organizational dimension. The bureaucratic frame was reflected in the creation of greater infrastructure to support diversity efforts and the use of structures and policies to further the diversity agenda, which included the IC as a major player.

The symbolic frame highlighted the centrality of the institutional legacy of exclusion and inclusion interplaying with the perceptions about difference (psychological dimension) and the interactions across difference (behavioral dimension), as well as the structural changes (organizational dimension) as seen in Figure 5.1. The figure was adapted from the campus racial climate model illustration by Milem, Chang, and antonio (2005) although the dimensions were also part of the MMDLE (Hurtado et al., 2012), which I used as the primary framework for this study. The symbolic frame was evident in the creation of the IC and its growing status at the institution. As a faith-based institution touting its commitment to social justice and creating an environment where all individuals may thrive, Simon College fell short of its values and mission. Students, faculty, staff, and an external accreditation agency called the institution to task over a period of a few years. The discontent with the institution's diversity efforts led one student affairs professional to propose the creation of the IC as a way of increasing cultural programming and support for Students of Color. Students of Color were skeptical about the IC as an institutional structure with one full-time professional staff and a half-time professional staff meant to work with them.

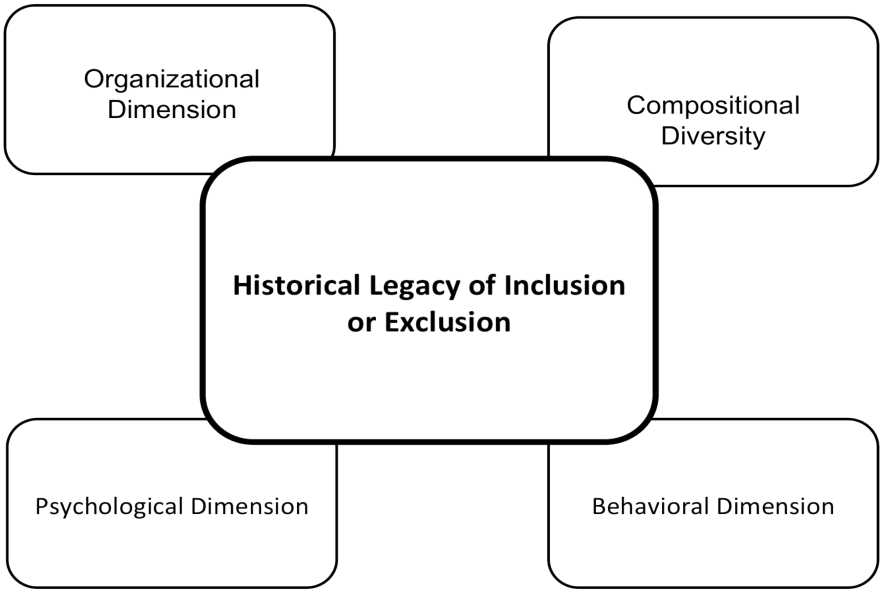


Figure 5.1. Symbolic frame illustrated through the internal dimensions of the Multi-contextual Model of Diverse Learning Environments.

At the same time, faculty felt ill-equipped to instruct the growing compositional diversity at the institution leading to a resolution for mandatory diversity training for faculty and staff. During an external accreditation review, a notice of concern also commented on Simon College not fulfilling its commitment to diversity and social justice, representing an external force (systemic frame) that was present in the case but appears to be a small component compared to the existing internal forces. The collegial frame helped in understanding the interplay between the organizational, psychological, and behavioral dimensions as institutional stakeholders appeared to drive the development of the IC as a space to not only serve Students of Color but also as a campus diversity resource (see Figure 5.2 for an illustration highlighting the prominence of the three dimensions within the collegial frame). Students, faculty, and staff often served on committees together and had a voice in institutional decision-making. Students protested every couple years pushing for improvements in how the college responds to student experiences with the climate. These protests often extended beyond issues of race and ethnicity revealing the evolving definition of diversity and social justice as interconnected issues of marginalization (Hurtado et al., 2012; D. G. Smith, 2009; D. L. Stewart & Bridges, 2011).

When students at Simon College protested to connect the struggles of Students of Color with women students and LGBT students, they pushed for greater representation on university committees. The institution responded that students already had seats on university-wide committees but that they would work on creating greater transparency as to how the students would be selected to serve and improve communication regarding the committees. The responsiveness of the institution to students was reflective of the institutional values and its commitment to social justice noted in the discussion of the symbolic frame. The structure of student involvement, along with faculty, staff, and administrators, demonstrated the bureaucratic frame used to institutionalize the collegial and symbolic frames.

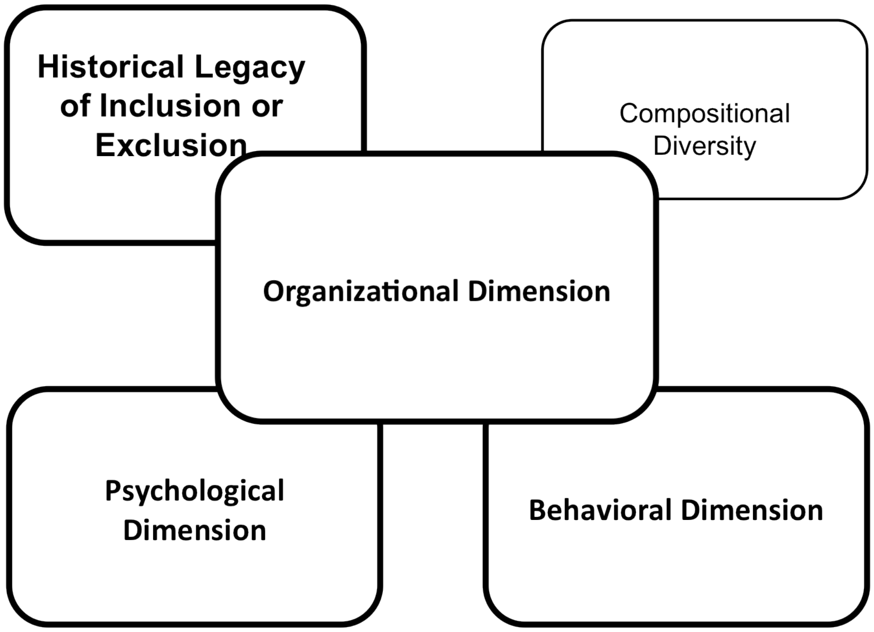

Historical Legacy of Inclusion or Exclusion
Compositional Diversity
Organizational Dimension
Psychological Dimension
Behavioral Dimension

Figure 5.2. Collegial frame illustrated through the internal dimensions of the Multi-contextual Model of Diverse Learning Environments.

As the institution prioritized an agenda of inclusivity and social justice, the bureaucratic frame figured more prominently in the centering of the organizational dimension as it interacted with the legacy of the institution (see Figure 5.3). Simon College created infrastructure placing the IC Director in leadership positions on campus-wide committees related to diversity. The IC as the diversity expert served as a contrast to the institution's legacy of exclusion reflected in its other campus units. This onus of responsibility led the IC Director to redirect focus from the interpersonal dimensions of the MMDLE (psychological and behavioral) to the institutional dimensions (organizational and historical).

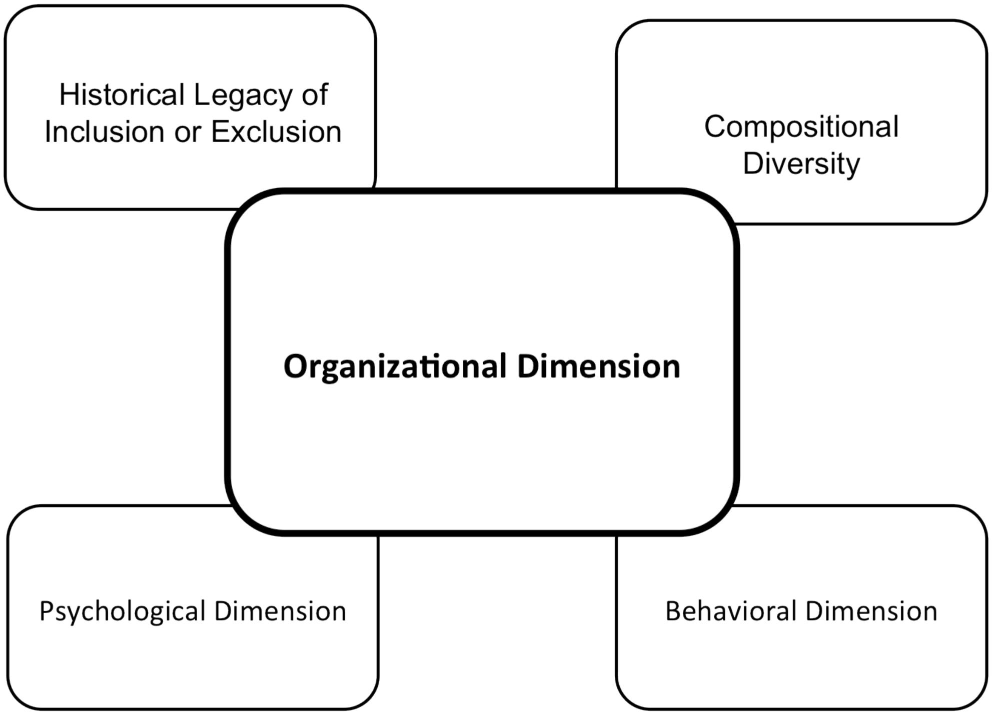

Historical Legacy of Inclusion or Exclusion
Compositional Diversity
Organizational Dimension
Psychological Dimension
Behavioral Dimension

Figure 5.3. Bureaucratic frame illustrated through the internal dimensions of the Multi-contextual Model of Diverse Learning Environments.

When the IC Director first started, she focused her efforts on creating programming and support services for students aligned with the intercultural mission. She looked for campus collaborators among students, faculty, and staff given the collegial environment of the college. Although she reported to the Assistant Dean for Student Life in Student Affairs, the IC Director was pulled onto the Committee on Inclusive Excellence, a President-appointed and Provost-led committee of senior administrators and deans. This rise to prominence paved the way for the IC Director to serve as the campus diversity expert and have a broader reach through allocating Diversity Funds and institutionalizing diversity initiatives. For example, the Bias Incident Response Team started as a diversity initiative and is now led by the IC Director to address discrimination on campus.

The IC Director recognized that more staff support was needed to meet the growing responsibilities and requested staff support. In response, Simon College allocated greater financial and human resources (organizational dimension) for the IC by creating a new Assistant Director position to spearhead intergroup dialogues for first-year residence halls, a new initiative. So although there was a greater attention to the organizational dimension of the climate, the infrastructures were created to address the psychological and behavioral dimensions thereby improving student experiences of the campus climate. Underlying the diversity push however was the symbolic frame where the IC and other stakeholders drew heavily from the institution's founding principles and values of social justice.

Overall, the symbolism, collegiality, and bureaucracy in the institution appeared to be more prominent than the other frames at Simon College lending itself to what Berger (2000) characterized as a cohesive environment thereby influencing student outcomes. The results of these interactions included the positioning of the Intercultural Center as the diversity clearinghouse for the campus and leader in creating a more welcoming climate for students. The campus conducted its own climate survey every two years and found the climate improved for students, faculty, and staff during this period of IC growth and greater diversity infrastructure. While Simon College exhibited multiple frames of organizational behavior (and interactions between multiple MMDLE dimensions) in advancing its diversity agenda, the next case of a large, public university demonstrated how a multicultural center was structured and operated within one dominant frame.

Multicultural Center Exhibiting the Political Frame

The second case of the Multicultural Center at Lumpkin University exhibited a dominant political frame in how the cultural center and the climate interacted. The Multicultural Center's mission was to teach diversity through student engagement and promote student success at Lumpkin University, a large, public comprehensive university. Since the center started twenty years ago, it evolved from focusing on race, ethnicity, and gender to extending its programs and services to areas of sexual orientation, disability, and interfaith. The Multicultural Center moved five times in the institutional hierarchy between Student Affairs and Multicultural Affairs (a division directly under the Provost) as a result of political tensions and maneuvering. For the past five years, the center settled in Multicultural Affairs while maintaining informal ties to Student Affairs given their student services function within the institution. The positioning of the center within the Division of Multicultural Affairs increased its visibility on campus and leadership role on diversity issues.

Over time, the Multicultural Center grew in staffing, while its financial resources fluctuated due to leadership transitions at both the center and senior administrative levels. The center at the time of the study had a large staffing profile consisting of five full-time professional staff, two part-time trainers, two graduate student staff, five to six undergraduate student staff, and two unpaid interns. The combination of full-time and part-time professional staff, along with the overall philosophical approach (multicultural), situated the center to serve student populations in more specialized ways than the Intercultural Center at Simon College. For a more detailed case study description and center profile, please refer to Appendix Q.

Contrary to the first case, Lumpkin University and the Multicultural Center appeared to reflect primarily a political frame as a description of the interplay between the dimensions of the campus climate. The historical and compositional diversity dimensions interplayed with the psychological and behavioral dimensions informing the dynamics of competing interests within the institution. However, the psychological and behavioral dimensions were centered along with its interplay with the organizational dimension (see Figure 5.4). The prominence of the psychological and behavioral dimensions led to the structure of the Multicultural Center as an all-encompassing diversity programming unit with sizeable staff support.

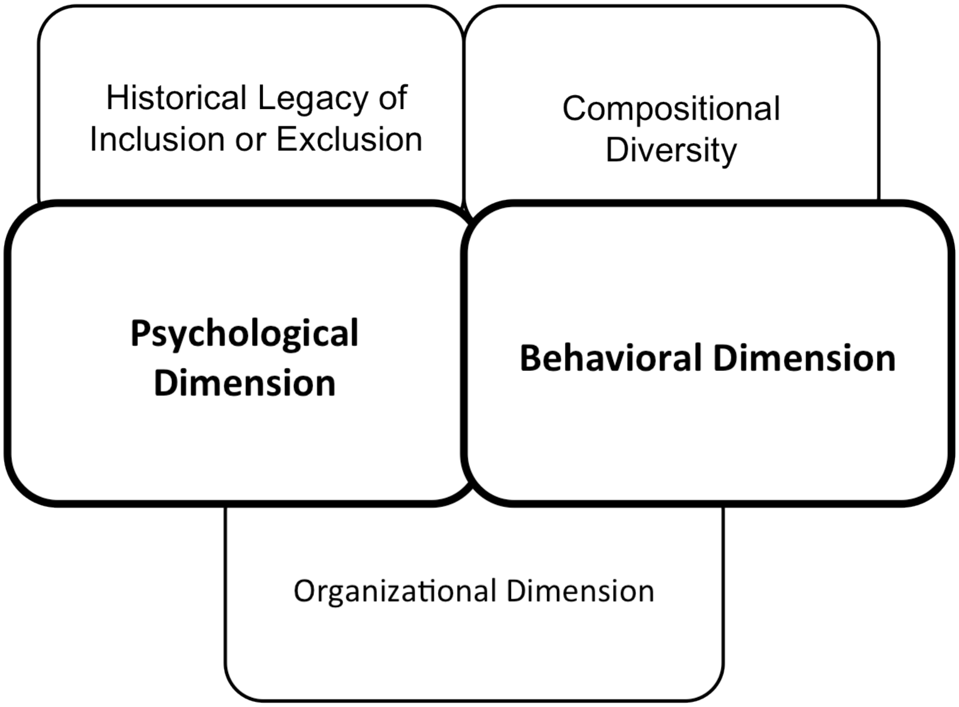

Historical Legacy of Inclusion or Exclusion
Compositional Diversity
Psychological Dimension
Behavioral Dimension
Organizational Dimension

Figure 5.4. Political frame illustrated through the internal dimensions of the Multi-contextual Model of Diverse Learning Environments.

The political frame is predominant through the case of Lumpkin University. Students of Color, primarily African American and Latino, pushed the institution to create a safe space for them in what they felt was a hostile climate. LU created the Multicultural Center in 1993 in response to the student activism. The first center director was an African-centric woman who knew how to politically position the center as indicated by the initial $300,000 programming budget, which decreased to $75,000 following her departure. The racial politics extended into the divisional home for the center leading to the initial move of the Multicultural Center from Student Affairs to Multicultural Affairs. By placing the Multicultural Center in the Division of Multicultural Affairs, the center was seen as the campus diversity expert beyond their work with students. These infrastructural changes at LU stemmed primarily from the interplay between the psychological and behavioral dimensions to inform the organizational dimension reflective of the political frame.

The political frame has typically been described as a focus on power and control of organizational resources (Berger & Milem, 2000), however, in this study, I have also linked the interplay between the psychological and behavioral dimensions of the MMDLE to explain the driving forces for creating and shaping the Multicultural Center. The awareness of power dynamics and marginalization (psychological dimension) combined with the activism and coalition building between Students of Color (behavioral dimension) to create the center (organizational dimension) also fit within the more general understanding of the political frame. In turn, the Multicultural Center informed students' understanding of racism and community empowerment that may have encouraged greater attention by students on the organizational dimension of the climate. The Multicultural Center Director and the staff worked to educate and empower students to be critical of the institution. However, one of the frustrations has been students' lack of follow through on their demands for institutional change.

As alluded to in the philosophy of working with students, the feelings of marginalization and the need to advocate for greater resources extended to the staff of the Multicultural Center further demonstrating the political frame. Throughout the interview, the center director addressed climate issues using political language such as "having a seat at the table" and "playing her card." Strategizing and competing for resources were part of the general approach to growing the center. Not only was the philosophical approach indicative of a political frame, but also the Multicultural Center addressed issues of political empowerment, education, and representation through its programs and services. In addition, the center created networks of support for faculty, staff, and students by different affinity groups reflecting the organizational dimension interplaying with the psychological and behavioral dimensions. The bulk of the center's work focused on the psychological and behavioral dimensions of the climate, striving to create greater interactions for students across difference, including interactions within their own racial or ethnic groups since these groups were not homogeneous.

Similar to the first case, the Multicultural Center Director was involved in campus diversity efforts, spending much of her time in campus-wide committees. She was pulled into conversations with senior administration on diversity issues and was very aware of the historical, psychological and behavioral dimensions of the climate from her perspective as a former student leader, alumna, and current staff member. The political frame used by the Multicultural Center was related to the increased visibility and responsibilities of the center, also indicated by the prominence of the center on LU's website and recruitment materials for Students of Color.

Whereas the Intercultural Center at Simon College focused efforts on intergroup dialogues and diversity trainings while also providing some support for Students of Color, the Multicultural Center offered programming that focused on particular racial groups and aspects of identity reflected in their other four programming areas (gender, sexual orientation, disability, and interfaith). This was due in part to the interactions between the psychological, behavioral, and organizational dimensions whereby the African American, Asian American, and Latino students each advocated and expressed different needs from each other. The center therefore focused on supporting and empowering each community according to their experiences within the campus climate. For example, the African American and Latino communities held heritage banquets but the Asian American students hosted an empowerment conference to connect with other Asian American student leaders in the region. In more recent years, the African American students asked for a Black Student Leaders Retreat for incoming students, student leaders, alumni, faculty, and staff to create a greater sense of community and positive self-concept. With these programs, the Multicultural Center had the staff capacity to support Students of Color in ways they needed and there were less programs that were cross-cultural or intercultural. This second case illustrated how the Multicultural Center's interactions with the climate were driven by the psychological and behavioral dimensions in different ways from the first case and reflective of a dominant political frame.

Race-Specific Centers Moving to Centralization

The case of the three race-specific centers at State University represented multiple organizational behavior frames based on the history and staff for each center as the institution moved to centralize its diversity efforts. State University (SU) was comparable to Simon College in its transition state of creating greater infrastructure however the former institution was looking to coordinate its existing efforts rather than develop new initiatives as in the latter institution. State University (SU), a large, public, research university, is home to three cultural resource centers, established over a period of thirty years as each student population mobilized. The Latino Cultural Center began in 1976 to serve as a home away from home for Latino students and as a cultural hub. The African American Cultural Center, established in 1991, served a similar function for African American students although the center was eventually seen as primarily an exhibit space and storehouse of cultural knowledge. The last of the race-specific centers to be established was the Asian American Cultural Center in 2005, which had a wider range in its programs and services than the other two centers. Whereas there were academic support services for African American and Latino students at SU, Asian American students only had the Asian American Cultural Center for academic and personal support, thereby creating a structured space inherently different from the other two centers (please see Appendix R for a more detailed case study description).

This third case illustrated a combination of the political and bureaucratic frames due in part to the presence of multiple race-specific centers and the institution's evolving approach from targeted programs and services for Students of Color to broad-based diversity programming for everyone. Similar to many other large universities, the institution was decentralized and units loosely coupled. The creation of cultural resource centers illustrated the decentralization and piecemeal fashion in which SU approached supporting Students of Color. The historical legacy, compositional diversity, psychological, and behavioral dimensions for each racial group were the driving forces in creating separate cultural resource centers (organizational dimension), which informed their strategies to enhance the climate through the MMDLE interpersonal dimensions. The dynamics were similar to the second case of the Multicultural Center, where the political frame was dominant, with the psychological and behavioral dimensions centered.

One striking example of the political frame was in the establishment of the Asian American Cultural Center. The director described her experience when she first arrived on campus,

> When [AACC] opened, we did a, kind of outreach meeting with, yeah, the Latino, African American, Native American support programs. And one of the first questions they asked was, "why do students need [AACC]? What history of racism have Asian Americans faced?" And I was personally floored that that was being asked. And I kind of went into a stunned, like, "oh." I didn't expect that. One colleague even said, "oh, you know, 'cause Asian Americans, most of them are adopted by white families so they're white."

This lack of knowledge of the complexity within the Asian American community led to a different approach for the Asian American Cultural Center compared to the other centers on campus. The AACC not only offered programs directed towards students but also professional development workshops for faculty and staff about the Asian American community. The center held workshops educating the campus on the Model Minority Myth since there were people with very limited understandings of the Asian American student population and the issues they faced.

There was also an acknowledgment that Asian American interests were tertiary to African American and Latino interests. Even in the face of a climate that misunderstood Asian Americans, the director served as a strong advocate for both communities in campus wide meetings around recruitment and retention. She relied heavily on coalitions and faculty partners to push forward the agenda for the center and for all the centers.

Another example of the political frame was when State University considered consolidating the race-specific centers into a single multicultural center. The institution thought they were making a rational decision following statewide budget cuts, however, they did not consider the political ramification. Students, faculty, and staff spoke out against the decision noting existing marginalization of Communities of Color, which would be further exacerbated by the consolidation. In this example, external forces could have driven the organizational dimension of the climate by restructuring the centers, however, the psychological and behavioral dimensions manifested in stakeholders advocating for all the centers had a greater influence on the outcome.

The organizing efforts by students, faculty, and staff led to a series of institutional changes reflective of the political frame. The institution, informed by a review of the centers from stakeholders, created an Office of Diversity (Multicultural Affairs Division) and transitioned the centers out of Academic Affairs during the course of this study. Additional infrastructure (i.e. attention to the organizational dimension) was evidenced in a Diversity Network with other campus units and the Centers for Diversity, which included the race-specific centers along with the Women's Center, LGBT Center, and Disability Center. Aligned with the political frame, the new infrastructures (organizational dimension) were driven primarily by the interplay between the psychological and behavioral dimensions of the climate, with stakeholders seeing the need to create organizational change. The infrastructures also created greater opportunities for collaboration between the centers and interactions across differences.

Consequently, the increase in diversity infrastructure at the institution lent itself to the bureaucratic frame and the centering of the organizational dimension. The organizational structure, in the form of a centralized office and greater coordination among the cultural resource centers, then shaped the strategies of the cultural resource centers and its attention to not only the psychological and behavioral dimensions but also to the organizational dimension. The differing frames, political and bureaucratic, were most evident in the contrast of the center directors. The center director who was at the institution since the center's founding had seen the political frame in operation, whereas, the newer directors who arrived after the infrastructure was created used a primarily bureaucratic frame often referring back to the institutional structure and values in meeting their missions.

The new infrastructure came with a philosophy that the cultural resource centers served all students and not just their particular student populations. Therefore, many of the programs for the African American and Latino Cultural Center were public, educational programs open to everyone (bureaucratic frame). The Asian American Cultural Center had a different approach, stemming from Asian American students feeling invisible and underserved by the institution and leading the center to create greater infrastructure for support (political frame). There was a larger number of programs to specifically support Asian American students, student leaders, and student organizations compared to those offered to the African American and Latino communities out of the cultural centers.

The different frames were also evident in the lack of consistency in training and expertise between the cultural resource center staff. Each center director had particular academic and professional expertise that spoke to the strengths of their respective centers, as well as their missions. The drive to hire each of the directors represented the contrast between political and bureaucratic frames. The Asian American Cultural Center director was hired to respond to the psychological and behavioral dimensions, as well as the organizational dimension of the climate. The accompanying Asian American Cultural Center staff members had expertise to focus on student development and creating infrastructure to support Asian American students at SU. This was different from the new directors and staff for the African American and Latino Cultural Centers, who came after much of the infrastructure was put in place. Their backgrounds were aligned with the programmatic approaches of the centers, which were both oriented towards artistic expression and education. There was a vision for all the centers to serve the entire campus rather than any particular racial group, however, it was apparent through the interviews only new staff members saw efforts as organizationally and mission driven whereas the more senior director attributed this approach to fear of attacks on race-based programs and politically driven.

The multiple organizational behavior frames at SU reflected not only the evolution of the institution's approach to creating a diverse learning environment but also the existence of multiple cultural resource centers that had only recently started to coordinate and collaborate.

The decentralization and reactionary nature of SU has changed to a more centralized and proactive approach reflecting the political and bureaucratic frames as it related to the cultural resource centers. The next case, while similar in having the political and bureaucratic frames, offered a different illustration given the prominence of the symbolic frame at the institution.

Prominence of the Symbolic Frame

The fourth and final case illustrated the symbolic frame in addition to the political and bureaucratic frames. Calimlim University, a large, private, research university was home to four cultural resource centers – three race-specific and one intercultural center. The Intercultural Resource Center served as the initial home for Students of Color, however, as the population grew (compositional diversity), students advocated for greater resources that could focus more on their specific needs (psychological and behavioral dimensions). Latino and Asian American students protested and established the Latino Resource Center and Asian American Resource Center. The institution, on its own initiative, established a Black Resource Center to create a level of equality in organizational structures for Students of Color. The four centers reported to Student Affairs and had parallel staffing structures and mission statements (see Appendix S for greater case study details).

Similar to State University, Calimlim University initially attended to the organizational dimension of the climate as an influence of the psychological and behavioral dimensions of the climate (political frame) then after setting up an initial structure relied on the organizational dimension to create further structure (bureaucratic frame). The strategies of the centers focused on the psychological and behavioral dimensions of the climate with some attention to the organizational dimension of the climate. The Intercultural Resource Center (IRC), as the longest standing center, created infrastructure changes by infusing intercultural work throughout academic departments and other campus units. The attention to creating change in the organizational dimension was driven by the psychological and behavioral dimensions as manifested through the needs of the students, faculty, and staff.

The uniqueness of this case, however, was in the symbolic frame apparent at Calimlim University. The historical legacy of inclusion and exclusion encompassed the institutional culture that ignored parity for Students of Color in favor of entrepreneurialism as if it was a race-neutral concept or had race-neutral consequences. The symbolic frame highlighted the interplay between this historical legacy with the other MMDLE dimensions. This frame centered the historical legacy and existing institutional culture as driving forces.

One illustration of how the symbolic frame informed the institutional approach to creating a diverse learning environment related to the physical space allocations for the race-specific centers. The symbolic frame centered the institution's prioritization of donor interests over the needs of Students of Color thereby informing the organizational dimension and approach towards space allocation. The institution received a multi-million dollar donation to renovate the building housing the three race-specific centers. However, the donation came with a stipulation that the main floor of the building, where the centers were located, must be opened up to the general campus (i.e. White students). The three centers' office spaces would then be relocated to the basement, also termed the ground level, with multi-purpose space on the main level. In addition to being in the basement, each center would have its own separate entrance which connoted a negative feeling for students, alumni, and staff of being further marginalized by the institution.

In the process of discussing the move, the students let the alumni take the lead in expressing concern over the displacement with center staff having very little input with senior administration. During the renovations, the race-specific centers moved to a corner area of the student union removed from student traffic with extremely reduced facilities. Whereas the staff used to have private office spaces, all three full-time staff shared one small office space in the temporary location with no privacy for confidential conversations. The communal lounge, computer lab, and library space for each center were no longer available. In its place was one lounge to be shared by the Black, Asian American, and Latino Resource Centers along with one small computer lab to be used by all three centers' student workers. In this instance, the legacy of exclusion has influenced the organizational dimension whereby Students of Color were not seen as a central constituency for the institution and relegated to a lower status in its allocation of physical space. The renovations were scheduled to occur over a period of a year and a half leaving entire cohorts of students unaware of the physical resource they used to have at their disposal.

One of the center directors reflected on the process of moving the cultural resource centers to the basement.

> by the time I came on, the plans had been settled and my understanding is the funder, the primary funder who's anonymous wanted to create an open space. So this was part of the funding strategy. The funding was coming with the contingency that the centers had to move downstairs. My argument for that was, I'm not sure if the funder or other people understood the centrality of the centers being that students will really come to [Latino Resource Center], come to [Black Resource Center], come to [Asian American Resource Center], to hang out with the staff. Not to necessarily be in a particular space, you know. They wanted to be in the space where the staff were, and they didn't really care what the

> space looked like. You know, so that's why the equity issue was never an issue. But it was made an issue to defend moving it downstairs. But it was never really an issue.

This insight from one of the center directors illustrated the disconnect between the work of the centers and the administration's understanding of their purpose and value. The overriding culture and value placed on funders over the centers was interpreted as a lack of understanding rather than an intentional move to further marginalize Communities of Color. The directors knew there were limited options to renovate the building and knew this funding option would benefit their centers in the long run even though the symbolic placing of the centers in the lower level was negative.

The administration, in an effort to somewhat placate the students and the centers, offered programming funds to be used to increase traffic into the new space and to produce collaborative programs. At the time of the interviews, there were also discussions of creating a larger space in the lobby for a restaurant even though the initial argument by the institution was to create a larger communal space for the students to just gather. The institution's concern with the donor and their business model approach overshadowed the needs of Students of Color and the significance of the cultural resource centers. The interplay between the historical dimension, external forces (donor), and the organizational dimension was more prominent in the relocation of the centers than interplay with the other MMDLE dimensions. However, as noted in the interviews, if the students had taken the lead in organizing for the centers, it may have been possible they could have had greater impact on the organizational outcome given the institution's perspective of students as consumers and the potential negative publicity resulting from student protests. Instead, the centers experienced reduced capacities to meet their missions during the renovations and may be at even greater disadvantage after they move to the basement.

Calimlim University was more centralized than the other large universities in the study. Unlike State University, where the institution responded in a way where resources were distributed unevenly, CU was very intentional about creating "equal" race-specific centers for Students of Color reflecting both the political and bureaucratic frames. One center director remarked how the institution attempted to create equal but not equitable spaces to support the different racial groups. Considering the compositional diversity for African Americans, Asian Americans, and Latinos varied greatly and the presence of other campus units that worked with specific student populations, the director did not believe all the centers needed to be structured the same. For example, Asian American students comprised over half of the population of Students of Color on campus yet had the same staffing profiles as the other race-specific centers. Not only was the staffing similar but also the mission statements indicating the centers are cultural resource hubs for the campus and places to support the academic, social, and personal development of students. The centralization of efforts was more indicative of interplay between the MMDLE dimensions with the organizational dimension centered.

In these instances, although the political frame was evident in the creation of the centers, the symbolic and bureaucratic frames appeared to be more prominent in the interactions of the centers with the climate, oftentimes leading to a hindrance in their capacity to fulfill their missions. Unless students are able to navigate the politics and organize, the prevailing business culture and entrepreneurial spirit (symbolic frame) will continue to shape the work of the cultural resource centers with their reduced capacities. The exception in this case was the Intercultural Resource Center (IRC) where the political and collegial frames more accurately described its interactions with the climate, although elements of the symbolic frame were also evident. The IRC was the oldest cultural resource center with the same director for the past sixteen years.

While the center was on the periphery of the campus, the facility provided many more benefits that outweighed the challenges. The IRC, affectionately referred to as "grandma's house," was a four-story house with a backyard often used to bring diverse constituencies together. Students who found the climate generally unwelcoming saw the IRC as a safe place where they could receive support from their "family" and a place where they could engage in conversations around diversity. These spaces for dialogues also served as avenues for students to become politicized.

The collegial frame was evident through the IRC collaborations with the school of education, international programs office, and community organizations, just to name a few. The partnerships allowed the center to be involved throughout the campus and surrounding community even with its limited staff while also serving as an incubator for new initiatives. Even though both the political and collegial frames were part of the IRC, the symbolic frame was also evident. The pervading business culture was clear in how the IRC director described her role where constituents were described as clients,

> my job is to provide that vision piece, thinking about how do you translate that very generic mission to be an intercultural resource center, into very specific strategies and initiatives that accomplish that, depending on the client populations. If the clients' are students versus faculty versus staff, there are different approaches.

This last case was an example of how prominent the symbolic frame may be in guiding the work of cultural resource centers in both positive and negative ways even though other frames were present. The centers had autonomy to come up with signature programs (mentoring programs, leadership trainings, etc.) for their respective student populations to meet their mission statements however they faced institutional constraints, primarily in the facilities for the race-specific centers. The Intercultural Center appeared to face the least constraints out of the centers at CU due to its long history, leadership stability, relationships on campus and in the community, and its successful fundraising efforts.

Cross-Case Analysis

While each case study highlights different climates and the organizational dimensions of the cultural resource centers, taken together they offer lessons to be learned about cultural resource centers. Two propositions based on the cases are presented to enhance understanding of cultural resource centers in higher education. This chapter then closes with a summary before the final chapter synthesizes findings from the surveys and case studies. Implications from the embedded case study are saved for the final chapter.

Proposition #1 – Cultural resource centers both shape and are shaped by the campus climate

Cultural resource centers are created as institutional spaces to address the campus climate, particularly for Students of Color. The historical development of the centers examined through the interplay of MMDLE dimensions offers a unique way of viewing the centers' organizational structures. As the centers grow and evolve, they affect the campus climate through approaches that often reflect their founding. When the institution takes a more focused and centralized approach to diversity, such as creating a Multicultural Affairs division, the organizational dimension of the climate is centralized and tends to shape the structure and strategies of cultural resource centers.

The overlaying of organizational behavior theories onto the interplay between the MMDLE dimensions offers a different utilization of the MMDLE in understanding campus climate and the relationship of spaces such as cultural resource centers with the overall climate. The interplay also illustrates dominant influences and behaviors towards institutional change.

Since this study focuses primarily on cultural resource centers, these findings may have limited applicability to other campus units. A summary of the prominent organizational behavior frames present in each case study is listed in Table 5.1 for ease in comparison.

Table 5.1

Prominence of Organizational Behavior Frames by Case Study

	Organizational Behavior Frames				
Case Study	Bureaucratic	Collegial	Political	Symbolic	Systemic
1. Intercultural Center	X	X		X	
2. Multicultural Center			X		
3. Race-specific Centers	X		X		
4. Race-specific and Intercultural Resource Centers	X		X	X	

The first case is an example of how the symbolic, bureaucratic, and collegial frames combined can move an institution forward with its diversity agenda and turn to the cultural resource center for leadership and expertise. The elevated status of the Intercultural Center at Simon College was accompanied by the necessary resources, both human and financial, to meet its increased responsibilities on campus. The Intercultural Center was not only responsible for attending to the psychological and behavioral dimensions of the climate with all students across social identities but it was also responsible for building infrastructure to address diversity across the campus. However, one potential explanation for the effectiveness of this model is the nature of a small, private, religious institution where there is a strong institutional culture and centralization. Berger (2000) characterizes the combination of symbolic, bureaucratic, and collegial frames, often found in these institution types, as a cohesive environment. This is aligned with the recommendation by scholars for institutions to attend to all the MMDLE dimensions as a way of improving the climate and student outcomes (Hurtado et al., 2012).

At larger institutions where offices are more decentralized, there is greater variation in organizational behavior frames to describe the relationship between the cultural resource center and the climate. While researchers argue that there are many behavioral frames within an organization, some frames may be more prominent reflecting a unique environmental culture (Berger, 2000; Berger & Milem, 2000). The three remaining cases of large institutions more aptly illustrate how decentralization relates to the variety of influences on the cultural resource centers. All the large institutions created cultural resource centers and structured the spaces, for the most part, using the political frame highlighting the interplay between the psychological and behavioral dimensions of the climate. As the institutions respond to demands and create infrastructure through the cultural resource centers, the bureaucratic frame emerges as more prominent reflecting a process whereby structure creates even more structure.

In all the cases, the cultural resource centers have created organizational structures, networks, and processes to increase interactions across difference and create greater cultural understanding. Simon College was able to document the improvement in campus climate for students, faculty, and staff and the role of the Intercultural Center in helping to create a more welcoming environment. While Simon College was the only institution in the study to have a campus climate survey, the other institutions shared anecdotal evidence of how their centers have shaped the climate citing student perceptions of seeing the centers as a home away from home and receiving the academic, personal, and social support they needed in what could be an unwelcoming campus.

The directors recognized the need to adequately assess the impact of their work, however, the organizational changes through the creation of greater infrastructure for diversity efforts supported their claims about their role and impact. For all the center directors, there was also an awareness their work was meant to lead to positive student outcomes of creating lifelong skills, cultural competency, and citizenship in a diverse democracy. The next phase in research for the centers is to assess both quantitatively and qualitatively the impact of the centers on student outcomes, which is discussed in greater detail in the next chapter.

Proposition #2 – Cultural resource centers need restructuring to meet added responsibilities to the institutional dimensions

Many of the cases illustrated an increase in their responsibilities beyond the interpersonal dimensions of the climate to include the institutional dimensions (organizational and historical) leading to a need for restructuring the centers. Across the four cases, the cultural resource centers were initially created to support Students of Color. However, the mission statements and institutional expectations are that the centers serve the entire campus community through cultural education and programming, while also providing specialized support for Students of Color. In addition to the broad mission statements, the profiles of the cultural resource centers in three of the cases have risen to the status of campus diversity experts, in particular for the center directors. For State University, the three race-specific centers have somewhat uneven campus profiles because of the history of the centers and the new directors at two of the centers. The senior director serves on many campus-wide committees representing the Asian American community and is actively engaged in institutional diversity efforts. While the other directors also serve on campus-wide committees, the responsibilities do not figure as prominently in their work.

As they take on a higher status and increased responsibilities, the centers may need restructuring in their reporting lines, staffing, and/or budgets. In the example of State University, the creation of the Office of Diversity was intended to centralize the cultural resource centers and promote greater collaboration. However, the office needed staff support beyond the Chief Diversity Officer, a vacant position during the study, to coordinate the Centers for Diversity and Network of Diversity Units. Although the directors requested a graduate student to assist in this process, there was perhaps a need for full-time professional staff to provide administrative and programmatic support. The centers already had limited staff and would need additional full-time professional staff support as the directors were called away from the center's daily operations to more high-level work.

The case of Simon College's Intercultural Center showed how an institution attempted to provide resources commensurate with the added responsibilities placed on the center. As mentioned earlier, a new staff line was given to the Intercultural Center to offer intergroup dialogues in the residence halls. However, the new position did not address the shift of focus for the IC Director from programming to creating infrastructure leading the center to increasingly rely on its student staff for programming support.

At Lumpkin University, the Multicultural Center had the largest professional staff of the four case studies. The center also had a Director of Programming freeing up the Multicultural Center Director to continue her work serving as the diversity expert with senior administration. While the staffing structure may still not be adequate, the larger numbers of professional staff with the expertise to address the psychological and behavioral dimensions of the climate gave LU's Multicultural Center greater leeway and support than the other cases.

The fourth case of Calimlim University did not appear to have a concerted and coordinated overall diversity agenda whereby all the center directors served as the diversity experts. The centers were given autonomy in programming and did not appear to be involved at higher levels of planning around diversity for the campus. Even with the Intercultural Center Director serving as the intercultural programming expert, she was tapped for individual department and unit consultation rather than institution-wide leadership. The presence of both race-specific and intercultural centers offered greater institutional resources around diversity, however, there may have also been diffusion in responsibility, leadership, and coordination towards a larger agenda.

In these case studies, institutions structuring support for Students of Color using Model A, a single multicultural or intercultural center model, appeared to have more focused and coordinated diversity agendas. By virtue of a single center versus multiple centers, senior administration may more easily identify staff with leadership and expertise. There was also greater variation in experience and expertise among staff at institutions with multiple cultural resource centers (Models B and C) complicating institutional coordination without a centralized structure or Chief Diversity Officer. These aspects of the organizational dimension in the MMDLE need to be thoughtfully considered so the cultural resource centers continue to adequately address the psychological and behavioral dimensions affecting students on a daily basis.

Summary

The last research question was revised because of the interplay between dimensions of the climate both informing the structure and framing the strategies of the cultural resource centers. The cultural resource centers not only affected the campus climate but were also shaped by the climate. The interactions between the climate and the centers were therefore context-specific. In all four cases, the historical dimension played a role in how cultural resource centers are structured but it was the interactions between the psychological and behavioral dimensions driving the institutional structure. The model chosen by the institution was often a result of student activism (political frame) and the compositional diversity of the institution rather than reflective of any institutional strategy, with the exception of the first case of the Intercultural Center at Simon College.

The organizational behavior frames, as descriptions for the interactions between the MMDLE dimensions, were also useful in identifying the strategies used by the cultural resource centers to meet their missions. Oftentimes, as the institution's approach changes, the frames used by the centers mirror those used at the institutional level. However, cultural resource centers may want to consider utilizing the political frame in more consistent ways to counter the institutional legacies of exclusion. The other frames drew more from the historical dimension and may leave structures, policies, and practices embedded in racism unchallenged. As scholars have noted (Ladson-Billings & Tate IV, 1995), contemporary racism has been masked by what appear to be race-neutral initiatives and infused within the organizational structure of the institution. In response, the centers may increase their focus on student leadership development to critique the climate and push the institution towards greater change.

As institutions seek to understand how to better support Students of Color through cultural resource centers, the main findings indicate that there needs to be careful attention to the interplay of MMDLE dimensions in their context. A single resource center model may work for a small institution with a cohesive environment to support the center's mission. However, larger institutions face a more daunting task of adequately meeting the needs of Students of Color in its decentralized structure. If the political frame is used, the institution will be attentive to evolving its approach to diversity based on student concerns. The bureaucratic, collegial, and symbolic frames would require the institution to be critical of its historical legacy and intentionally seek out student perspectives of the campus climate. There is no ideal model for cultural resource centers that can be universally applied. The institution has to interrogate its philosophy towards diversity, its allocation of resources, and capacity to coordinate diversity efforts across the institution in order to identify a model that would work in its context.

These findings from the case studies were consistent with findings from other case study and survey research on cultural resource centers or multicultural affairs offices (L. D. Patton, 2010c; D. L. Stewart, 2011). Cultural resource centers were expected to not only meet the needs of marginalized student populations but also to educate the broader campus and work on creating systemic changes around diversity (Shuford, 2011; D. L. Stewart & Bridges, 2011). The unique contribution of this study to the broader research is the embedded case study design allowing for not only a broader picture of cultural resource centers in the country but also a more detailed picture through the multiple case studies. Through the case studies, cultural resource centers are shown to be the campus diversity leaders, either growing in their capacity to address the multiple dimensions of the climate or hindered by their structures that have remain unchanged as their responsibilities grew. As the visibility of the centers rose on campus, directors were being asked to redirect their attention from the interpersonal dimensions to the institutional dimensions typically without compensation or additional support. This may result in a lack of capacity to address the psychological and behavioral dimensions of campus climate that affect student outcomes. When climate is not addressed in a multi-dimensional manner, there will be difficulties in improving the overall climate. A single office cannot be tasked to do climate work without understanding the multi-dimensional nature of climate and having the necessary institutional power, as well as human and financial resources. The final chapter synthesizes findings from the embedded case study to discuss implications and provide recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER 6: STRATEGIZING FOR THE FUTURE

Cultural resource centers have evolved from their historical missions of primarily focusing on supporting Students of Color to playing a larger role on institutional efforts to integrate diversity. As cultural resource centers and institutions overall strategize for the future, they need to consider the dynamic relationships between the centers and the campus climate. This dissertation not only fills in the gap of research on cultural resource centers but also delves into the organizational dimension of campus climate research, which has not been sufficiently studied (Hurtado et al., 2012). Cultural resource centers are an important component to creating a welcoming campus climate for Students of Color yet has received limited attention in scholarship (Hord, 2005c; L. D. Patton, 2010c; Stennis-Williams et al., 1988; Toya, 2011; Welch, 2009; Yosso & Benavides Lopez, 2010; Yosso et al., 2009). Students of Color continue to face hostile campus climates further emphasizing the need of spaces that are culturally affirming and supportive, as well as spaces that educate the entire campus community on diversity and social justice (Garcia et al., 2011; Hing, 2011; Holley, 2007). The empirical knowledge base of cultural resource centers on a national scope has yet to be gathered although surveys have been conducted on Black Cultural Centers and multicultural student services (Bankole, 2005; Shuford, 2011; D. L. Stewart & Bridges, 2011).

The purposes of cultural resource centers on a broad level as well as how they are structured shed light on the role of cultural resource centers and its relationship to campus climate. Three research questions guided this study highlighting the organizational dimensions of campus climate and cultural resource centers. The questions were as follows:

(1) How do campus cultural resource centers converge and differ in their stated missions?

(2) What are the commonalities and differences in the organizational structures of campus cultural resource centers?

(3) How do cultural resource centers interact with the campus climate to meet their stated missions?

In order to explore these research questions, I employed an embedded case study design utilizing a national survey and multiple case studies (Scholz & Tietje, 2002). Through a sequential transformative strategy (Creswell, 2003), the data gathered from the survey informed the selection of the multiple cases. I also used the conceptual frameworks of the Multi-contextual Model of Diverse Learning Environments (MMDLE) (Hurtado et al., 2012) and organizational behavior theories (Berger & Milem, 2000) in the analyses which was also characteristic of the sequential transformative approach.

The embedded case study design included two phases of data gathering: (1) online survey distribution and (2) four case studies including interviews with cultural resource center directors. Cultural resource center staff from institutions across the country completed the online survey sharing their mission statements, reporting lines, staffing structures and budgeting information. Through the survey data analyses, the Taxonomy of Cultural Resource Centers in Higher Education emerged as a basic categorization of different institutional models for cultural resource centers and informed the selection of four institutional sites and eight cultural resource centers for the second phase of the study.

I selected the sites for maximum variation and interesting cases in terms of its resource capacities. The multiple case studies included both public and private as well as small and large institutions covering the geographic variation of institutions with cultural resource centers. At each site I interviewed the cultural resource center directors, took photos of the physical space, and gathered documents pertaining to the center and the institution's overall diversity efforts.

Through the embedded case study design, there emerged an enhanced understanding of the purpose and structure of cultural resource centers across the country, the different institutional models for centers, and the interactions between the centers and the campus climate. A Taxonomy of Cultural Resource Centers in Higher Education offered a baseline model for institutions to consider as they create spaces of support for Students of Color. In addition, the study showed how the organizational dimension interacts with other dimensions in the MMDLE to help explain the dynamic relationships between cultural resource centers and the overall campus climate. This closing chapter includes a discussion organized by the study design connecting findings with existing scholarship, implications based on the major findings, and topics for future research.

Synthesizing the Embedded Case Study Findings

Overview of Cultural Resource Centers Nationally

There are 273 cultural resource centers in four-year non-profit institutions of higher education serving Students of Color. The last survey of cultural resource centers indicated a spike of multicultural centers in the 1980s (Stennis-Williams et al., 1988) and this study has found a continuous increase in the emergence of multicultural centers in the past three decades indicating institutions are more likely to select a multicultural model over targeted support for Students of Color based on race. The exception would be the growth of Asian American resource centers in the 1990s and 2000s, coinciding with the increase in Asian American student enrollment in higher education (Pryor et al., 2007).

Cultural resource centers include race-specific centers focusing on African American, Asian American, Latino, Native American, and Pacific Islander student populations and at times may combine services for two or more groups. There are also multicultural and intercultural resource centers, which have different philosophical approaches to their work. While there may be similar programs for both multicultural and intercultural centers, the staff may interpret their missions to either be pluralistic or cross-cultural. These differences are not a significant component to the study but may be worth pursuing in future research.

Similar to the latest study on multicultural student services (D. L. Stewart & Bridges, 2011), cultural resource centers have a common educational purpose and serve a broad population that extends beyond the notion that they are exclusive spaces for Students of Color. Prior research has discussed the sensitivity to race-conscious admissions practices as a matter of competing interests with race as an elusive target for institutions (M. Chang et al., 2005; M. J. Chang, 2000). These challenges extend to consideration of targeted race-based programs and offices, such as cultural resource centers. Following the University of Michigan affirmative action cases, as mentioned through one of the case study interviews, institutions began to reframe the missions of cultural resource centers in a fashion that would be more palatable to critics of affirmative action and race-conscious programs.

Counter to the claims of a post-racial era, institutions of higher education continue to exhibit the same challenges for Students of Color that have been documented in previous eras of racial stereotyping, isolation, discrimination, and microaggressions (Ancis et al., 2000; Bankole, 2005; Garcia et al., 2011; Hing, 2011; Holley, 2007; Levin et al., 2009; Loo & Rolison, 1986; L. D. Patton, 2006; W. A. Smith et al., 2007; Sue, 2010; Turner, 1994; Yosso & Benavides Lopez, 2010). Although there are observations by cultural resource center directors that students may not recognize microaggressions or more blatant forms of racism, Students of Color experience challenges of racial isolation and tokenism among their peers and in the classrooms. The role of the cultural resource centers is then to provide a safe space for support as well as education to help Students of Color to name their experiences and cope with the hostile campus climate. In addition, the educational responsibility encompasses White students, faculty, and staff through diversity trainings, intergroup dialogues, or public programming. Programs and services are explicitly noted as non-discriminatory and open to any person regardless of their racial identification.

While there are many commonalities among cultural resource centers in their stated missions, the variations indicate either different emphases or approaches to working with students. Some centers have an explicit advocacy mission for Students of Color while others make take a more celebratory approach to cultural heritage education. The differences may also be related to the types of centers, as discussed in Chapter 4, whereby Native American centers are primarily geared towards recruitment and retention efforts. Through the case studies, the cultural resource center directors view their centers as mission-driven and have undergone revisions to the missions in recent years to more accurately reflect their vision for the spaces. In some cases, the mission statements were revised as part of broader efforts to align the centers with each other or with the institutional diversity agenda.

Institutions looking to understand the value and role of cultural resource centers can utilize these findings to further ground the importance of the centers within its educational mission and diversity agenda. These centers not only serve a programmatic purpose but also provide expertise and opportunities for campus-wide engagement with issues of race, racism, and social justice. Compositional diversity is not enough for institutions to reap educational benefits

(M. J. Chang et al., 2004; M. J. Chang, Denson, Saenz, & Misa, 2006; Denson & Chang, 2009; Gurin et al., 2002; Hurtado et al., 2012). Cultural resource centers serve as vehicles for student engagement across differences, as well as important counterspaces (Solórzano et al., 2000; Yosso & Benavides Lopez, 2010). This study confirms cultural resource centers are spaces of education and empowerment. Whether it is through the stated missions or the observations of cultural resource center directors, centers are homes for Students of Color to develop positive self-concepts and community. The centers achieve these goals through cultural programs, partnerships with ethnic studies, leadership development, and mentoring programs, to name just a few. The overview of cultural resource centers not only encompasses their stated purposes but also how the centers are structured.

Structural Considerations for Cultural Resource Centers

Utilizing a combination of organizational models (Berger & Milem, 2000; Horton et al., 2003), structural considerations for cultural resource centers were operationalized in this study by reporting lines, staffing profiles, and budgets. This study's findings captured the evolution of cultural resource centers within the institutional hierarchy from a primarily Student Affairs and Academic Affairs binary (Bankole, 2005) to multiple reporting line options. While Stewart and Bridge's (2011) survey of multicultural student services found an additional model of Multicultural Affairs divisions, this study also found cultural resource centers reporting to the Provost or Chancellor's offices directly. The variation in reporting structures indicates a shift in the educational landscape of how institutions approach diversity and how they make diversity an institutional priority.

The placement within the hierarchy reveals only limited information since one of the case studies illustrated how an Intercultural Center reporting to a mid-level student affairs manager wielded power on campus through informal relationships and committee work with the Provost. The case studies also offered critiques of Multicultural Affairs Divisions as spaces that centralized diversity work but may have limited impact if not given adequate staff support, institutional authority, and financial resources. However, the status of reporting to a Vice Provost or a Division with campus-wide responsibilities for diversity provides access to people and resources thereby expanding the reach of the cultural resource center. Oftentimes, the increased status and visibility of the cultural resource center was related to a shift in focus from the interpersonal (psychological and behavioral) dimensions of the campus climate to the institutional (organizational and historical) dimensions.

As centers expand their scope of responsibilities, institutions need to consider the staffing profiles. This study found a mixture of staffing profiles including a combination of professional, administrative, graduate student, and undergraduate student staff. The widest range in staffing profiles appeared in multicultural centers at institutions where they were the sole cultural resource center. The survey data indicated most centers had multiple professional, administrative, and student staff, however, the case studies illustrated centers in states of transition with its staffing. There was significant turnover in the centers, with many of the center directors relatively new to the job and other positions vacant at the time of the study. Even the student staff support was not consistent due to limited funding where a graduate student could be hired for only one term. The complexity of the staffing for cultural resource centers had not been empirically documented in both quantitative and qualitative ways as approached in this study offering a fuller understanding of the staffing challenges in cultural resource centers.

The third structural aspect explored in this study was the budgeting for cultural resource centers. However, I had inconsistent data for annual allocations and operating budgets leading to a greater focus on programming budgets and supplementary sources of funding (grants, discretionary funds, and endowments). As confirmed through the case studies, centers were resourceful in collaborating with other departments to supplement their limited programming budgets. For the large, research universities, fundraising through grant-writing and alumni development appear as priorities for the center directors indicative of the growing privatization of higher education (Cohen & Kisker, 2010; Zusman, 2005). As noted by one of the center directors, the goal was to have the center be less of a burden on institutional resources. Another case where the center received external grants to fill in staffing and programming gaps illustrated the institution's preference for the center to not rely on state funds for its work. These messages were problematic and indicated disconnect between stated prioritization of diversity and the resources needed to fulfill this priority.

The combination of structural configurations for cultural resource centers indicated a complexity in institutional approaches to serving Students of Color that could not easily be categorized. However, I created a basic taxonomy based on the institutional models found in the survey data. The taxonomy does not encompass the nuances of hierarchy, divisional homes, staffing, and budgeting captured in the study instead focusing on the overall structure of the types of centers present in higher education. The center types focus on the characterizations of the centers by their target populations or areas of expertise.

Utilizing the Taxonomy of Cultural Resource Centers in Higher Education

One of the goals for this study was to provide information on the organizational capacity of cultural resource centers for institutions to benchmark. Rather than organizing data by institution type, benchmarks were created utilizing the Taxonomy of Cultural Resource Centers in Higher Education. The taxonomy identifies three primary institutional models for cultural resource centers: Model A – a single multicultural or intercultural center; Model B – race-specific centers; and Model C – race-specific and multicultural or intercultural center.

The organizational capacity data presented in Chapter 4 offered institutions points of comparisons for their centers with other institutions in like models. Comparing data across models was less useful since they were based on individual cultural resource centers as the embedded unit of analysis instead of the aggregate resources for all the centers by institution. While centers in Model A appeared to have slightly larger programming funds compared to Models B and C, there were multiple resource centers in the latter models that would indicate larger total funding for cultural resource centers than in the former model.

There were not any known taxonomies of cultural resource centers in prior research so the Taxonomy of Cultural Resource Centers in Higher Education served as a contribution to both scholarship and practice. I was unable to describe effectiveness of each institutional model primarily because I did not focus on outcome data. However, the Taxonomy of Cultural Resource Centers in Higher Education may be used as a framework in the future linking institutional models to experiences of campus climate and student outcomes. Research may examine within model variation or cross model variations through qualitative and quantitative inquiry, which is discussed in greater detail in the implications section.

Interplay Between MMDLE Dimensions

One of the major findings from the case studies was the interplay between the dimensions of the Multi-contextual Model of Diverse Learning Environments. The MMDLE identifies the multiple dimensions that shape campus climate and student outcomes (Hurtado et al., 2012). The organizational dimension is not as thoroughly explored in campus climate research (Hurtado et al., 2012), particularly as it relates to the interactions between institutional structures, policies, and practices. This study on cultural resource centers attempts to fill this gap in the research and adds to an understanding of how to apply the MMDLE to institutional diversity efforts through an organizational lens. In addition, this study brings in organizational behavior theory to assist in understanding the interplay between the multiple dimensions of the climate which in turn lead to student outcomes related to diversity.

Ultimately the MMDLE is to be used as a framework linking climate to student outcomes, however, this study used the MMDLE primarily to understand institutional approaches to diversity through cultural resource centers. While there were references to student outcomes through the case studies, it was not a key component of the embedded case study design instead focusing on the organizational elements that foster a climate conducive to educational benefits of diversity. While Clarke and antonio (2012) recommend a greater attention to how institutions structure opportunities for greater cross-racial student interaction through focusing on the relationships between students, this study focuses on the relationships between systems and dimensions of the climate, which in turn fosters relationships between students.

Birnbaum (1988) utilizes similar models of organizational behavior to describe how institutions of higher education are organized and managed. He integrates multiple models and proposes a cybernetic model to describe an organizational approach where there are "self-correcting mechanisms that monitor organizational functions and provide attention cues, or negative feedback, to participants when things are not going well" (Birnbaum, 1988, p. 179). While the focus is on academic organization, there is also an emphasis on leadership through the role of the President. Therefore, I used more general organizational behavior concepts to overlay the MMDLE dimensions that were also more explicitly tied to student outcomes (Berger, 2000; Berger & Milem, 2000).

Whereas the MMDLE offers different dimensions through which to understand and integrate diversity efforts, the organizational behavior theories offers insights into how those dimensions may influence each other. Either may be used by institutions as stand alone frameworks, however, I offer an approach utilizing both in ways that are attentive to institutional context. The MMDLE dimensions, as mentioned by Hurtado and colleagues (Hurtado et al., 2012; Hurtado, Milem, et al., 1998; Hurtado et al., 1999), are inseparable so the benefits of using organizational behavior theories include the opportunity it presents to interpret the relationships and an approach to characterizing the processes within an institution. For example, in the case of Lumpkin University with its Multicultural Center, the institution approached its diversity efforts through addressing primarily the psychological and behavioral dimensions of the climate, with some attention to compositional diversity. When looking at the Multicultural Center in its reporting lines, staffing, and budgets, the driving influence for these structural elements was also the psychological and behavioral dimensions. The interplay between these dimensions were characteristic of the political frame of organizational behavior and can be used by institutional stakeholders to understand and further advocate for diversity on the campus. Knowing that the psychological and behavioral dimensions were central to the Multicultural Center and institutional diversity efforts, students, alumni, faculty, and staff may leverage these elements to affect other dimensions such as the organizational dimension and the compositional diversity.

In alignment with Bolman and Deal’s (2003) assertion that organizations utilizing multiple frames of organizational behavior may be more effective, the case of the Intercultural Center at Simon College offered an example of a cohesive environment using the bureaucratic, collegial, and symbolic frames. The three frames were illustrative of the different interplay between MMDLE dimensions and how those relationships may work together to create institutional transformation around diversity with the cultural resource center at the center. Rather than relying on only one frame to address organizational elements of diversity, Simon College employed the Intercultural Center in its multi-faceted approach relying on the center to not only provide direct services for the psychological and behavioral dimensions but also the infrastructure changes in the organizational dimension of the climate.

The concept of overlaying the organizational behavior theories to the MMDLE dimensions may be further explored empirically beyond work on cultural resource centers. Institutional level assessments may provide useful insights to the approaches institutions take as it relates to diversity work overall. There may be certain organizational behaviors and interplay between MMDLE dimensions that are more conducive to promoting a diversity agenda and creating a sustainable effort. Operationalizing the interplay between dimensions may be the most challenging aspect to advancing research in this area. There would need to be considerations of individual vantage points and perceptions of the climate to identify convergences or divergences among stakeholders.

Beyond the diversity agenda, the interactions may also be examined with other institutional priorities to see how the interplay between dimensions may vary. For institutional priorities that are more aligned with the institutional culture and historical legacy, are bureaucratic frames more evident? How do initiatives that are contrary to the historical legacy of the institution get implemented? For predominantly White institutions with long histories of exclusion and hostile racial climates, comparisons of the diversity agenda with other priorities may reveal preferred organizational behavior frames to creating a diverse learning environment.

Implications for Research and Practice

The implications of this study are presented beginning with the major finding of cultural resource centers serving the campus community. As mentioned earlier, cultural resource centers faced the perception they were specialized spaces targeting only Students of Color. There are practical implications in understanding cultural resource centers as general office spaces with a particular area of expertise. The implications are both positive and negative for Students of Color and the institution overall. I offer recommendations for institutions considering structural changes for cultural resource centers in light of political exigency or financial constraints. Additional implications within the current socio-political context are discussed along with how my own professional experiences have shaped my thoughts on the implications of this work.

Serving the Campus Community

In both the survey data and the multiple case studies, cultural resource centers are expected to provide educational and support services for Students of Color but also the entire campus community and, at times, the surrounding community. Consistent with the broadening definition of diversity (Hurtado et al., 2012; D. G. Smith, 2009) and prior research on multicultural student services (Shuford, 2011; D. L. Stewart & Bridges, 2011), cultural resource centers have also broadened their target audiences albeit not in the same ways. At times, the broadening refers to the entire campus community as the beneficiary of the educational and cultural programming provided. At other times, there are references to specific student populations and their allies. Some of the shifts in language in the mission statements are reflective of post-racial ideology or concern with critics of race-conscious programs. The case studies provided evidence that institutions shape the formation of the cultural resource centers and their mission statements in light of the broader socio-historical context. The third case of

State University was a particular example of an institution making very explicit to the cultural resource directors they were to serve the entire campus and not solely any one racial group even though the spaces were historically created as safe spaces for Students of Color.

The shift away from Students of Color to being inclusive of White students follows Espenshade and Radford's (2009) recommendation to engage White students in diversity work because of their greater racial isolation. Also, the mere presence of racial diversity is a necessary but not sufficient condition to accrue educational benefits (M. J. Chang et al., 2004; M. J. Chang et al., 2006; Gurin et al., 2002). Cultural resource centers play a role in creating opportunities to interact across difference, which has been demonstrated to lead to positive student outcomes. As a facility, cultural resource centers provide space for students to share ideas, challenge each other, and to build community with people from different backgrounds. It becomes an intentional space for individuals who want to engage across difference. The value of the physical space cannot be understated for what the centers can do on campus. This was particularly evident in the case of Calimlim University where the race-specific centers moved from having multiple rooms to a single room for each center. The space challenges contrasted sharply with the availability and usefulness of the Intercultural Center for students, faculty, and staff, where the four-story house provided space for dialogues, classes, receptions, and informal gatherings.

Aside from the physical space, center staff can also provide expertise to academic departments and other campus units on culturally-responsive pedagogy and culturally-relevant content. This speaks to the importance of having trained professionals with the expertise in fulfilling the missions of the centers (D. L. Stewart & Bridges, 2011). With the expanding responsibilities of cultural resource center directors found in this study, the ability to not only provide programming but also counseling, fundraising, and conducting assessments are important. These findings also have implications for student affairs programs training professionals for multicultural affairs. Training needs for individuals looking to work in cultural resource centers are more expansive than what some programs may be able to provide. Collaborations with faculty or training faculty on how to conduct intergroup dialogues may not be part of the curriculum for student affairs programs.

While there are expectations to serve a broad population in a variety of ways, there are notable implications. The first implication is that Students of Color may not receive adequate attention or targeted support in favor of a broad-based diversity approach. While centers may approach this work by focusing on intersectionality of social identities, the institutional message may be more oriented towards White student involvement leading to further marginalization of Students of Color. Programs that are tailored to a wider audience or promoting intergroup dialogue, while beneficial, may overshadow the needed work to support Students of Color unless the centers are sufficiently resourced. There have been continued documented incidences of racial discrimination and harassment on college campuses indicating the importance of not only improved cross-racial understanding but also an increased need to support marginalized student populations (Garcia et al., 2011; Hing, 2011; Holley, 2007; R. G. Jones, 2007; Lovett, 2011; McKibben, 2007; Teague, 2011). The particular academic, cultural, social, and personal needs of Students of Color should not be sacrificed for an overall diversity agenda focusing on inclusion. The conversation does not have to be an “either-or” but a “both-and” as stated by one of the center directors.

The second implication is the potential reallocation of staff resources from the daily operations of the center to providing campus leadership. Serving the entire campus community often comes with committee work and providing institutional leadership for diversity efforts. The disproportionate amount of time in committee work can pull staff away from the daily operations of the center and providing programs or services. The increase in responsibilities would require additional staff support to free up the center director's time if the director is looked to for not only leadership but also implementation of institutional diversity initiatives, as was the situation for three of the four cases in the study.

While many of the centers had modest staffing profiles of professional and student staff, it was unclear through this study how many were adequately staffed to meet their stated missions along with any additional institutional responsibilities placed on them. The burden may be even greater on the moderately staffed centers, especially multicultural or intercultural centers who may not have enough staff to cover each of their focus areas, which may include race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, class, religion, and disability. As institutions consider how to structure and staff cultural resource centers, they need to move beyond examining cultural resource centers in isolation and instead examine how the centers fit within the broader institutional environment.

Shifting the Focus

As in the cases of State University and Calimlim University, institutions looking to re-structure cultural resource centers tend to focus solely on the cultural resource center as an independent diversity unit rather than within the context of the institution's overall diversity efforts. The restructuring may occur either due to political exigency, student protests, fear of criticism about race-based programs, or financial constraints. Prior studies have indicated instances where centers were consolidated from race-specific into a multicultural center depicting a trend of institutions restructuring services for Students of Color (Bankole, 2005;

Stennis-Williams et al., 1988). In the case of State University, senior administration at one point considered collapsing the three race-specific centers into one multicultural resource center leading to outcry from campus stakeholders. The institution then formed a review committee to examine the current state of the centers and make recommendations in light of the state budget cuts to the institution. What followed was an improved approach that discussed the work of the race-specific centers within the institutional context and other existing diversity units on campus. The committee called for greater coordination among the diversity units, an understanding of the unevenness in student support for different Students of Color populations, and greater infrastructure to support diversity work. They attempted to pull together the different dimensions of the campus climate to create a more complete picture of how the cultural resource centers fit within the institution.

A somewhat different scenario played out at Calimlim University where the institution was primarily reactive to student demands in creating race-specific centers when the intercultural center appeared to not have enough resources to meet the needs of the growing population of Students of Color. Two full-time professional staff positions were then taken from the existing intercultural center and allocated to two of the new race-specific centers. The Intercultural Center director was then left to make the best out of the situation and used the opportunity to refocus the center's efforts. Another example of the inattention to the dynamics of the different dimensions within the climate was the lack of coordination between the campus units working with the African American student population. The Black Cultural Resource Center director remarked how he wanted to see greater collaboration between the units geared towards the African American community either in content or in the target population.

One recommendation is similar to the recommendation made by the review committee at State University. Institutions need to take inventory of all targeted services and programs for Students of Color and other populations that would be considered part of the diversity agenda. This multi-dimensional approach is what has been recommended to successfully create a diverse learning environment (Hurtado et al., 2012; Hurtado, Milem, et al., 1998; Hurtado et al., 1999). Mapping the inventory onto the MMDLE dimensions can provide a framework for institutions to understand gaps in their approaches.

In addition, an assessment of the organizational behavior, as mentioned in the previous chapter, may provide a foundation for moving the institution forward. The interplay between the dimensions can then be examined to identify appropriate interventions that are either aligned with existing behavioral frames or complementary. There are many studies illustrating the interactions between the psychological and behavioral dimensions of the climate, particularly relating to student experiences (Ancis et al., 2000; Pewewardy & Frey, 2002; Suarez-Balcazar et al., 2003), as well as studies on aspects of the organizational dimension (Hurtado et al., 2012; Rankin & Reason, 2005). However, there is not much insight into how these dimensions interplay with each other to shape the structure and strategies of diversity efforts.

Considering cultural resource centers are just one component to institutional diversity agendas, any efforts to structure or re-structure need to examine the centers within the broader institutional context. How are the centers set up to coordinate with other campus units both financially and through its staffing? What prevailing notions about Students of Color or diversity work may either contribute to the success of cultural resource centers or serve as barriers to the centers meeting their missions?

When comparing cultural resource centers with what may be perceived as more general student services units, the institution may want to inquire to see if comparable resources are allocated. Now that cultural resource centers are expected to serve the entire campus community, are they allocated the staffing and funding commensurate with those responsibilities and on par with their colleagues in student activities, orientation, or even Greek life? Are the centers located in a unit within the institutional hierarchy that would best support and understand its work?

This shifting focus from the cultural resource center to broader institutional coordination of diversity is also related to the shifting conversation of diversity from something that only includes Students of Color to one that includes all students across social identities. By shifting the focus from just marginalized populations to the entire population, the dynamic for organizing and activism also shift. Whereas the political maneuvering by Students of Color through protests and teach-ins may have been a natural partner for cultural resource centers in the past, as the population expands, there may not be as clear organizing lines for the broader service centers. Students of Color and ethnic student organizations that had affinities for these safe spaces were the advocates and protectors of cultural resource centers. If the mission has broadened to cover the entire student population, where does this leave cultural resource centers in terms of natural advocates among the student populations whom typically have the greatest influence when the centers are in danger? What infrastructures for student networks and organizing are then created to fill in this need when centers need political advocates?

CRC Value Within the Broader Social Context

Research on cultural resource centers is particularly important within the contemporary social context where race, racism, and targeted racial programs are called into question.

Although the *Fisher v. Texas* (2013) case did not strike down affirmative action and racial considerations in college admissions, the burden of proof continues to be on higher education institutions to show their efforts are narrowly tailored and serve a compelling government interest. Some institutions see attacks on affirmative action as applicable to their own race-based programs that go beyond their admissions practices as evidenced in a couple of the case studies. As such, race-based programs remain vulnerable to attack, especially when privileged populations feel marginalized. Rather than acknowledging the racial project constantly at work in the United States (Omi & Winant, 1994), there are arguments that race should not matter. This broader social context situates cultural resource centers as contentious spaces but also potentially innovative spaces to challenge cultural understandings of race, racism, power, and privilege. As noted through both the survey data and case study data, cultural resource centers are educational spaces for Students of Color and White students allowing them to better understand cultural, social, and political issues facing their communities. The centers are broad in their outreach recognizing that work needs to happen not just intraracially but interracially.

Cultural resource centers offer opportunities for students, faculty, staff, and community members to engage in social justice issues. They affirm the varied experiences of students along the spectrum of cultural and social identities, which include their racial identity. They offer language and skills for students to understand and dialogue around difficult issues showing that race does indeed matter and does not need to be seen as a barrier that needs to be overcome. Stakeholders learn to view their racial and ethnic communities as sources of support and empowerment rather than as unnecessary categorizations preventing people from building relationships. In fact, for many of the multicultural centers, their goals include cross-cultural relationship building and dialogue.

As the country grows in racial diversity and globalization increases, the ability to engage across differences is vital to student success beyond college. Some of the cultural resource centers, primarily multicultural centers, were even able to pinpoint the professional development and the benefit to students for developing intercultural competence. There have already been studies indicating the benefits to students in engaging across racial diversity (M. J. Chang et al., 2004; M. J. Chang et al., 2006; Denson & Chang, 2009; Espenshade & Radford, 2009; Gottfredson et al., 2009; Guiffrida, 2003; Gurin et al., 2002; Museus, 2008; Núñez, 2009)(Chang, Denson, Saenz, & Misa, 2006; Gurin, Dey, Hurtado, & Gurin, 2002). While these studies primarily point to ethnic studies courses, student organizations, diversity trainings, and cultural programming, cultural resource centers play an important role on campuses by helping to provide or support these intentional interactions across difference where institutions have such centers. For example, the Asian American Cultural Center at State University provided support for developing the Asian American Studies curriculum before an official program got started. The Intercultural Resource Center at Calimlim University served as the primary source for dialogues and cross-cultural engagement. While studies may research the programs themselves, the cultural resource centers serve as one of the primary ways the programs are implemented. Many of the ethnic student organizations have formal and informal relationships with the cultural resource centers on campus, often looking to the staff for mentorship, programming support, and funding support. This study provides evidence for cultural resource centers serving this programmatic function on campus and often providing leadership for the institution in diversity matters.

Interestingly, as there is a push for a post-racial America, there is an increasing interest among institutions of higher education recognizing the power and importance of attending to various forms of diversity, including race. While there may be an argument that diversity is everyone's responsibility and therefore there should not be a specialized space such as a cultural resource center, many institutions have recognized there needs to be people with the expertise and skills to lead diversity efforts on campus, as demonstrated by the growth of new multicultural centers presented in Chapter 3 in the past couple decades. Moving forward, institutions will continue to wrestle with creating new cultural resource centers or restructuring existing cultural resource centers.

Institutions are more likely to establish new multicultural resource centers as opposed to ethnic or race-specific cultural resource centers in the future. The diversity conversation has evolved from just race to include gender, sexual orientation, class, and ability, leading institutions to want to encompass these different social identities in the work of their cultural resource centers (see the case of Lumpkin University in Chapter 5). The trend of expanding notions of diversity, along with the growing interest of intersecting identities, diasporas, and intercultural competence, institutions may be more inclined to go the route of multicultural centers. However, as noted in the case of Lumpkin University, there are challenges for such broad-based centers if not structured appropriately. The centers need to be properly staffed, well-resourced financially, and institutionally positioned to effect change.

Rather than viewing cultural resource centers as either a growing or shrinking enterprise, a different perspective may be to see cultural resource centers as shifting and reimagined enterprises for the United States' racial and cultural projects. There may be institutions currently without cultural resource centers that may feel the need to establish new centers. For institutions with existing centers, they may be less inclined to close the centers and more inclined to reimagine the space to be more aligned with their institutional priorities. For example, one cultural resource center that used to focus on Students of Color evolved and became the hub for gender and LGBT programming.

A national network and greater research would be helpful in the information exchange and sharing of best practices. For example, as multiracial student populations increase on college campuses, cultural resource centers and particularly race-specific centers can share how they have approached working with students whose identities cannot be captured solely in one center. Cultural resource centers may also share innovative approaches to examining intersecting identities. This concept of intersectionality in social identities also serves as an interesting starting point for developing intercultural competence where individuals recognize the various ways they may participate, benefit, and are a target of oppressive structures and systems.

Weighing the Different CRC Structures

The varying effects of reporting lines and structures also emerged from the study of cultural resource centers indicating the importance of matching structures with the institutional culture and environment. The decision to establish a single cultural resource center compared to multiple centers or race-specific compared to multicultural center depended on the institutional size, student racial demographics, and history. I will first discuss the pros and cons based on the different reporting lines found in the study and follow with a discussion on the different structures utilizing the Taxonomy of Cultural Resource Centers in Higher Education.

Considerations by reporting lines. The study found four different reporting options for cultural resource centers reflecting varying degrees of power, status, and institutional support. Many of the cultural resource centers continued to be housed within Student Affairs, as was the traditional structure for the centers. The benefits of reporting to Student Affairs include easier collaboration with other student affairs units such as orientation, student activities, residence life, and student government. For example, when the Multicultural Center at Lumpkin University was housed in Student Affairs, they stayed updated on the trends within the field of student affairs and with student development. Assessments focusing on student outcomes has been a growing area of interest for student affairs so centers connected to this division may have greater access and education around creating assessment instruments geared towards their programs and student outcomes. Student affairs may also have a different approach by focusing on student development and therefore hire cultural resource center staff who are well-versed in student development theory, intercultural competence, and program management. The training and education of student affairs staff may position cultural resource centers to better serve students in developmental concerns compared to centers housed in other divisions.

When centers are housed in Student Affairs, they may not be viewed with the same level of importance as those in Academic Affairs. There may be challenges for the center staff to build partnerships with faculty and other academic units if they are seen as non-academic or social spaces. The lack of status or lower status in the institutional hierarchy may make it difficult for cultural resource centers to reach a broader audience or integrate their educational programming into the mainstream fabric of the institution. Student Affairs are also divisions that are not as well-funded as their academic counterparts which may be challenging for cultural resource centers needing greater funding support.

The second option for cultural resource centers is to report to Academic Affairs, as was the case for State University's cultural resource centers prior to the development of a Diversity Office. Academic Affairs offers greater opportunities and ease for collaboration with faculty and academic departments. There may be a greater emphasis on traditional retention programs such as academic support services or recruitment programs. Academic Affairs brings a level of institutional centrality to the work of cultural resource centers that may be different than reporting to Student Affairs.

The drawback to being housed in Academic Affairs is the potential disconnect to the developmental needs of Students of Color. There may be such a focus on academic development and support that the cultural competence and racial identity development may not be as central to the cultural resource center or the center staff may not be trained appropriately. Staff may be so stretched by the academic needs that the personal, social, and cultural support issues go neglected or inadequately addressed. In the case of Simon College (see Chapter 5), the institution offered academic support services to Students of Color who also sought the staff out for advising support for their ethnic student organizations. The staff members were overburdened and Student Affairs decided to take a larger role in serving Students of Color leading to the creation of the Intercultural Center. Although this example is not about a specific cultural resource center in Academic Affairs, it illustrates the challenges of support programs for Students of Color within Academic Affairs when there are no complementary resources available to meet other developmental needs (racial identity, leadership, etc.).

The third reporting line is directly to the Provost, Chancellor, or President’s Office. This is different from the other reporting lines in that the centers have greater access to senior administration. The status of the cultural resource center is elevated and is typically accompanied by greater financial resources. The connection to senior administration indicates an institutional priority and support for the work of the cultural resource center leading to greater access to other institutional agents. However, the drawback may be potential disconnects with other units both academic and student affairs units who could serve as potential partners for their work. There were not many cultural resource centers with this reporting structure in the survey data and none in the case studies.

The last reporting line in the study is centers reporting to Multicultural Affairs or Diversity Offices. This structure has become more common for cultural resource centers as institutions hire Chief Diversity Officers to spearhead their diversity efforts. The benefits for cultural resource centers include greater visibility at the institution as long as the division also has the financial backing and political power needed to work with other units. The Multicultural Affairs Divisions may have a Vice Provost of Diversity or other Chief Diversity Officer title to elevate the importance of the work, however, there are centers reporting to a Multicultural Affairs Division that wields little institutional power and therefore are located lower in the institutional hierarchy. Some Multicultural Affairs Offices are embedded within Student Affairs or Academic Affairs while others are in stand alone divisions within the organizational chart of the institution. Two cases in this study exhibited this reporting line and the staff noted the increased visibility and prioritization of cultural resource centers within the institution.

The cons to reporting to this division depend on the financial and human resources given to the division. The status of the division through the titles of the supervisors for the cultural resource centers give some indication as to where in the hierarchy the centers may lie. While the Multicultural Center at Lumpkin University found it beneficial to be at the table with senior administration because of the elevated status of the Diversity Office, State University's new structure was still being tested as they had an interim Chief Diversity Officer and transitioned out of Academic Affairs during the time of the case study interviews.

Depending on where cultural resource centers are housed, the training and educational backgrounds of the cultural resource centers are also varied. For example, there was a range of educational training for the staff at the race-specific centers in State University with many coming from ethnic studies programs. The staff members were not consistently trained in student development theory and therefore less equipped to focus on the developmental needs of students. Professional development at student affairs conferences and workshops for cultural resource centers may be outside of what the center staff may be familiar with as they lead their centers.

Considerations by taxonomy. There are three categories within the Taxonomy of Cultural Resource Centers in Higher Education each having its own benefits and challenges. Model A illustrates a single multicultural or intercultural resource center model at the institution. Model B covers race-specific centers although there may be a single or multiple race-specific centers at the institution. Lastly, Model C illustrates institutions with both race-specific and a multicultural or intercultural resource center on campus.

The benefits for campuses selecting Model A include a singular hub for diversity-related activities providing more centralized programming and educational initiatives. A single multicultural or intercultural center may be readily identifiable as the campus diversity expert and provide opportunities to explore intersectionalities of identities and cross-cultural communication. The cons, however, are that the center may not be adequately resourced (both human and financial) to fulfill their multitude of responsibilities; the needs may be far greater than a single center may address, and there may not be the relevant expertise for each area the center is charged with covering. For example, multicultural or intercultural centers expected to tackle issues of race, gender, ability, sexual orientation, and class may have very limited expertise among their staff. If the center only has a few professional staff, is it expected to be the expert in all areas of social justice and social identities? There is greater room for institutions to fall short of meeting the needs of a diverse student population when the responsibilities are given to a single center. For example, a challenge for the Multicultural Center at Lumpkin University was the lack of a full-time professional with expertise and knowledge in the Latina/o community. This lack of a consistent presence was seen as a potential reason Latina/o students were not as engaged with the center as African American or Asian American students since the latter communities had professional staff representation. However, this model may work well for institutions with small student populations and limited resources.

Model B works well for campuses with a critical mass of different racial groups looking for support. Race-specific centers allow for staff with expertise in the particular racial communities to be able to role model and also serve as a resource for the campus. This model allows for more programs to be available and tailored to specific student populations. For example, a Black resource center may focus on initiatives to support Black men on campus while also offering culturally relevant leadership development programs for Black student leadership on campus. Students may also feel more comfortable going to the center when they see staff who have an understanding and reflect the cultural knowledge in their communities. The challenge for institutions with only race-specific centers is that the centers may not have intentional efforts to develop intercultural competence. If cross-cultural development is not built into their missions, their efforts may be so focused on their specific racial populations there may be limited collaborations with other race-specific centers or campus departments. Race-specific centers may also have greater challenges in addressing intersectionalities if their staff are not trained or have expertise in how to approach intersecting and multiple social identities of their student populations.

Model C offers a best of both worlds for institutions and was seen as the preferred approach by the Intercultural Center director at Simon College. The missions of race-specific and multicultural or intercultural centers create space for intra-racial and inter-racial initiatives. The belief is that these centers would also be sufficiently and adequately staffed with individuals who have the relevant training and educational background to meet their specific resource center's mission. By having solely a multicultural or intercultural center, there is a fear that resources are diluted or that there is not enough programming for everyone who needs or wants it on campus. The student populations served by race-specific centers are also very diverse and may already experience marginalization within those groups. Race-specific centers are also asked to serve dual purposes of educating and empowering their target student populations but also serve as a resource for the entire campus. The importance of cross-cultural skills development may still be expected of race-specific centers but the responsibilities may be more evenly distributed with the multicultural or intercultural center able to take the lead for the campus on developing the campus' intercultural competence. The challenge for this model includes the large amount of resources and structural support needed to ensure they are able to meet their missions. The structure would need to promote collaboration rather than silos around diversity issues. Issues of territorialism may arise through this model although if they are sufficiently resourced by the institution and have strong leadership that promotes partnerships, a more collaborative and cohesive environment may be promoted.

Utilizing Organizational Behavior Frames

The organizational behavior frames discussed in the case studies offer insight into how institutions may approach diversity work, as well as how stakeholders may push for change. Through this study, the symbolic, systemic, collegial, and bureaucratic frames appear more static and tied more closely to the institutional context and culture while also appearing less malleable than the political frame. For example, the collegial frame may be difficult to employ in a large, decentralized institution where community members are not already used to working collaboratively. The level of trust needed to maximize the collegial frame may be difficult to generate if the existing environment is one of decentralization and territorialism. The political frame appears to be the most dynamic of the organizational behavior frames and more easily employed by stakeholders looking to push for institutional change.

Cultural resource centers are often developing students and working to change the environment to be more welcoming and inclusive for marginalized student populations. With those goals in mind, the political frame is often used if not by the cultural resource center staff, then by the students, faculty, staff, community members, and alumni who support these spaces. Institutions of higher education prefer to avoid the political fallout and approach diversity issues through other means that would support or help create a more positive public image of the institution. In that instance, if institutions would like to avoid the political protests by Communities of Color when it comes to cultural resource centers, there needs to be greater attention to the other organizational behavior frames to make the institution more reflective of social justice values.

For example, Simon College was able to capitalize on their existing institutional culture of collegiality even though they were called to task for not living up to their social justice values. Once they took explicit steps to not only focus on the symbolic frame, they utilized the bureaucratic frame by creating greater infrastructure to support diversity. Administrators created committees and climate surveys to regularly assess the institution in terms of the climate for students, faculty, and staff. The community members would also be represented on administrative committees so when political action was taken, Simon College was able to readily respond with the many structures they already had in place to involve stakeholders.

For institutions looking to enhance their commitment to diversity, cultural resource centers are a vital resource for transforming their environments. The centers may at times serve as mediators between senior administration and students. On the one hand, they can be educational and empowering spaces to grow critical thinkers and community conscious students but on the other hand, they may be asked to dampen student mobilization efforts when challenging the status quo. Knowing that political behavior is the go-to organizational behavior frame for many disenfranchised groups, institutions can be proactive by creating cultural shifts internally through their leadership and bureaucracy.

Creating cultural shifts and underscoring the value of diversity on campuses require the institution to “mainstream” their diversity efforts so they are not seen solely as beneficial for marginalized student populations. However, this needs to be done without diluting the purposes of support programs. For example, cultural resource centers need to be communicated as a resource to the entire campus through institutional channels reaching every campus member, not just Students of Color. They should be integrated into orientations, residence life trainings, and student activities so the cultural resource centers are given the status and visibility of a campus-wide resource. While many of the cultural resource centers in the study mentioned a broad population in their mission statements, it was unclear how much support they received from the institution in getting the message across to the campus. At Lumpkin University, the Multicultural Center was listed in many institutional materials and website references so that they were not limited solely to Students of Color or other marginalized student populations.

As Bolman and Deal (2003) recommended, organizations need to be adept at employing multiple organizational behavior frames. The challenge then is to use the frames in a coherent fashion moving towards the same goal of creating increasingly inclusive environments for Students of Color and other marginalized student populations. If there are internal mechanisms for Students of Color to express their concerns and the institutions are responsive in a timely fashion, there may be less public organizing that is viewed as damaging to the institution's reputation. However, the danger in greater institutionalization of such mechanisms is that even the representatives for certain communities may be out of touch with the larger population and may not necessarily speak for their communities.

Three of the four institutions in the case studies noted their public commitment to diversity utilizing the symbolic frame to help create a culture of commitment. In those cases, they also utilized the bureaucratic frames to support that commitment, often turning to their respective cultural resource centers for expertise and leadership. The bureaucratic frame is one that needs to be utilized in conjunction with the symbolic, political, and collegial frames to get stakeholders on board with any institutional changes. For cultural resource centers that may be situated lower on the institutional hierarchy, senior administration would need to take the lead in promoting the centers and leveraging their authority to promote greater cooperation and collaboration.

My Experiences Informing Implications

As mentioned in Chapter 3, I am informed by my professional experiences working in and leading cultural resource centers in higher education. While working at institutions of higher education, I bore witness to the tensions of administration wanting to support Students of Color but also wanting to maintain the status quo. Confronting the marginalization faced by Students of Color was messy and there was a desire to keep a pristine institutional image that denied racism's existence. The challenge was that institutions in trying to maintain a false image created even greater damage to the very students they were trying to support. More recent racist cases on college campuses were accompanied by responses from university presidents and chancellors decrying the racist incidents saying it did not reflect the institution's values. However, for many of these students, the racism was so embedded in their institution's that the highly publicized incidents were really only a snapshot of the larger problems of institutionalized racism in their institutions – institutions that cared more for their public images and promoting a post-racial America than fully acknowledging the changes that needed to take place.

There are implications for cultural resource centers and for institutions as a whole. As a former cultural resource center staff member, there is only so much center staff members have control over in the environment. Senior administration and the broader institutional structures play a large role in how effective or ineffective a center may be in promoting a social justice agenda. Students of Color and White allies are also important agents in this effort, however, they could also benefit from infrastructures within and beyond the cultural resource center.

For cultural resource center staff, I understand first hand what it means to be the mediator between senior administration and students; to be seen as both an advocate for students and as an administrator protecting the institution's image. I do not believe there needs to be conflicts between these pressures but rather there needs to be a reframing for institutions and senior administrators about what it means to protect the institution's image. Advocating for Students of Color should never be in conflict with the institution's overall interests since the institution is meant to educate and develop the students to be productive and engaged citizens. When Students of Color are pushed to the margins, ignored, and actively discriminated against by fellow students, faculty, and staff, it is incumbent upon the institution to take on the mantle to address those concerns rather than sweep them under the rug. Racism as a system of oppression does not disappear over time without those who will work to actively oppose it. Therefore, many of the implications I discuss in this dissertation attempt to provide the organizational perspective for tackling these issues I experienced as a cultural resource center staff member, which also appeared through the case studies.

Future Research

This study has only scratched the surface in the research that may be conducted on cultural resource centers and their relationship with the campus climate. Future research may build on this study through follow-ups with the four cases, analyses of the role of cultural resource center staff's social identities in their approach to their work, student engagement and activism surrounding the centers, and further assessments of campus climate interactions utilizing the organizational behavior frames. In addition, given the findings of the common purposes of cultural resource centers, an assessment instrument may be created and adapted by cultural resource centers across the country looking to measure their impact on student outcomes.

Each of the four case studies can be explored further by focusing on student outcomes. For example, the findings through the case study of the Intercultural Center corroborates prior research on how liberal arts colleges are unique environments for engaging students across difference (Denson & Chang, 2009; Umbach & Kuh, 2006). More information can be gathered to understand how the relationships between the dimensions work to create an improved campus climate at Simon College. While the institution has a campus climate survey, a more detailed assessment of the IC may be beneficial in understanding the student outcomes related to participation in their programs. The IC at Simon College has a multitude of responsibilities that span both targeted services for Students of Color and intergroup dialogues. The study could identify the relative benefit and impact of targeted support services compared to the intercultural work of the center. Further study can also examine student outcomes within the context of the organizational behavior frames. This would require more qualitative research to record student observations of the climate and reflections on their experiences. There could also be additional inquiry into the perspectives of administration, faculty, and students about institutional dynamics around the Intercultural Center.

Another area for research includes delving into the influence of social identities held by center staff in how they approach their work with the cultural resource centers. Hurtado and colleagues (2012) note the social identities of institutional agents are an important component in the climate and can impact student experiences and outcomes. For cultural resource centers that may be personality driven, the social identities may provide insight into the organizational behaviors of the centers and how the staff experience the climate. There are initial data from the current study illustrating how the directors approach meeting their missions based off their experiences as People of Color in predominantly White environments although the data have not been sufficiently analyzed to answer that inquiry. For many, their own experiences of marginalization have given them the ability to connect with students who may also feel displaced on campus. While there are many programs cultural resource centers offer, the staff are often what draws students to these spaces and helps them to see the centers as home away from home.

Because so many cultural resource centers started out of student activism, there is a long history of student organizing efforts to protect or grow these spaces throughout their existence. Another area to explore would be how student organizing has evolved with regards to the cultural resource centers and how organizing may be related to shifting missions or broader sociohistorical contexts. Especially in the past decade where private and public institutions faced resource constraints, it would be interesting to see what role students and student organizations played in advocating and protecting the centers. There could be a number of lens by which to examine student organizing in this project – through the demographics of the student organizers, the strategies to organizing and advocacy, and the philosophical arguments used by students. This study would best be done through a longitudinal and historical case study at an institution with archival research, interviews, and site visits. The study could capture the shifting dynamics of cultural resource centers and the populations they are expected to serve, particularly for the multicultural and intercultural resource centers.

Beyond just the cultural resource centers, further research may be conducted to test the viability of overlaying organizational behavior frames onto the MMDLE as a useful assessment tool for institutions seeking to improve their climates. The descriptions of the interactions between dimensions are helpful to the extent they may be used to create interventions and offer recommendations. This research may take a multi-phase approach as institutional agents first reflect on the institutional components fitting within the MMDLE dimensions then identify what elements seem to have the greatest influences on those dimensions. This may assist institutional agents in identifying strategies (i.e. organizational behavior frames) for affecting the different dimensions of the climate. I can begin with the three case studies that do not already have climate assessments and approach the fourth study to gauge interest in capturing organizational behavior. The institutional assessment of organizational behavior may also be a combination of qualitative and quantitative inquiry, allowing stakeholders to reflect on institutional priorities and practices. The studies could be longitudinal in nature to see how organizational behaviors change over time and what are the influences and interactions between the dimensions of the climate. The studies could examine what institutional and societal changes occurred during the period of the study that may relate to the organizational behaviors.

Another area worth further study would be the development of an assessment instrument specifically for cultural resource centers to measure student outcomes. This study has shown there are common elements in the purposes of cultural resource centers across the country. Building off this foundation, an assessment tool may be crafted that addresses the key components of cultural resource centers and links them with student outcomes such as critical thinking, cultural competence, and civic engagement. The tool may be a hybrid assessment and evaluation instrument to assist centers in learning about the relationships between their programs, services, and student outcomes based on participation.

The assessments may be both qualitative and quantitative, gathering data on students' experiences with the cultural resource centers as well as their participation in programs and services. Students may be interviewed and asked for perceptions of the climate and how participation in the cultural resource centers has helped them academically, personally, and socially. Surveys can also be used to assess student experiences with the climate and have the experiences linked with student outcomes. Examples of student outcomes include critical thinking skills, cultural competencies, interpersonal skills, leadership, civic engagement, and retention. These outcomes are mentioned within the MMDLE as leading to the fulfillment of social equity, democratic, and civic outcomes (Hurtado et al., 2012). Additional cross-case analyses can be conducted to identify any differences based on the taxonomy on not only the climate measures but also the student outcome measures.

For institutions that do not have a cultural resource center and may be thinking about starting one, climate assessments may be done to get baseline data. There could be follow up assessments to see what impact the presence of a cultural resource center may have on the climate beyond the students who participate in the center's programs and services. There may be indirect effects for the rest of the campus that would be interesting to capture. Even if the entire student population is not actively engaged with the cultural resource centers, there may be indirect effects of having the center on the campus.

Conclusion

This dissertation has provided descriptive analyses of cultural resource centers to shed light on the missions and structures of cultural resource centers. Given the limited scholarship, I have focused on providing a foundational understanding of cultural resource centers at the national level for scholars and practitioners. The centers play a role in creating a welcoming campus climate for Students of Color that needs to be explored further. There have been a few published studies (L. D. Patton, 2006; Pewewardy & Frey, 2002; Stennis-Williams et al., 1988; Yosso & Benavides Lopez, 2010) and dissertations (Toya, 2011; Welch, 2009) offering either case study or general multicultural student services sharing the impact of centers on student outcomes. There needs to be a more systematic effort to capture the work of cultural resource centers, particularly in the post-racial era which can be interpreted as a movement to push the centers out of existence. Understanding the institutional dynamics around diversity will help stakeholders strategize how to support cultural resource centers and how to protect the spaces from criticism and attacks on its targeted programming efforts towards Students of Color.

The shifting focus of cultural resource centers from Students of Color to the entire campus population also provide opportunities and challenges for cultural resource center staff and their supporters. Along the same vein as the post-racial movement, there needs to be greater intentionality and critical examination of who is being served, why, and the messages it sends to the campus community. Center staff, students, and other stakeholders will also need to think of innovative ways to strategize and evolve with their centers to continue to stay relevant to the growing diversity on college campuses. Issues related to multiracial students, intersections of social identities, and the tension of making diversity everyone's responsibility with having individuals with expertise in these areas are all emerging issues cultural resource centers will need to address.

Taken together, the diversity and social justice movement of institutions of higher education, particularly the four-year non-profits, are continuously shaping the roles of cultural resource centers on campus. While there may be fundamental similarities in purpose, the institutions also have their unique approaches and need to find models, programs, and policies that will work for their context. Through this study, I also hope cultural resource centers and institutions will be able to reflect on their own centers in relationship with others. Distributed leadership for diversity infuses the values of diversity throughout the campus units regardless of its historical mission (D. G. Smith, 2009). Institutions moving forward will need to give careful consideration to their diversity goals and where cultural resource centers fit in with the process. There also needs to be an understanding that the institution is a system with many moving parts and dimensions of the climate that are interplaying with each other to address any problem. The next phase in research on cultural resource centers and campus climate work will have to answer those questions as it pertains to student learning outcomes. Especially in light of the Fisher v. University of Texas at Austin case, the ramifications of a Supreme Court decision on race-conscious admissions practices will ultimately affect race-conscious programs and services including cultural resource centers. Therefore, the benefits of these spaces for student outcomes and the overall institution have to become sufficiently documented and explored. For centers serving marginalized student populations, it is time to pull them out of the shadows and give them the scholarly recognition they deserve. Strategizing for the future involves having the evidentiary support for these evolving cultural resource centers and their role in providing educational benefits for all students.

APPENDIX A: INFORMED CONSENT (SURVEY)

University of California, Los Angeles
CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH
Cultural Resource Centers: Missions, Structures, and Strategies (Part One: Survey)

You are asked to participate in a research study conducted by Yen Ling Shek, M.A. and Mitchell J. Chang, Ph.D. and associates from the Department of Education at the University of California, Los Angeles. You were selected as a possible participant in this study because you are a director or senior staff member of a cultural resource center. Your participation in this research study is voluntary. Only one authorized staff per cultural resource center should complete the survey.

Why is this study being done?
This study is being done to understand the range of organizational structures and resources for cultural resource centers on four-year colleges and universities in the United States. Information from the study will be used to inform research on cultural resource centers and their capacities to address campus climate for diversity. The research findings can also be used by cultural resource centers to situate their own centers within the broader national context and provide benchmarks as centers consider their own structures.

What will happen if I take part in this research study?
If you volunteer to participate in this study, the researcher will ask you to do the following:

- Complete a survey about the cultural resource center and institution that will take 15-20 minutes. For example, information will be requested on the center mission, staffing, and budgets, just to name a few.
- Consider volunteering to be interviewed at a later date and serve as a case study in future research. You do NOT have to agree to participate in the case study to complete the survey. Only a few centers will be selected for further research.

How long will I be in the research study?
Participation in the study will take a total of 15-20 minutes, unless you volunteer and are selected as a case study. Participation in the case study will include a 60-90 minute interview and two-hour site visit.

Are there any potential risks or discomforts that I can expect from this study?
The potential risk for participating in this study includes professional consequences or retaliation stemming from the information shared in the survey. Maintaining confidentiality and anonymity in the reporting of the findings will minimize this risk. Data will be aggregrated so that no one individual cultural resource center can be identified.

Are there any potential benefits if I participate?
You may benefit from the study by seeing how your cultural resource center is situated within the broader network of cultural resource centers in the United States. The results of the research may provide greater insight into how cultural resource centers are structured and resourced, which can also inform your own work as a cultural resource center staff member. You may also

potentially increase your networks with cultural resource centers across the country. If requested, you will receive an executive briefing of the survey results.

Will I receive any payment if I participate in this study?
You will receive no payment for participation in this study.

Will information about my participation and me be kept confidential?
Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can identify you will remain confidential. It will be disclosed only with your permission or as required by law. Confidentiality will be maintained by means of separating personally identifiable information from the survey unless you would like to share your information publicly in the online database. You will be able to select which data you would like to make public and which you would like to keep private.

What are my rights if I take part in this study?
You may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty or loss of benefits to which you were otherwise entitled. You can choose whether or not you want to be in this study. If you volunteer to be in this study, you may leave the study at any time without consequences of any kind. You are not waiving any of your legal rights if you choose to be in this research study. You may refuse to answer any questions that you do not want to answer and still remain in the study.

Future use of data and/or specimens
Please check the appropriate box below and initial:
______I agree to have my survey data stored for future use by the Principal Investigator and/or research team.
______I do not want my survey data stored for future use by the Principal Investigator and/or research team.

Consent to be contacted for future research
Please check the appropriate box below and initial:
______I agree to be contacted for future research by the Principal Investigator and/or research team.
______I do not agree to be contacted for future research by the Principal Investigator and/or research team.

Who can answer questions I might have about this study?
In the event of a research related injury, please immediately contact one of the researchers listed below. If you have any questions, comments or concerns about the research, you can talk to the one of the researchers. Please contact Yen Ling Shek at yenling.shek@gmail.com, 424-832-7025 or Mitchell J. Chang at mjchang@gseis.ucla.edu, 310-825-0504.

If you wish to ask questions about your rights as a research participant or if you wish to voice any problems or concerns you may have about the study to someone other than the researchers, please call the Office of the Human Research Protection Program at (310) 825-7122 or write to

Office of the Human Research Protection Program, UCLA, 11000 Kinross Avenue, Suite 102, Box 951694, Los Angeles, CA 90095-1694.

APPENDIX B: INFORMED CONSENT (CASE STUDY)

University of California, Los Angeles
CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH
Cultural Resource Centers: Missions, Structures, and Strategies (Part Two: Case Study)

You are asked to participate in a research study conducted by Yen Ling Shek, M.A. and Mitchell J. Chang, Ph.D. and associates from the Department of Education at the University of California, Los Angeles. You were selected as a possible participant in this study because you are a director or senior staff member of a cultural resource center. Your participation in this research study is voluntary.

Why is this study being done?

This study is being done to understand the range of organizational structures and resources for cultural resource centers on four-year colleges and universities in the United States. Information from the study will be used to inform research on cultural resource centers and their capacities to address campus climate for diversity. The research findings can also be used by cultural resource centers to situate their own centers within the broader national context and provide benchmarks as centers consider their own structures.

What will happen if I take part in this research study?

If you agree to volunteer to serve as a site for the case study AND if your site is selected, the researcher will ask you to do the following:

- Participate in a 60-90 minute in-person interview at a location of the participant's choosing.
- Respond to questions related to the mission, structure, resource capacities, strategies, and efforts of the cultural resource center.
- Provide access to the cultural resource center for a two-hour observation period in order to get a snapshot of the daily operations of the center.
- Provide access to any relevant institutional documents regarding the center (annual reports, brochures, etc.)
- Review any quotes and relevant analyses that may be used in the final report.

How long will I be in the research study?

Participation in the study will take 60-90 minutes for the interview. A two-hour observation period will be requested at the cultural resource center for overall observations of the center, students, staff, and programs.

Are there any potential risks or discomforts that I can expect from this study?

The potential risk for participating in this study includes professional consequences or retaliation stemming from the information shared in the interview. Maintaining confidentiality and anonymity in the reporting of the findings will minimize this risk. Audio-recordings of the interviews will be deleted after transcription. Transcripts will be coded with no personally identifiable information.

Are there any potential benefits if I participate?
You may benefit from the study by seeing how your cultural resource center is situated within the broader network of cultural resource centers in the United States. The results of the research may provide greater insight into how cultural resource centers are structured and resourced, which can also inform your own work as a cultural resource center staff member.

Will I receive any payment if I participate in this study?
You will receive no payment for participation in this study.

Will information about my participation and me be kept confidential?
Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can identify you will remain confidential. It will be disclosed only with your permission or as required by law. Confidentiality will be maintained by means of separating personally identifiable information from the transcript and analyses. Audio-recordings will be deleted after transcription. Pseudonyms will be used and institutions will be described in broad enough terms so that it cannot be identified. Transcripts will be stored in a password protected folder in a hard drive while the coding scheme will be stored in a password-protected folder in an external hard drive housed in a secure location.

What are my rights if I take part in this study?
You may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty or loss of benefits to which you were otherwise entitled. You can choose whether or not you want to be in this study. If you volunteer to be in this study, you may leave the study at any time without consequences of any kind. You are not waiving any of your legal rights if you choose to be in this research study. You may refuse to answer any questions that you do not want to answer and still remain in the study.

Future use of data and/or specimens
Please check the appropriate box below and initial:
______I agree to have my interview stored for future use by the Principal Investigator and/or research team.
______I do not want my interview stored for future use by the Principal Investigator and/or research team.

Who can answer questions I might have about this study?
In the event of a research related injury, please immediately contact one of the researchers listed below. If you have any questions, comments or concerns about the research, you can talk to the one of the researchers. Please contact Yen Ling Shek at yenling.shek@gmail.com, 424-832-7025 or Mitchell J. Chang at mjchang@gseis.ucla.edu, 310-825-0504.

If you wish to ask questions about your rights as a research participant or if you wish to voice any problems or concerns you may have about the study to someone other than the researchers, please call the Office of the Human Research Protection Program at (310) 825-7122 or write to Office of the Human Research Protection Program, UCLA, 11000 Kinross Avenue, Suite 102, Box 951694, Los Angeles, CA 90095-1694.

SIGNATURE OF STUDY PARTICIPANT

I understand the procedures described above. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I agree to participate in this study. I have been given a copy of this form.

Name of Participant

Signature of Participant Date

SIGNATURE OF PERSON OBTAINING CONSENT

In my judgment the participant is voluntarily and knowingly giving informed consent and possesses the legal capacity to give informed consent to participate in this research study.

Name of Person Obtaining Consent Contact Number

Signature of Person Obtaining Consent Date

APPENDIX C: LONG SURVEY

Thank you for your interest in participating in this dissertation research on cultural resource centers in higher education. The criteria for inclusion in this study are that you must:

- Be at a public or private non-profit four-year institution of higher education
- Work primarily with Students of Color (African American, Asian American, Latina/o, Native American, Pacific Islander) although you may also serve other populations
- Provide student services – advising/development/training for students and student organizations
- Be a professional staff person (full-time or part-time) of a cultural resource center and authorized to complete this survey – preferably the staff person should have budgetary oversight of the center and be responsible for daily operations.

Basic Information for the Center

1. Name of Center:
2. Year Center was established:
3. Areas of Primary Emphases (Check all that apply.)
    a. African American
    b. Asian American
    c. Latina/o or Chicana/o
    d. Native American/American Indian
    e. Pacific Islander
    f. Mulitracial/Multiethnic
4. What additional student populations do you have programs and services specifically targeted towards? (Check all that apply.)
    a. LGBT/Queer students
    b. Faith-based/Spiritual/Religious students
    c. International students
    d. White students
    e. Other students (please state): ___________________
5. What other populations do you serve?
6. How would you describe your center?

   a. Multicultural – serving multiple student populations across social identities (race, gender, sexual orientation, religion, etc.)
   b. Intercultural – serving multiple student populations with a focus on cross-cultural interactions
   c. Race/Ethnic Specific – serving a single racial/ethnic student population
   d. Other (please state): ___________________

Basic Information on the Institution

7. Name of Institution:
8. Does your institution have a Strategic Plan?
   a. If your institution has a Strategic Plan, is the center included?
   b. Please include a website link or email an attachment of the file to crc.org.research@gmail.com if available.
9. Does your institution have any formal Diversity Initiatives?
   a. What are the institution's formal Diversity Initiatives?
   b. Please include a link or email an attachment with any relevant documents to crc.org.research@gmail.com if available.
10. Are there other cultural resource centers on your campus?
    a. How many cultural resource centers are there in total on campus (including yours)?
    b. What are the names of the other cultural resource centers on campus?

Staffing

Professional

11. Number of full-time professional staff members:
12. Number of part-time professional staff members:

Administrative Support Staff

13. Number of full-time administrative support staff members:
14. Number of part-time administrative support staff members:

Students/Paraprofessional

15. Number of paid graduate staff:
16. Number of unpaid graduate staff:
17. Number of paid undergraduate staff:
18. Number of unpaid undergraduate staff:

Structure

19. In which division is your center housed?
    a. Student Affairs
    b. Academic Affairs
    c. Multicultural Affairs (not in Student or Academic Affairs)
    d. Provost/Chancellor's Office
    e. Other (please state):
20. What is the full title of the supervisor the cultural resource center reports to (i.e. Dean of ______, Assistant Dean of ____, Vice President of ______, etc.)?
21. What is the title of the staff person responsible for the daily operations of the cultural resource center (i.e. Director, Dean, Assistant/Associate Dean, Coordinator, etc.)?

Budget – please include your final funding figures for Academic Year 2011-2012 in the following areas. If the item is not applicable, please write N/A.

22. Permanent Annual Allocation:
23. Total Operating Budget:
24. Total Programming Budget:
25. Total Endowment:
26. Total Internal Grants/Soft Money from Other Campus Sources:
27. Total External Grant Funding:
28. Total Additional Discretionary Funding (not in the institution's annual operating budget allocation for the center):

Mission

29. What is the stated (official) mission statement for the cultural resource center?

Strategies

30. What are your strategies in fulfilling your center's stated mission? Please be as descriptive as possible in how the center approaches its work with students (guiding philosophies, specific behaviors, examples of programs).
31. How would you describe the center's relationship with other departments/units? Which units does the center regularly engage with and for what purposes?
32. How would you describe your campus climate and its impact on the cultural resource center?
33. How would you describe the cultural resource center's impact on the campus climate?
34. Please describe the biggest challenge for the cultural resource center.
35. What are some of the center's greatest achievements?

Additional Information

36. Please include links to any official documents (websites, brochures, annual reports, assessments, program reviews, strategic plans, etc.) that could provide additional information on the cultural resource center. You can also email files to crc.org.research@gmail.com

Further Contact

37. May the researcher contact you for further information if needed?
    a. Yes
    b. No
38. Would you be interested in being considered for a case study/interview?
    a. Yes
    b. No
39. Would you like an executive briefing of this study's findings?
    a. Yes
    b. No

40. Please include your contact information if you responded “yes” to any of the questions about being contacted in the future:
    a. Name:
    b. Email:
    c. Phone Number:
41. Would you be interested in having the cultural resource center listed in a publicly available national directory of cultural resource centers?
    a. Yes
    b. No
42. If you responded yes to the previous question, please fill out the following information:
    a. Center’s Webpage:
    b. Center’s Phone Number:
    c. Center’s Email:

APPENDIX D: SHORT SURVEY

Thank you for your interest in participating in this dissertation research on cultural resource centers in higher education. The criteria for inclusion in this study are that you must:

- Be at a public or private non-profit four-year institution of higher education
- Work primarily with Students of Color (African American, Asian American, Latina/o, Native American, Pacific Islander) although you may also serve other populations
- Provide student services – advising/development/training for students and student organizations
- Be a professional staff person (full-time or part-time) of a cultural resource center and authorized to complete this survey – preferably the staff person should have budgetary oversight of the center and be responsible for daily operations.

Basic Information for the Center

1. Formal Name of Center (please do not use acronyms):
2. Year Center was established:
3. Areas of Primary Emphases (Check all that apply.)
    a. African American
    b. Asian American
    c. Latina/o or Chicana/o
    d. Native American/American Indian
    e. Pacific Islander
    f. Mulitracial/Multiethnic
4. What additional student populations do you have programs and services specifically targeted towards? (Check all that apply.)
    a. LGBT/Queer students
    b. Faith-based/Spiritual/Religious students
    c. International students
    d. White students
    e. Other students (please state): ___________________
5. What other populations do you serve?
6. How would you describe your center? (Please check all that apply.)

    a. Multicultural – serving multiple student populations across social identities (race, gender, sexual orientation, religion, etc.)
    b. Intercultural – serving multiple student populations with a focus on cross-cultural interactions
    c. Race/Ethnic Specific – serving a single racial/ethnic student population
    d. Other (please state): ___________________

7. Are there other cultural resource centers on your campus?
    a. How many cultural resource centers are there in total on campus (including yours)?
    b. What are the names of the other cultural resource centers on campus?

Basic Information on the Institution

8. Formal Name of Institution (please do not use acronyms):
9. State in which your institution is located.

Mission

10. What is the stated (official) mission statement for the cultural resource center?

Structure

11. In which division is your center housed?
    a. Student Affairs
    b. Academic Affairs
    c. Multicultural Affairs (not in Student or Academic Affairs)
    d. Provost/Chancellor's Office
    e. Other (please state):
12. What is the full title of the supervisor the cultural resource center reports to (i.e. Dean of ______, Assistant Dean of ____, Vice President of ______, etc.)?
13. What is the title of the staff person responsible for the daily operations of the cultural resource center (i.e. Director, Dean, Assistant/Associate Dean, Coordinator, etc.)?

Staffing

Please indicate the staffing levels for your center.

Professional

14. Number of full-time professional staff members:
15. Number of part-time professional staff members:

Administrative Support Staff

16. Number of full-time administrative support staff members:
17. Number of part-time administrative support staff members:

Students/Paraprofessional

18. Number of paid graduate staff:
19. Number of unpaid graduate staff:
20. Number of paid undergraduate staff:
21. Number of unpaid undergraduate staff:

Budget – please include your final funding figures for Academic Year 2011-2012 in the following areas. If the item is not applicable, please write N/A.

22. Permanent Annual Allocation:
23. Total Operating Budget:
24. Total Programming Budget:
25. Total Endowment:
26. Total Internal Grants/Soft Money from Other Campus Sources:
27. Total External Grant Funding:
28. Total Additional Discretionary Funding (not in the institution's annual operating budget allocation for the center):

Further Contact

29. May the researcher contact you for further information if needed?
    f. Yes

g. No

30. Would you be interested in being considered for a case study/interview?
    h. Yes
    i. No
31. Would you like an executive briefing of this study's findings?
    j. Yes
    k. No
32. Please include your contact information if you responded "yes" to any of the questions about being contacted in the future:
    l. Name:
    m. Email:
    n. Phone Number:
33. Would you be interested in having the cultural resource center listed in a publicly available national directory of cultural resource centers?
    o. Yes
    p. No
34. If you responded yes to the previous question, please fill out the following information:
    q. Center's Webpage:
    r. Center's Phone Number:
    s. Center's Email:

APPENDIX E: INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Thank you for your participation in this study on cultural resource centers in higher education. The purpose of the study is to understand the missions and organizational capacities of cultural resource centers across the country. This study also aims to understand how the structures of cultural resource centers influence the strategies centers use to address campus racial climate. As a leader of a cultural resource center, I will be asking you questions related to your role at the center, how you approach your work, and how the organizational capacities of the cultural resource center support or constrain your ability to work on campus racial climate issues.

Your information will be kept confidential and you may stop the interview at any time without repercussions. Do you have any questions?

---

1. What is your title at the cultural resource center?
2. How long have you served in this capacity?
3. How would you describe your role and responsibilities at the cultural resource center?
4. What is the mission of the cultural resource center?
5. What strategies do you use to meet your mission?
6. How would you describe the organizational capacity (staffing, budgeting, and other resources) of your center?
7. How does the work of your center address campus racial climate?
    a. What strategies do you use to address campus racial climate?
    b. How does the structure of the cultural resource center influence the strategies you use?
8. What research would be helpful for you to have available as a leader of the cultural resource center?

APPENDIX F: DATA SECURITY PLAN

Audio recordings

All audio recordings will be deleted after transcription.

Transcripts and Personal Identifiers

Transcripts will be saved in a password-protected “Data” folder on the researcher’s computer. Only the Principal Investigator will have access to the password. Each transcript will be coded using a unique identifier to link the transcript to the interviewee.

A separate coding electronic file with the name and institution of the interview participant and their unique identifier will be saved in a password-protected “Data” folder on an external hard drive at the researcher’s residence. The external hard drive can only be accessed by the researcher and will not be moved at any time.

APPENDIX G: CASE STUDY PROTOCOL

Problem Statement

In her foreword to *Culture Centers in Higher Education: Perspectives on Identity, Theory, and Practice*, Gloria Ladson-Billings, renowned scholar of critical race theory in education, states that cultural resource centers provide “social and psychological support for students of color…[and] serve as an important educational corrective” (p. xii) to address difficult campus climates for diversity. As Students of Color continue to grow in numbers on college campuses (Pryor et al., 2007), institutions of higher education are called to address how welcoming and supportive their campus climates for diversity are for student success (Hurtado et al., 2012; D. G. Smith, 2009). Examples of recent behaviors on college campuses seem to indicate much work is still needed to create more supportive environments: a professor referring to Black students who did not show up on time for class as slaves (Teague, 2011), “ghetto-themed” parties on college campuses (Garcia et al., 2011; Hing, 2011), and internet rants about Asians in the library (Lovett, 2011). Such racial microaggressions and blatant racism lead to racial battle fatigue for Students of Color, which in turn can affect their academic self-confidence and retention (W. A. Smith et al., 2007; Solórzano et al., 2000). It is therefore imperative for institutions to identify interventions and strategies for improving campus climate for diversity, a multidimensional and multi-contextual model of diversity and equity in the institutional environment (Ancis et al., 2000; Hurtado et al., 2012; W. A. Smith et al., 2007; Yosso & Benavides Lopez, 2010).

Cultural resource centers, as institutional offices, have historically been designed to counteract hostile racial climates on predominantly White campuses by operating as spaces of comfort, education, and empowerment for Students of Color (L. Jones et al., 2002; Shotton et al., 2010). Centers range from ethnic and race specific resource centers to multicultural offices that work with Students of Color and the broader campus community on issues of diversity, multiculturalism, and social justice (L. D. Patton, 2010c). Relatively little is published about their contributions, with even less focused on their capacity to meet the needs of increasingly diverse student populations at a macro level.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this research is to examine aspects of the organizational dimension of the campus climate for diversity by examining the capacity of cultural resource centers to meet the needs of Students of Color. Specifically, this study analyzes the missions, organizational structures, and strategies of cultural resource centers in higher education. By focusing on the organizational structure, it seeks to understand the extent to which higher education systemically supports and devalues cultural resource centers as spaces of support, education, and empowerment. Based upon survey data, interviews, observations, and document analyses, recommendations are made for how campuses can improve their campus climate for diversity through the creation, assessment, or further development of such centers. This research focuses on the structural and behavioral characteristics of cultural resource centers to contribute to filling that gap in the literature on campus climate for diversity.

Scope

The campus climate for diversity was initially conceptualized as the campus racial climate framework but has broadened to incorporate the range of diversity on college campuses "promoting social equity and democratic pluralism" (Hurtado et al., 2012, p. 12). The move from racial diversity to a broader view of diversity that is inclusive of gender, sexual orientation, religion, and ability can also be reflected in the creation and evolution of cultural resource centers (Mena, 2010), as well as in overall institutional diversity efforts (D. G. Smith, 2009). However, for the purpose of this study, the focus centers on cultural resource centers with a current or historical mission of serving Students of Color. I acknowledge there are cultural resource centers that focus primarily on women, religious diversity, and queer communities; however, racial diversity has been contested in college admissions in ways other social identities are not, such as the case with the University of Michigan *Gratz* and *Grutter* Supreme Court decisions (Hurtado et al., 2012; D. G. Smith, 2009). The direct exclusion of Students of Color is a unique aspect of American higher education (Cohen & Kisker, 2010; Karabel, 1984; D. G. Smith, 2009), and questions of racial equity remain to this day (Espenshade & Radford, 2009; Harper & Hurtado, 2007; D. G. Smith, 2009). In addition, this study controls for institutional type and limits the cases to four-year colleges and universities.

Research Questions

The research questions guiding this study are:

(1) How do campus cultural resource centers converge and differ in their stated missions to address campus climate for diversity?

(2) What are the commonalities and differences in the organizational structures of campus cultural resource centers in their capacity to address campus climate for diversity?

(3) How do those structures shape strategies and efforts to address campus climate for diversity?

Data Collection Procedures and Analysis

Multiple case studies will provide the rich, contextual data needed for the last research question on how structures influence the strategies of cultural resource centers to address campus climate for diversity (Scholz & Tietje, 2002; Yin, 2009). Following the potential emergence of a taxonomy for cultural resource centers, institutions falling within different categories of the taxonomy will be approached for interviews with the cultural resource center staff. The sample for the case study will be dependent also on the willingness of the staff to participate, which will be captured in the survey data during Phase One. Through maximum variation sampling, I will identify cases that represent a variation of cultural resource centers (M. Q. Patton, 2002). Maximum variation sampling is a form of purposeful sampling to identify patterns across the sample, as well as any unique variations (M. Q. Patton, 2002). The unit of analysis for the case is the cultural resource center with an embedded unit of analysis of cultural resource center staff. Site selection will be dependent upon the willingness of the cultural resource center staff and their respective institutions to participate in the study since it will involve interviews and document analyses.

Interviews

Cultural resource center staff that indicated a willingness to be interviewed and who represent the range of categories in the taxonomy will be contacted by email and by phone for their participation. I will ask for a 90-minute interview slot with the center staff to conduct in-person semi-structured interviews. The interview protocol is at the end of the document.

Document analyses

Document analyses will focus on public material (brochures, flyers, websites) and annual reports, if institutions are willing to share these documents. I will ask the cultural center staff for institutional documents but will also refer to publicly accessible documents from the institution's website.

Data analysis

Cross case synthesis will address the final research question by comparing the responses, observations, and documents across cultural resource centers (Yin, 2009). Since each case will represent the variation in organizational structure of cultural resource centers in the study, a cross case synthesis illuminates both implicit and explicit ways the structures may influence cultural resource center strategies (Yin, 2009). The implicit influences can be teased out through the comparisons of the cultural resource centers while the explicit influences are gathered directly through the interviews with the staff. While I will take a grounded theory approach to analyzing the data (Charmaz, 2006; Glaser & Strauss, 1967), I will be informed by the organizational behavior frames outlined by Berger and Milem (2000) – bureaucratic, collegial, political, symbolic, and systemic.

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Thank you for your participation in this study on cultural resource centers in higher education. The purpose of the study is to understand the missions and organizational capacities of cultural resource centers across the country. This study also aims to understand how the structures of cultural resource centers influence the strategies centers use to address campus racial climate. As a leader of a cultural resource center, I will be asking you questions related to your role at the center, how you approach your work, and how the organizational capacities of the cultural resource center support or constrain your ability to work on campus racial climate issues.

Your information will be kept confidential and you may stop the interview at any time without repercussions. Do you have any questions?

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1. What is your title at the cultural resource center?
2. How long have you served in this capacity?
3. How would you describe your role and responsibilities at the cultural resource center?
4. What is the mission of the cultural resource center?
5. What strategies do you use to meet your mission?
6. How would you describe the organizational capacity (staffing, budgeting, and other resources) of your center?
7. How does the work of your center address campus racial climate?
    a. What strategies do you use to address campus racial climate?
    b. How does the structure of the cultural resource center influence the strategies you use?
8. What research would be helpful for you to have available as a leader of the cultural resource center?

APPENDIX H: MISSION STATEMENTS CODEBOOK

Numeric Code	Category	Code	Description
1.1	Goal	Campus Mission	Connecting to the campus mission or the university overall
1.2	Goal	Society	Connection to society, social good, 21st century, etc.
1.3	Goal	Inclusive	Inclusive environment; intentional
1.4	Goal	Building community	Community building within a racial group or target racial groups
1.5	Goal	Needs	Addressing the needs
1.6	Goal	Cross-cultural	Cross-cultural or intercultural knowledge or skills building
1.7	Goal	Personal development	Personal growth, psychosocial, mentoring, empower
1.8	Goal	Recruitment/Retention	
1.9	Goal	Social justice	Social justice and equity
1.10	Goal	Space	Place, "home away from home," "safe space", environment
1.11	Goal	Success	
1.12	Goal/Vehicle	Leadership	
1.13	Goal/Vehicle	Professional development	Training for future success, careers, skills
1.14	Goal/Vehicle	Resources	Resource, advising, services
2.1	Target	AAPI	
2.2	Target	African American	
2.3	Target	American Indian	
2.4	Target	Broad Population	Connection to broader community, society, entire campus
2.5	Target	Latino	
2.6	Target	Multicultural	
2.7	Target	Other identities	Other social groups - gender, LGBT, faith, etc.
2.8	Target	Student Organizations	
2.9	Target	Underrepresented	Underrepresented, underserved, minority, etc.

3.1	Vehicle	Academic	Academic programs/events
3.2	Vehicle	Advocacy	Advocacy/advocate
3.3	Vehicle	Celebrate	Celebrate, promote, affirm, appreciate
3.4	Vehicle	Collaboration	Working with others
3.5	Vehicle	Cultural	Cultural identity, heritage, learning about history; cultural awareness
3.6	Vehicle	Educational	How they engage students, understanding, awareness
3.7	Vehicle	Interactions	Interactions, exchanges, dialogues, discussions
3.8	Vehicle	Programs	Programs, workshops, events, activities
3.9	Vehicle	Social	

APPENDIX I: COMMON MISSION STATEMENT CODES

Code	Percent of Centers (n=91)
Broad Population	75
Educational	69
Programs	54
Cultural	53
Personal Development	50
Academic	44
Space	42
Resources	41
Leadership	33
Cross Cultural	32
Social Justice	30
Recruitment/Retention	29
Advocacy	29

Note. The codes for the entire sample are listed in decreasing order of prominence. The percentages represent the proportion of cultural resource centers in the study with that focus in their mission statement.

APPENDIX J: COMPARISON OF CODES BY CENTER TYPE

Code	Percent of Centers All (n=91)	African American (n=17)	AAPI (n=14)	Latina/o (n=9)	Native American (n=5)	Multi cultural (N=46)
Broad Population	75	77	71	89	80	72
Educational	69	71	93	89	20	63
Programs	54	71	57	56	20	50
Cultural	53	65	64	78	60	39
Personal Development	50	47	64	44	40	48
Academic	44	65	50	33	80	33
Space	42	23	43	33	80	46
Resources	41	35	36	56	40	41
Leadership	33	35	43	44	0	30
Cross Cultural	32	18	21	0	20	48
Social Justice	30	18	7	22	0	46
Recruitment/Retention	29	18	36	44	80	22
Advocacy	29	12	22	44	20	35
Inclusive	23	0	36	22	40	26
Celebrate	19	18	29	44	0	13
Building Community	17	6	7	33	40	17

APPENDIX K: COMMON CODES FOR NATIVE AMERICAN CENTER MISSION STATEMENTS

Code	Percent of Native American Centers (n=5)
Recruitment/Retention	80
Academic	80
Space	80
Broad Population	80
Cultural	60
Personal Development	40
Resources	40
Inclusive	40
Building Community	40

APPENDIX L: COMMON CODES FOR LATINO CENTER MISSION STATEMENTS

Code	Percent of Latino Centers (n=9)
Broad Population	89
Educational	89
Cultural	78
Programs	56
Resources	56
Personal Development	44
Leadership	44
Recruitment/Retention	44
Advocacy	44
Celebrate	44

APPENDIX M: COMMON CODES FOR ASIAN AMERICAN AND PACIFIC ISLANDER CENTER MISSION STATEMENTS

Code	Percent of AAPI Centers (n=14)
Educational	93
Broad Population	71
Cultural	64
Personal Development	64
Programs	57
Academic	50
Space	43
Leadership	43

APPENDIX N: COMMON CODES FOR AFRICAN AMERICAN CENTER MISSION STATEMENTS

Code	Percent of African American Centers (n=17)
Broad Population	77
Educational	71
Programs	71
Academic	65
Cultural	65
Personal Development	47

APPENDIX O: COMMON CODES FOR MULTICULTURAL CENTER MISSION STATEMENTS

Code	Percent of Multicultural Centers (N=46)
Broad Population	72
Educational	63
Programs	50
Cross Cultural	48
Personal Development	48
Space	46
Social Justice	46
Resources	41

APPENDIX P: CASE STUDY #1 – INTERCULTURAL CENTER DESCRIPTION

Institutional Context

The Intercultural Center (IC) at Simon College was established in 2004 following the initiative of a student affairs professional in the Office of Student Life who felt more diversity programming was needed on the campus, particularly around racial and ethnic diversity. The institutional support and establishment of the center is contrary to the history of many cultural resource centers birthed through student activism (Hord, 2005c; L. D. Patton, 2010c). This unique history is due in part to the institutional culture.

Simon College is a small, private, religious institution on the West Coast. The institution was founded on the principles of social justice and inclusion, which are closely related to its religious affiliation. Of the approximately 4,400 students, 35.9% are Students of Color, with Latinos representing the largest proportion of Students of Color. The institution has about two-thirds undergraduate enrollment with a majority coming from the surrounding metropolitan region. The institution is located in a suburb of a metropolitan area on the West Coast. Although the suburb is primarily White, the metropolitan area is much more racially diverse. The institution's racial demographics more closely reflect the metropolitan area than the town. Perhaps reflected in the compositional diversity of the institution, the institutional culture of social justice and inclusive excellence are part of the founding of the college as well as its stated mission and values.

Prior to the creation of the IC, the primary support for Students of Color at Simon College resided in Academic Support Services, outside of Student Life. There were three professional staff members to support African American, Asian American, and Latino students. Although they worked in the area of academic support, the staff members also served as advisors for cultural heritage months and ethnic student organizations. When the IC was established in 2004, many of the responsibilities for programming support moved to the center with its limited resources. Students of Color were skeptical about the transition of support to the institutionally supported and established Intercultural Center, especially since there was only one full-time professional staff member and one additional 10-month staff member.

In the first three years of the IC, there were three different Directors adding to the distrust students had of the space. In 2007, one of the Academic Advisors transitioned into the IC Director role and marked an era of stability and growth. The new Director, along with a number of internal and external forces (e.g. student protests, faculty senate resolution for diversity training, and the external accreditation agency's notice of concern), elevated the status and visibility of the center on campus, which will be discussed in greater detail momentarily. Now, the IC has grown to three full-time professional staff members and 30 paid student staff.

Center Profile

The IC is well resourced among the other intercultural and multicultural centers in the study. Although most of the budget is dedicated to salary, the IC has created additional avenues to financially support its many programs and services. Its ability to garner needed resources has placed the IC in a comfortable position given their current workload, however, more funding and staffing are needed as the IC continues to expand its reach. The center has extended its work beyond traditional student affairs functions of advising and programming by playing a key a role in creating policy and infrastructure changes to the institution related to diversity work. Table 5.2 provides a profile of the IC highlighting the structure and resource capacities.

Table 5.2

Profile of the Intercultural Center at Simon College

Taxonomy	A – Multicultural/Intercultural Center
Division	Student Affairs
Supervisor for the Center	Assistant Dean of Student Life
Full-time Professional Staff:	3 (Director, Assistant Director – vacant, Coordinator)
Paid Undergraduate Student Staff:	30
Annual Budget:	$280,000
Discretionary Funds:	$50,000
Mission Statement:	"The Intercultural Center strives to create a safe and supportive learning environment that values diversity and builds inclusive community. Through its co-curricular programs and services, the IC educates the campus for intercultural competence and social justice."

APPENDIX Q: CASE STUDY #2 – MULTICULTURAL CENTER DESCRIPTION

Institutional Context

The climate at Lumpkin University in the early 1990s was one of hostility towards Students of Color. A series of racial incidents targeting Students of Color and primarily African American students galvanized African American, Asian American, Latino, and Native American students to push for a cultural resource center. Although students protested and asked initially for a Black Cultural Center, they were also anticipating the institution would meet their demands for greater support by creating a Multicultural Center. While there were academic support services for Students of Color and intercultural services that sponsored cultural heritage month programming, students demanded more of the institution. In 1993, the Multicultural Center was established to focus on programming for Students of Color but has since expanded to encompass five areas of diversity: race and ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, disability, and interfaith.

The inclusiveness approach is consistent with the diversity messaging of the overall institution. Lumpkin University (LU) is a large, public university with undergraduate and graduate enrollment of almost 45,000 students with 35% Students of Color. It is a diverse institution known for being one of the top institutions to confer degrees to Latino and African American students. Situated in the Southwest United States, LU's racial demographics closely mirror the racial demographics of the surrounding city with the two largest Communities of Color being Latino and African American. While race and ethnicity are featured prominently throughout the institution's diversity messaging, the institution has made efforts to create structural supports for women, international students, and LGBTA (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and ally) community members.

There appears to be some struggle focusing on Students of Color and broadening work to encompass additional communities. Although there is the Multicultural Affairs Division, the bulk of the work in programming and services is done through the Multicultural Center. The Multicultural Center is situated prominently within the Division as the space that drives and sustains programs and services, including events that are sponsored by the overall Multicultural Affairs Division. The Multicultural Center Director shares the struggle of being the campus diversity expert. The Director discusses the opportunity also inherent in the perception that the Multicultural Center handles all diversity matters,

> It's so hard because…we have to know everything. And you have to be all things to all people. And, and it's a difficult task, I have to admit…So I think that that's one of the strengths of being a cultural center that even though people want to pigeon hole you because of what they don't know, they base it off of what they do know. They pigeon hole you, but for the most part, you're able to fit into various situations because at some point, since cultural centers are supposed to do, you know that we do the recruitment, we do the outreach, and we do the retention efforts, it's easy to fit in on almost anybody's agenda.

Center Profile

Over the past twenty years, the Multicultural Center at LU has increased in its professional staffing, moved around in the institutional hierarchy, and negotiated for a larger physical space to meet its growing responsibilities. The center has one of the largest staffing structures among multicultural/intercultural centers in the study. While much of the budget goes to salary and benefits, this center also has a larger programming budget than many other centers. However, given the constituencies the Multicultural Center is expected to serve, it is questionable whether or not this large budget is enough to meet the needs of the five major groups (Students of Color, LGBT, women, persons with disabilities, and interfaith).

In its current staffing structure, although each professional staff member has specific programming responsibilities, there are particular staff members to work with each racial group. The Director identifies as African American, the Director of Programming identifies as Asian American, and a couple of the part-time staff members identify as Latino. The racial diversity among the staff contributes to not only the content expertise but also to the inclination of Students of Color to go to the staff members for advice. The lack of full-time professional staff who identify as Latino is seen as a contributing factor to the relative infrequency of Latino students utilizing the Multicultural Center as a gathering space and as a resource for advising and support. In contrast, African American and Asian American students and student organizations are often present in the Multicultural Center and have regular contact with the staff members.

An overview of the center's structure is presented in Table 5.3 with a notably larger staffing structure compared to the first case. The center is located within a Multicultural Affairs Division, however, this was not always the case. Contrary to the Intercultural Center, the mission is tailored towards students, focusing on student engagement and student success.

Table 5.3

Profile of the Multicultural Center at Lumpkin University

Taxonomy	A – Multicultural/Intercultural Center
Division	Multicultural Affairs
Supervisor for the Center	Vice President of Institutional Equity and Diversity
Full-time Professional Staff:	5 (Director of the Multicultural Center, Director of Multicultural Programming, Assistant Director, Coordinator for the Buddy System Program, Administrative Assistant)
Part-Time Trainers:	2
Paid Graduate Student Staff:	2
Paid Undergraduate Student Staff:	5-6
Unpaid Interns:	2
Annual Budget:	$350,000
Programming Funds:	$106,000
Mission Statement:	The mission of the Multicultural Center at Lumpkin University is to teach diversity through student engagement and promote student success.

APPENDIX R: CASE STUDY #3 – RACE-SPECIFIC CENTERS DESCRIPTION

Institutional Context

State University (SU) is a large, public research university in the Midwest with enrollment of over 27,000 students and almost 44% Students of Color. The institution is located in an urban area with comparable racial demographics to the institution and houses three race-specific centers, reflecting Model B within the Taxonomy. Asian American and Latino students make up the largest proportion of Students of Color in the institution. The growing racial diversity of the institution, particularly among Asian American students, is related to when each race-specific center was established. The Latino Cultural Center was the first to be created at SU following student protests in 1976. The African American Cultural Center came about in 1991 after students voiced their need to have a cultural center of their own. The Asian American Cultural Center was the last of the centers to be created in 2005 after students protested for greater student support and Asian American Studies.

The institution has a number of resources for African American and Latino students ranging from cultural programming and support offered through their respective cultural centers to academic support services and ethnic studies programs. There are no Asian American academic support services and Asian American Studies was only recently established after the cultural center. While all three centers came about through student activism, the racial politics and institutional support vary for each racial population leading to somewhat different interpretations of the purpose for each center.

Starting in 2009, five of the six cultural centers (not including the Disability Resource Center) formed the Centers for Diversity to formalize the collaboration between the centers. They serve an educational purpose for the campus and advocate for social change through their programs and services. Through external and internal reviews, as well as annual reports, each center's autonomy and specialized missions are respected while also pushing for cross cultural collaborations and intercultural competence.

This move towards a collective is also reflected in SU creating the Office of Diversity. Historically the cultural centers were housed in Undergraduate Affairs however they transitioned to the Office of Diversity during the course of the study. For the African American and Latino Cultural Centers, the focus was on cultural programs, art exhibits, and speakers rather than providing student services. The African American and Latino Cultural Centers both have academic support counterparts working with students within Student Affairs. However, following an internal review of all the cultural centers, more student services and support were requested of each center. The exception to the recommendation was the Asian American Cultural Center, which already offered a blend of academic and student affairs programs and services. The Asian American Cultural Center was structured to provide greater student support through their staff expertise and because there was a lack of institutional support for Asian American student development.

As SU underwent statewide budget cuts, administrators were looking to either consolidate or eliminate the cultural centers. There was such an outcry from students, faculty, and staff to these options that SU undertook a review process to systematically examine the state of each center as well as provide recommendations on possible future directions. The committee was comprised of faculty, staff, and students. They interviewed cultural center staff, leaders from other diversity committees, and held community meetings where the campus community could speak about each center and centers as a whole. The review recommended to not consolidate the three race-specific cultural centers, have them maintain their autonomy while also working as a collective, and hold their respective budgets harmless.

Around the same time of the review, permanent directors for both the African American and Latino Cultural Centers needed to be hired. In addition, there was a Diversity Strategic Planning Committee working on the institution's overall diversity strategic plan from 2008 to 2012, which overlapped with many of the changes listed earlier. The institution was in a state of flux for much of the past few years as there was staff turnover in the cultural centers and in senior administration. SU continues to be in a transition state as there is still no Chief Diversity Officer. Instead a half-time Interim Special Assistant to the Provost for Diversity is the leader for the Office of Diversity and the supervisor for the cultural centers.

Center Profiles

There are three race-specific cultural resource centers at State University (SU) including the African American Cultural Center, Asian American Cultural Center, and the Latino Cultural Center (see Tables 5.4, 5.5, and 5.6). While the three centers all started under similar circumstances, they have different staffing structures and slightly different mission statements. The staffing levels for both the African American and Latino Cultural Centers have increased following the hiring of the new directors and the 2010 review following statewide budget cuts. Additionally, although the centers report to an Interim Special Assistant to the Provost for Diversity, this is a relatively new reporting structure since they were previously under the Division of Undergraduate Affairs, which falls under Academic Affairs. The alignment with the Office of Diversity followed the Diversity Strategic Thinking and Planning process, as well as the 2010 review. Eventually, the centers will report to the Vice Provost for Diversity, when the position is filled.

The budgets of the three centers are also comparable, however, it is important to note that the Asian American Cultural Center has two large external grants funding many of its programs and a Visiting Associate Director. Once the temporary funds are exhausted, the Asian American Cultural Center will need to secure permanent funds to maintain its current staffing structure and programs for students. The other two centers are also planning on doing grant writing to grow their respective centers after they hire Assistant Directors.

The restructuring of the centers took place not only in staffing but also in how the centers articulated their mission. The missions were revisioned and rearticulated to address concerns mentioned in the 2010 review. The new directors were hired to align their respective centers with the institution's strategic planning around diversity, which seemed to emphasize campus-wide impact over programs and services focused on Students of Color.

Table 5.4

Profile of the African American Cultural Center at State University

Taxonomy	B – Race-specific Centers
Division	Office of Diversity (formerly under Academic Affairs)
Supervisor for the Center	Interim Special Assistant to the Provost for Diversity
Full-time Professional Staff:	3 (Director, Assistant Director - vacant, Program Coordinator)
Part-time Professional Staff:	2
Paid Graduate Student Staff:	1
Paid Undergraduate Student Staff:	2
Interns:	2
Annual Budget:	$210,000
Programming Funds:	$40,000
Discretionary Funds:	$3,000
Mission Statement:	The African American Cultural Center supports the academic and diversity missions of the University by engaging campus and community partners in innovative cultural, social and scholarly activities that examine African-American and African-Diasporan identities, traditions and creative practices through a social justice lens. The AACC recognizes that identities are socially constructed and intersectional. To that end, the Center especially supports programs and initiatives that promote collaboration and experiential learning.

Table 5.5

Profile of the Asian American Cultural Center at State University

Taxonomy	B – Race-specific Centers
Division	Office of Diversity (formerly under Academic Affairs)
Supervisor for the Center	Interim Special Assistant to the Provost for Diversity
Full-time Professional Staff:	3 (Director, Visiting Associate Director, Assistant Director)
Paid Graduate Student Staff:	1
Paid Undergraduate Student Staff:	3
Annual Budget:	$250,000
Programming Funds:	$49,000
Grants (Internal and External):	$83,000
Discretionary Funds:	$41,000
Mission Statement:	The Asian American Cultural Center officially opened in spring of 2005 as a result of student efforts to ensure that UIC support the needs of Asian Americans. AARCC is also dedicated to educating the general campus about this diverse community.

Table 5.6

Profile of the Latino Cultural Center at State University

Taxonomy	B – Race-specific Centers
Division	Office of Diversity (formerly under Academic Affairs)
Supervisor for the Center	Interim Special Assistant to the Provost for Diversity
Full-time Professional Staff:	2 (Director, Assistant Director - vacant)
Part-time Professional Staff:	2
Part-time Administrative Staff:	1
Paid Graduate Student Staff:	1
Interns:	4
Annual Budget:	$233,000
Programming Funds:	$20,000
Grants (Internal and External):	$17,000
Mission Statement:	At the Latino Cultural Center, our vision is a world in which the distribution of resources is equitable, and Latinos, Latin Americans and all other members of the world are healthy and secure. Our mission therefore is to expand the appreciation for and understanding of Latino cultures on campus and throughout local communities as well as to ensure that Latino/a students have a positive self-defined identity and practical tools for accomplishing our vision.

APPENDIX S: CASE #4 – RACE-SPECIFIC AND INTERCULTURAL CENTER DESCRIPTION

Institutional Context

Calimlim University is a large, private research university on the East Coast of the United States. With a total enrollment of almost 30,000 students, a little over a quarter of the population are Students of Color. Asian Americans represent over half of all Students of Color at CU. The institution resides in an urban area where it is predominantly African American and White. CU is a case reflecting Model C of the Taxonomy, having three race-specific cultural resource centers and an intercultural center. Unlike the second and third case studies, CU has neither an institutional Chief Diversity Officer nor a campus diversity plan. The institution has a faculty diversity plan and website devoted to faculty diversity efforts, however, there does not appear to be a comparable plan for students.

Historically, CU was not known to be a welcoming environment for Students of Color. Although there was a residential hall for African American students, there were not student support spaces elsewhere on campus for Students of Color to gather. In 1984, following protests by a coalition of Students of Color, the Intercultural Center was established in a house at the periphery of the campus. Although the Intercultural Center had an intercultural mission, its primary mission was to support Students of Color providing a safe haven, advising, and programming support for cultural heritage programming. The Intercultural Resource Center (IRC) had a staff structure whereby each professional staff member had expertise to work with each racial group, in addition to doing the broad-based diversity and intercultural work. However, as the population of Students of Color increased at CU, the needs could no longer be met by the IRC. Latino student leaders pushed for and established the Latino Resource Center in

1999. The Asian American students then protested and received the Asian American Resource Center in 2000. The administration decided to create a Black Resource Center without a major student protest then placed all the race-specific centers in suites within the same building. The institution was intentional about creating equal, although not necessarily equitable, structures for the race-specific and intercultural centers.

Center Profiles

Calimlim University, as a private university, has made efforts over the past several years to have the cultural resource centers reflect a more uniform structure and mission, focusing on the branding of the centers and the institution as a whole. The staffing structure is similar for all the centers (see Tables 5.7, 5.8, and 5.9). The mission statements are also aligned to indicate how the centers are resource hubs for their respective communities and for the entire campus, particularly for the newer race-specific centers, also known as sister centers. It is important to note that the staffing profiles for the centers often shift during the academic year because of graduate student involvement. For example, while the IRC had two paid graduate student assistants at the time of the survey in the fall, they were no longer at the center in the spring. At Calimlim University there is a propensity to negotiate graduate student internships with various academic departments to meet their staffing needs without having to pay for additional student workers.

Table 5.7

Profile of the Intercultural Resource Center at Calimlim University

Taxonomy	C – Race-specific and Intercultural Centers
Division	Student Affairs
Supervisor for the Center	Assistant Vice Provost for Access and Equity
Full-time Professional Staff:	2 (Director, Associate Director)
Part-time Professional Staff:	1
Full-time Administrative Staff:	1
Paid Graduate Staff:	2
Graduate Interns:	1
Paid Undergraduate Staff:	7
Annual Budget:	Unavailable
Mission Statement:	The Intercultural Resource Center is CU’s resource for enhancing student's intercultural knowledge, competency, and leadership through our programs, advising, and advocacy.

Table 5.8

Profile of the Black Resource Center at Calimlim University

Taxonomy	C – Race-specific and Intercultural Centers
Division	Vice Provost for University Life
Supervisor for the Center	Assistant Vice Provost for Access and Equity
Full-time Professional Staff:	2 (Director, Associate Director)
Full-time Administrative Staff:	1
Graduate Intern:	1
Paid Undergraduate Staff:	4
Operating Budget:	$230,000
Endowment:	$100,000
Mission Statement:	The Black Resource Center is a nexus of academic, professional, and personal growth for Calimlim University students interested in Black culture and the African Diaspora. Through advising, leadership development, cultural and social programming we expand student access to the University's resources.

Table 5.9

Profile of the Asian American Resource Center at Calimlim University

Taxonomy	C – Race-specific and Intercultural Centers
Division	Vice Provost for University Life
Supervisor for the Center	Assistant Vice Provost for Access and Equity
Full-time Professional Staff:	2 (Director, Associate Director)
Full-time Administrative Staff:	1
Paid Graduate Staff:	1
Graduate Intern:	1
Paid Undergraduate Staff:	5
Annual Budget:	$200,000
Programming Budget:	$35,000
Endowment:	$50,000
Internal Grant:	$12,000
Discretionary Funds:	$2,000
Mission Statement:	The Asian American Resource Center is a hub of academic, personal, and professional growth for Calimlim University students interested in Asian American culture and the Asian American Diaspora. Through advising, leadership development, advocacy, social and cultural programming we expand student access to the University's resources.

Unlike the other three cases, the cultural resource centers explicitly mention serving as a resource for not only students but also the rest of the campus and the community in their mission statements. The mission statements are similarly structured reflecting the centralization by the institution to maintain uniformity across the centers. There are only slight variations in the mission and the staffing for each center, with the IRC having the greatest freedom due to its historical presence on campus.

The Black and Asian American Resource Centers have relatively new directors, with one having been at the center for a little over a year and the other only a few months at the time of the interviews. The IRC Director has been at CU for sixteen years holding much of the institutional memory, as well as the reputation for doing diversity work on campus. It is also important to note that at one point, the IRC had five professional staff members, however the resources for two staff positions transitioned to the new race-specific centers. Only after the newly created race-specific centers were created could the IRC reexamine its intercultural mission and expand services to previously underserved populations. The IRC expanded its support of Native American students, Arab students, Muslim students, and increased its intercultural dialogue course offerings while also creating a space for any other group needing support. Unfortunately, detailed budget information for the IRC was unavailable although there is general information on the types of funding sources available to the center through the interview with the Director.

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