Salience at the intersection: Latina/o identities across different campus contexts

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Introduction

In 2012, Latina/os for the first time became the largest racial minority group on the nation's four-year college and university campuses, representing 16.5% of college enrollments overall (Fry & Lopez, 2012). Though this milestone is no surprise, as the population has been consistently growing for years, it has not been accompanied with the more profound understanding of Latina/o identity that is necessary to ensure that these students are successful in their pursuit of degrees. Although more Latina/os entering college come from middle class backgrounds than in years past, nearly 40% are the first generation to step on a college campus (Hurtado, Saenz, Santos, & Cabrera, 2008). There is considerable heterogeneity among Latina/o groups not only in terms of ethnic origin but also in terms of the salience of multiple social identities of race, class, gender, and sexual orientation.

The intersections of these identities uniquely position Latina/os within educational contexts and may determine college outcomes. For example, researchers now describe Latino males as "vanishing" and less likely to complete their degrees than Latinas in higher education (Saenz & Ponjuan 2009). We have not asked if these students strongly identify and if the salience of this combination of identities is a source of strength or vulnerability. Racial salience can be a source of strength in college and is associated with higher scores on important outcomes such as critical conscious and willingness to take action, integrating learning across courses and contexts, taking civic action, and skills and dispositions to participate in a diverse workforce (Hurtado, Ruiz, & Guillermo-Wann, in review). It seems we need to begin to understand how intersections of identity work to inform experiences and outcomes.

Even within the single identity dimension of race, there are stark differences in how Latina/os perceive themselves. For instance, data from the 2010 U.S. Census demonstrates the variability of racial identification among Latina/os, with the percentage of those identifying as "White" ranging from 30% for Dominicans to 85% for Cubans (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011). Considering that race is believed to be a shared identity between Latina/o ethnic groups, the differences here suggest that there is even greater variability in how Latina/os view themselves when taking into account a broad range identity dimensions that are not shared. In order to better understand the experiences of and necessary forms of support for Latina/o college students, it is important to get insight into how they think about their own identities because that shapes how they experience college.

Employing an intersectionality framework, the purpose of this chapter is to examine the salience of different social identities among Latina/o college students across a variety of campus contexts in order to create a more nuanced understanding of Latina/o identity. First, we examine how the salience of race, gender, class, sexual orientation, and citizenship differs among the students in our sample, taking into account students' intersecting identities but not campus contexts. This creates a general portrait of identity that will serve as a baseline for comparison in the second part of our analysis where we examine if particular social identities become more or less salient in different college contexts.

Relevant Literature

Intersectionality

Originating in feminist theory and women's studies, the intersectionality paradigm (Crenshaw, 1989) quickly crossed disciplinary boundaries to areas such as psychology, law, sociology, and its use in higher education research has also been growing in recent years

(Covarrubias, 2011; Griffin & Museus, 2011; Jones, 2009; Schwartz, Donovan, & Guido-Brito, 2009; Strayhorn, 2010). Unlike "additive" analyses where individuals' social identities are each treated separately and oppression is viewed as increasing with the addition of each stigmatized identity (Bowleg, 2008), intersectionality is the examination of the unique experiences created by the integration of multiple social identities. It suggests that no one social identity can be understood without examining how it interacts with each of the other social identities an individual inhabits. Embedded in intersectionality is an understanding that intersections exist within structures of inequality and that they can create both privilege and oppression (Bowleg, 2008; Shields, 2008; Thornton Dill, McLaughlin, & Nieves, 2012). Reay (2007) offers another consideration: "Different aspects of self become more prominent in some contexts than in others" (p. 607). Therefore in some cases, one identity is foregrounded and the other muted, whereas in specific situations or contexts, the reverse may be true. The theoretical and empirical challenge for researchers is how to hold together conceptions of difference and structural inequalities.

McCall (2005) delineates three approaches for intersectionality research: anti-categorical, intra-categorical, and inter-categorical. The *anti-categorical* approach deconstructs master analytical categories, such as work that has taken the identity of gender from having two categories to countless ones. The *intra-categorical* approach examines dimensions across categories, identifying social groups at "neglected points of intersection" (p.1774) such as comparing middle-class Arab women to middle-class Arab men. The *inter-categorical* approach utilizes all dimensions of each social identity in the analysis. For instance, if gender and class are included, then the total number of groups in the analysis is six (two gender x three class). This can quickly become very complex and McCall urges researchers to limit the identity dimensions

in an analysis for the sake of comprehension.

Methodologically, there is little agreement about "best methods" for conducting intersectionality research. Quantitative techniques have been critiqued as inappropriate for studying the complexity that intersectional identities entail (Stewart & McDermott, 2004). At the same time, others argue that restricting methodologies also restricts the scope of knowledge that can be produced (McCall, 2005), that quantitative work can present a macro-level view of patterns (Bowleg, 2008; Shields, 2008), and that it can provide the most complete account of simultaneous impact (Covarrubias, 2011).

Latina/o Identity

Whereas the racial identity development models of most racial groups have traditionally consisted of fluid developmental stages (Cross, 1995; Kim, 2001; Helms, 1995), the racial identity of Latina/os has been examined in terms of orientations due to the diversity within the population (Ferdman & Gallegos, 2001). In the latest update to their six Latina/o identity orientations, Gallegos and Ferdman (2012) describe both the value and challenge of each of the orientations as adaptive strategies stating that some are better suited for some contexts than others. For example, in environments where homogeneity is valued, an Undifferentiated orientation that views race as invisible might be most adaptive; while a Latino-integrated orientation that views race as dynamic might be most adaptive in a highly diverse environment. We describe here just one of the differences between identity orientations to highlight the complexity of Latina/o identity and the need to examine different dimensions and intersections of identity in different contexts, given that context influences how Latina/os identify racially and likely also how they view their other social identities.

Identity Salience and the Role of Context

In their Model of Multiple Dimensions of Identity (MMDI), Jones and McEwen (2000) portray three components that influence an individual's identity. The first is the "core sense of self" which rests in the middle of the model. Around the core are intersecting rings that represent the individuals' multiple social identities and the idea that they cannot be viewed singularly. Surrounding the first two components are the contextual influences that determine the salience of each of the social identity dimensions. A revised version of the model (Abes, Jones, & McEwen, 2007) incorporates a filter through which contextual influences pass, based on the meaning-making capacity of the individual. According to the MMDI, when social identities are merely prescribed by others, they are not part of an individual's core sense of self—only the social identities that are salient are integrated into the core.

Though contextual influences are believed to shape identity salience, research has found conflicting findings about the extent to which they uniformly shape all dimensions within a particular identity (Cota & Dion, 1986; Steck, Heckert, & Heckert, 2003; Sanders-Thompson, 1999). According to distinctiveness theory (McGuire & Padawer-Singer, 1976; McGuire, McGuire, Child, & Fujioka, 1978), an individual's distinctive traits in relation to other people in a particular context will be more salient than their more common traits. Research in experimental psychology using open-ended probes of self-concept ("tell me what you are") to examine ethnic and gender salience has found support for the theory both in school classrooms for children and in compositionally-manipulated control conditions for university students (Cota & Dion, 1986; McGuire, McGuire, Child, & Fujioka, 1978; McGuire, McGuire, & Winton, 1979; McGuire & Padawer-Singer, 1976). Using three test conditions (minority sex, uniform sex, and majority sex), Cota and Dion (1986) found that the salience of gender decreased from 34% in the minority sex context to 16% in the majority sex context for both males and females at one college.

In contrast, White students at a Historically Black University (HBCU) were found to think about race less than Black students, despite their being a numerical minority in that setting (Steck, Heckert, & Heckert, 2003). The same study found that White students at the HBCU did not exhibit higher racial identity salience than White students at a predominantly White institution. Likewise, Sanders-Thompson (1999) found that race was salient for African American adults even in communities where they are the majority and most socializing takes place with other African Americans. Both of these studies suggest that privilege and subordination transcend context to a certain degree and that subordinated identities are more salient across situations.

We examine the salience of several social identities for Latina/o college students across various intersecting dimensions of ethnicity, gender, income, sexual orientation, generation, and citizenship to test the interplay of distinctiveness theory with the idea that privilege and subordination transcend context. The theory that an identity will become more salient as it becomes more distinctive in an individual's proximal context and the idea that identities that are underrepresented in general are consistently more salient are not necessarily in conflict with one another, but have not been tested together. In short, we explore how the phenomenon of underrepresentation works among Latinos by examining the salience of different identities in varied contexts.

Methods

Data and Sample

Student-level data for this study came from the 2010 pilot and the 2011 national administrations of the Higher Education Research Institute's (HERI) Diverse Learning Environments (DLE) survey. Institutional-level data came from the Integrated Postsecondary

Education Data System (IPEDS). A total of 34 institutions participated in the survey, including three community colleges, 13 public four-year, and 18 private four-year institutions across the United States. The full sample of 29,547 was filtered to include only those who identified as Latina/o, resulting in a final sample of 4,200 students. Due to the complexity of examining intersecting identities and the already existing diversity in how Latina/os identify racially, students who identified as Latina/o and one or more other races were excluded to ensure that monoracial Latina/o was a shared identity for all students. The final sample was comprised of 61% Mexican-Americans, 2.6% Puerto Ricans, 8.4% Central Americans, and 28% Other Latina/o. Females made up 67.4% of the sample and 46.1% were first-generation college students. In terms of class standing, the sample included 16.3% freshmen, 27.1% sophomores, 30.9% juniors, and 25.7% seniors. Over one-fourth of the students in the study entered their institutions as transfer students and 16% of the sample was older than 24-years-old. See Table 1 for a full description of the identities represented in the sample.

---Insert Table 1 Here---

Measures

    Salience. Hancock (2007) recommends creating new ways of quantitative data collection that captures individual-level perceptions of identity. Prior research suggests that social identity can be thought of as consisting of three dimensions: cognitive centrality, ingroup affect, and ingroup ties (Cameron, 2004). In this representation of identity, cognitive centrality is defined as the amount of time that one spends thinking about being a member of the social identity group and it is the dimension that most closely resembles the concept of salience that is utilized in this study. Although salience only taps into one of the three social identity dimensions, it is a more nuanced way of understanding the individual-level perceptions of identity than simply relying on

demographic categories.

Five individual items asking students to select how often they think about their different social identities on a five-point Likert scale (1=never to 5=very often) were utilized in this study. For reporting purposes, students who indicated that they "often" or "very often" think about a social identity will be referred to as having "high salience" for that particular identity. Race, class, gender, and sexuality are the identities most often examined in intersectionality research (Weber, 1998) and they constitute four of the salience items in our study. The final item is salience of citizenship, which we include because immigration reform and the Dream Act, two issues that are largely associated with the Latina/o community, have been highly contentious topics across the nation during the last few years including the period in which the DLE was administered.

Intersectionality. One of the critiques of intersectionality research using quantitative methods is its reliance on pre-existing data because most surveys have limited demographic categories that can be utilized to create meaningful intersections (Hancock, 2007). The DLE, however, was intentionally created for use in analyses that place diverse students and their multiple social identities at the center, following the Multicontextual Model for Diverse Learning Environments (Hurtado, Alvarez, Guillermo-Wann, Cuellar, & Arellano, 2012). Dubrow (2008) suggests that gender, class, and race should be the variables utilized first in quantitative intersectionality work, but also recommends expanding on these identity groups whenever possible because using categories aside from the master ones can "give way to undiscovered salient social cleavages" (p.87). For this study, we examine intersections between Latina/o students' gender and their ethnicity, generation status, citizenship status, income, and sexual orientation. Our chosen analytical technique follows the inter-categorical approach in that all

dimensions of all the aforementioned social identity groups are included in the descriptive analysis.

Context. IPEDS data was utilized to create measures representing the percentage of full-time undergraduate students at each campus that were Latina/o, underrepresented minorities, female, Latina/o female, and federal Pell Grant recipients.

Results

More than two-thirds of our sample (67.8%) indicated high salience for at least one of the five social identities examined. Just under half (48.4%) of the Latina/o students in the sample reported high salience on at least two of the identities, and almost one-third (30.2%) designated three of the social identities as being highly salient to them.

Salience Across Intersecting Identities

Race. Prior research (Hurtado, et al., in review) has found that Latina/os think about their race significantly more than their White peers. Our analysis shows that, as a whole, 47.3% of Latina/os "often" or "very often" think about their race. Disaggregating the sample by different social identities, we see that among the two genders and four Latina/o ethnic groups, Central Americans females think about race the most, with 57.5% having high racial identity salience, a figure that is statistically higher (p<.05) than the average rate for all Latina/os. Though all four ethnic groups are members of the same race, it could be that the minority status of Central Americans within the Latina/o population in the United States and on college campuses contributes to higher racial identity salience. The three largest Central American communities—Salvadorans, Guatemalans, and Hondurans—combined only comprise 7.2% of the Latina/o population in the country, while Mexicans make up 64.9% and Puerto Ricans 9.2% of that population (Motel & Patten, 2012).

First generation Latina/o students as a whole indicate higher levels of racial identity

salience than their non-first generation counterparts (52.5% compared to 43.1%, p<.01) as do students with Other Citizenship status compared to citizens born in the United States. Though the rates of high salience were lower for males, the difference in racial salience between first-generation/non-first generation and U.S-born citizens/other status was the same for males and females. With regard to gender, Hurtado, et al. (in review) found that being female was a positive predictor for racial identity salience for all students, and our findings confirm that this holds true when disaggregating for a Latina/o-only sample as females report having high salience more than males across all social identity dimensions examined.

Class. Of the five social identities examined for salience, socioeconomic class is the most frequently thought about by the full sample, with almost half of all Latina/o students (49.3%) indicating high salience. When looking at particular intersections of identity we see that, as with race, Central American females have higher social class salience (59.6%) than all other ethnic group dimensions. However, while both Central American men and women have higher racial identity salience than their Mexican American, Puerto Rican, and Other Latina/o counterparts, Puerto Rican women (54.8%), Mexican American men (47.3%), and Mexican American women (53.9%) all report higher class salience than Central American men (46.2%). This finding highlights the importance of examining intersections since looking at the aggregate for Central Americans (53.8%) it would appear that males and females think about their class identity in a similar fashion.

With regard to income, a pattern of class salience decreasing as income quartile increases is evident for both males and females, with the exception of males from the highest income quartile, for whom class salience increases from that of males in the third income quartile (42.4% compared to 30.5%), countering the idea that the more privileged the identity the less salient it is

to an individual (see Fig.1). The income quartiles are based on reported combined parental income, with incomes below $50,000 constituting the lowest quartile, incomes between $50,000 and $74,999 constituting the second quartile, incomes between $75,000 and $149,999 constituting the third quartile, and incomes above $150,000 constituting the highest quartile.

 Gender. As a whole, 34.9% of the sample reports high salience of gender identity, but disaggregating demonstrates that females think about gender much more than males (40.9% compared to 22.4%). Females have higher levels of gender identity salience across all social identity intersections, supporting the idea that disparaged or politicized social identities are thought about more than privileged ones (Hurtado, Gurin, & Peng, 1994). With only one exception, no striking differences appear in the level of gender salience reported across the different dimensions of all the social identity groups, as both male and female gender salience rates are fairly stable throughout. The only exception is that more than half (51.6%) of all females and 40.6% of all males who identify as LGBT or Other sexual orientation report often or very often thinking about gender, which highlights the interdependence of gender and sexual orientation and the importance of considering that intersection in research.

 Sexual Orientation. Only 11% of the entire sample has high salience of sexual orientation identity, but this is the only one of the social identities where males for the most part reported higher salience than females. As with gender, the rates are fairly stable across all dimensions of the different social identities, with males a little higher than average and females a little lower. Latino males who identified as LGBT or Other sexual orientation, however, had remarkably higher salience than heterosexual males and females, as well as LGBT females. Almost a full three-quarters (72.5%) of all Latino LGBT males often or very often think about their sexual orientation, compared to 11.7% of heterosexual males, 12.3% of heterosexual

females, and 58.3% of LGBT females. As the salience of gender analysis demonstrated, the

intersection between gender and sexual orientation warrants attention. It appears that gender is

more prominent an identity for LGBT females than males and that sexual orientation is more

salient for LGBT males than females (see Fig.2). For this particular identity, high salience could

indicate a lengthy questioning process or difficulty disclosing (Rosario, Schrimshaw, & Hunter,

2004). Though this study does not provide insight as to whether high sexual identity salience for

this population is due to positive or negative experiences, the fact that it is higher for males than

females does call to mind the challenge that some Latino men may face in reconciling a gay

sexual identity with cultural expectations of machismo (Almaguer, 1993).

Citizenship. With regard to citizenship, the anticipated pattern of students who are

neither citizens nor permanent residents thinking about their citizenship identity more than others

is evident. A total of 77.4% of all students with Other Citizenship Status have high citizenship

salience, with no significant differences by gender. Even though permanent residents/naturalized

citizens are permanently legal in the country, both males and females also reported thinking

about citizenship more than twice as much as citizens who were born in the country. This might

be attributed to the fact that citizens born in the country are further removed from the immigrant

experience and the process of seeking naturalization.

General Patterns. In sum, our first set of findings demonstrate that, indeed, the pattern

of less privileged identities being more salient than privileged ones exists for Latina/os across all

social identities, regardless of gender. Class salience decreases as income increases, sexual

orientation salience is higher for LGBT students, citizenship is more salient for those who are not

citizens or permanent residents, gender is more salient for females, and Central Americans who

are a minority within the Latina/o population have higher racial identity salience. The next

section will discuss whether this pattern changes in different contexts where underrepresentation is associated with a particular identity.

Salience Across Different Contexts

Intersectionality scholars (Dubrow, 2008; Warner, 2008) have recommended utilizing social contexts to aid in the selection of the demographics and intersections to be used in an analysis. For this study, we selected several contexts that might individually influence one of identity salience measures and then we selected the demographic categories to test the theory of distinctiveness based on what we hypothesized would best correspond with the context of interest. For instance, to test whether changes in the percent of a student body that is female would influence the salience of gender, we examined how it separately influenced males and females. Due to a lack of available measures representing the percentage of students who identify as LGBT or who are not U.S. Citizens, we were unable to examine the relationship between increasing distinctiveness in a context and the salience of sexual orientation or citizenship. See Table 2 for list of context variables and their values.

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Racial Identity Salience, Latina/o Ethnicity and URM Context. Two different context variables, percent of Latina/os and percent of underrepresented minorities (URM), were utilized to test whether racial identity salience changed as Latina/os became less distinctive in their college environment, comparing across ethnic groups. As the percentage of the student body that is Latina/o increases, the salience of race decreases for both Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans. Interestingly, the opposite occurs for Central Americans and Other Latina/os (see Fig.3). Since Mexican Americans constitute the largest of the Latina/o ethnic groups, an increase in the percentage of Latina/os on campus almost necessarily translates to an increase in Mexican

Americans on campus, which can possibly explain the decrease in racial identity salience. Conversely, Central Americans and Other Latina/os might begin to feel more distinct when the Latina/o population is larger because it allows for more identification of intragroup differences. Similar patterns and similar salience levels are present as the percent of URM increases for Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Other Latina/o. For instance, for Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Other Latina/os, there is less than a one percent difference between the levels of high salience reported on a campus with less than 20% Latina/o and at a campus with less than 20% URM. There is also a less than one percent difference between the levels of high salience reported on a campus with more than 35% Latin/o enrollment and at a campus with more than 35% URM enrollment. This could mean that the frequency of thinking about race is most related to feeling distinct around White students rather than around any other non-Latina/os. Central Americans had no clear pattern as percent of URM changed.

Latina/o Class Salience, Income Group and Pell Recipient Context. Pell Grants are grants offered by the federal government to students who are in financial need, and thus a higher percentage of Pell Grant recipients on a campus also indicates a higher percentage of low-income students. The percentage of students receiving Pell Grants at an institution was used to examine the influence of context on the salience of social class, comparing across Latina/o students in each of the income quartile groups. Confirming that as individuals become less of a minority for a particular social identity group the salience corresponding to that identity begins to decrease, the levels of high class salience for Latina/o students in the lowest income quartile decreases from 65.7% at institutions where the percentage of Pell Grant recipients is less than 20% to 53.7% at institutions where the percentage of recipients is more than 35%. The salience of class identity also decreases for students in the second and third income quartiles. For students in the

highest income quartile, there is a drop in class salience between schools with the lowest

percentage of Pell Grant recipients and those institutions in the second level of Pell Grant

recipients (21-35%), but salience increases again as Pell Grant recipients reach the third level of

representation (at least 35%) in the student body (See Fig.4).

Latina/o Gender Salience and Gender Context. Two measures were used to test the

distinctiveness effect on students by gender, which appear to have opposite effects on the

salience of gender for Latino men. The first, percent of the student body that is female, causes

salience of gender to decrease for men as the percent of full-time undergraduate females

increases. At institutions with less than 45% females, where males are the numerical majority,

25% of Latino males report high salience of gender. The rate of high gender salience decreases

to 20.8% when female enrollment exceeds 55%. This downward pattern seems to contradict the

hypothesis of distinctiveness theory because gender is seemingly less salient to men when they

are in the minority than when they are the majority. The percent of Latina females, however,

does lend support to distinctiveness theory as the salience of gender increases for males when the

number of Latina women on campus goes up. When the student body is less than one-tenth

Latinas, 20.5% of Latino males often or very often think about their gender. When the percent of

Latinas increases beyond one-fifth of students, 26.4% of Latino males have high salience of

gender (see Fig.5). The conflicting patterns can be attributed to the unique intersection of race

and gender because the same pattern does not hold true for females, whose gender identity

salience only slightly decreases as percent of female increases and has no clear pattern as percent

of Latina female increases.

General patterns. A larger presence of low-income students at an institution, as

represented by percent of Pell Grant recipients on the campus, is related to lower class identity

salience for students from the lower income quartiles. The same increase in percentage of low-income students at an institution is associated with higher class salience for Latina/o students from the highest income quartile. These patterns, upward for some students and downward for others, supports the premise of distinctiveness theory in which being a numerical minority in a context creates identity salience. Changes in the racial identity salience of Mexican Americans, the largest of the Latino ethnic groups, as Latina/o or other URM students become a larger presence on campus also supports the theory. Yet, although distinctiveness theory does help us to interpret most of our contextual results, it does not fully explain every single pattern. One contradictory finding is that the percentage of males who have high salience of gender identity actually decreases as females become a greater presence at an institution, unless the females are Latina in which case their gender identity salience actually increases. Obviously, there is an effect related to the intersection of race and gender that is driving these patterns, but they are nonetheless not explained by sheer distinction of identity.

Conclusion

Among the myriad implications that Latina/o demographic changes have had and will continue to have on higher education research and practice is that it is increasingly important to avoid viewing heterogeneous populations with a homogeneous lens. This study begins to create an understanding of how Latina/o college students think about their multiple social identities, deconstructing static social categories that are typically used for analysis. Moreover, we illustrate the relationship between contexts of unequal representation and identity salience, which helps us to better identify patterns of intersectionality that reveal more vulnerability among certain Latina/o groups.

One of the challenges facing intersectionality work is that identity is complex and it is hard to capture the interrelatedness of different dimensions (Gallegos & Ferdman, 2012). In our study, not all of our social identity groups could be disaggregated across all of the dimensions of each social identity for lack of a sufficient sample size for each of those breakdowns, however, we were able to identify patterns evident in the data that suggest there are power dynamics at play—even though we only capture a moment in time for a given set of intersections. Future research should investigate the multiple social identities of the same individuals in different contexts across time.

The general patterns across our data that are apparent both with and without contexts demonstrate that those with less privileged identities think about those identities considerably more than those with privileged identities. In the first part of our analysis, we see that females, low-income students, LGBT students, non-citizens, and those of smaller Latina/o ethnic groups compared to Mexican Americans all think about their gender, class, sexual orientation, citizenship, and race more often than their peers. In our analysis across contexts, we see that this applies even in environments where the less privileged identities have a larger representation—where they are less distinct. On a campus where more than 35% of the student body is a Pell Grant recipient, for instance, students in the highest income quartile think about class more than on a campus with less than 20% Pell Grant recipients. Yet, in both contexts, those in the lowest income quartile still have higher class salience. This prevalence of salience for students who hold these less privileged identities indicates that distinctiveness theory is not capturing what might be better explained as a phenomenon of underrepresentation in which the salience of particular identities and intersection of identities transcends contexts.

It is critical to keep in mind that there are other factors at play in understanding the salience of Latina/o college students' various identities, including phenotype, language, etc. Future research should continue examining intragroup differences and similarities in order to better understand the types of support structures needed to ensure success for Latina/os that are not just continuously growing in numbers but also in complexity. Intersections of identity among Latina/os can be explored further to identify those that are most vulnerable and assist them in their journey through college.

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Table 1. Social Identities of Sample (n=4,200).

	Percent of Total Sample	
Social Identity	Male	Female
Ethnicity		
Mexican-American	20.0	41.0
Puerto Rican	0.8 *	1.8
Central American	2.8	5.6
Other Latina/o	9.0	19.0
Generation Status		
First-Generation College Student	17.7	36.3
Non-First Generation College Student	15.0	31.0
Citizenship		
U.S. Born Citizen	26.1	57.1
Naturalized Citizen/Permanent Resident	4.3	6.8
Other Citizenship Status	2.1	3.5
Income		
Quartile 1 – Less than $50,000	19.7	42.3
Quartile 2 - $50-$74,999	5.6	11.4
Quartile 3 - $75-$149,999	5.6	10.1
Quartile 4 - $150,000+	1.8	3.5
Sexual Orientation		
Heterosexual	27.9	59.5
LGBT and Other	4.7	7.9

*Indicates cell count is n<50

Table 2. Measures used in analysis to test for effect of context on identity salience

Context Measures	Context Values	Salience Measure	Identity Dimensions Tested
Percent URM	1=Less than 20% 2=20-35% 3=More than 35%	Race	Ethnicity (Mexican American, Puerto Rican, Central American, Other Latina/o)
Percent Latina/o	1=Less than 20% 2=20-35% 3=More than 35%	Race	Ethnicity (Mexican American, Puerto Rican, Central American, Other Latina/o)
Percent Receiving Pell Grants	1=Less than 20% 2=20-35% 3=More than 35%	Class	Income Quartile (Q1=Less than $50,000, Q2=$50-$74,999; Q3=$75-$149,999, Q4= $150,000+
Percent Female	1=0-45% 2=46-55% 3=More than 55%	Gender	Gender (Male, Female)
Percent Latina	1=Less than 10% 2=10 to 20% 3=More than 20%	Gender	Gender (Male, Female)

Figure 1. Percent Indicating High Class Salience, by Income Quartile and Gender
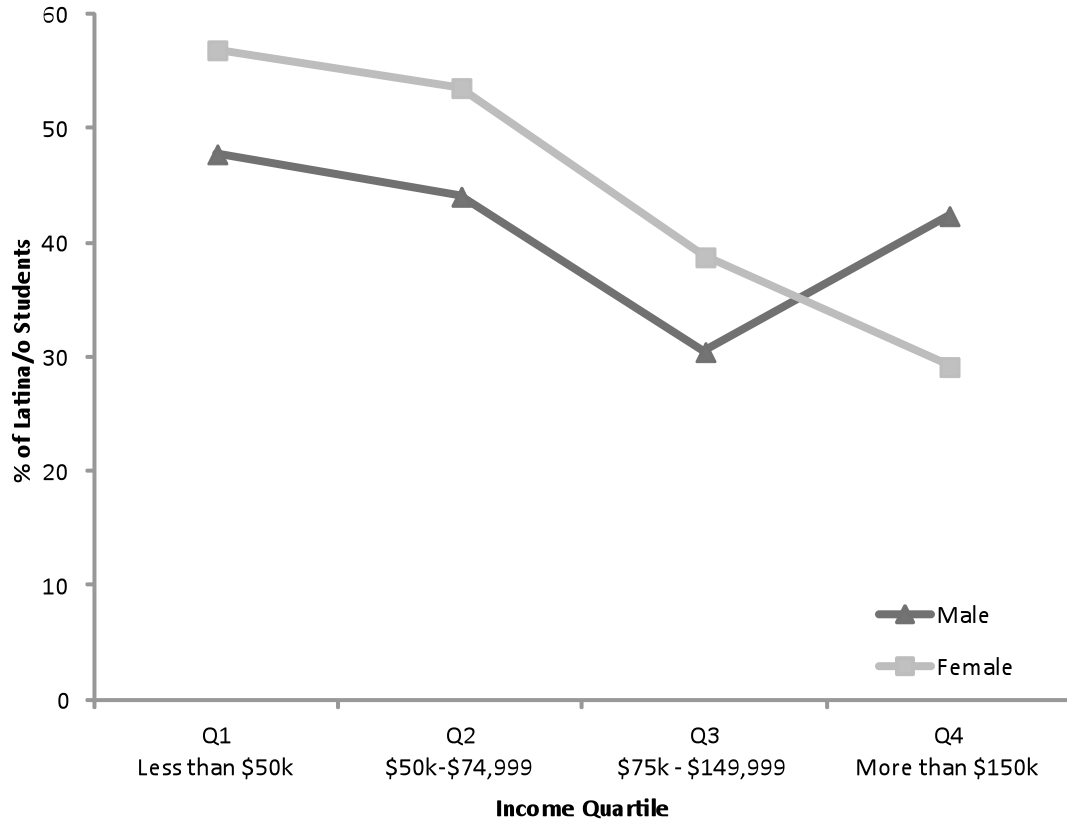
Figure 2. Percent of Students Indicating High Salience of Gender and Sexual Orientation, by Gender
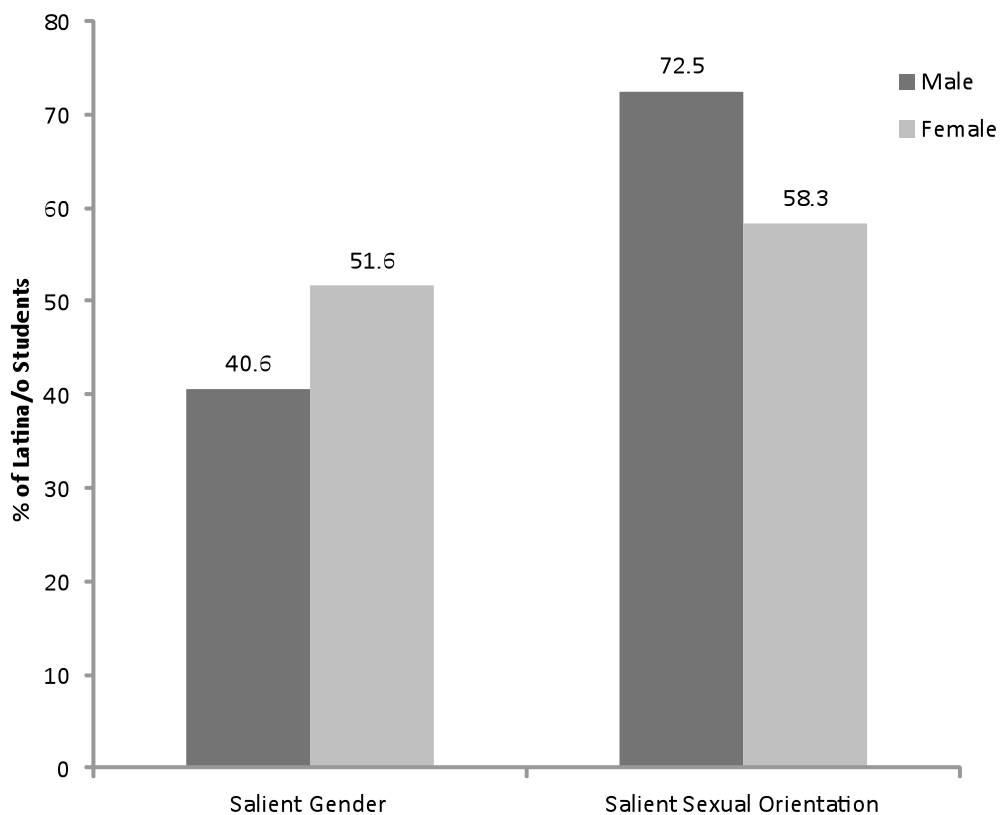
Figure 3. Percent of Students Indicating High Salience of Race, by Ethnicity and Percent Latina/o at their College
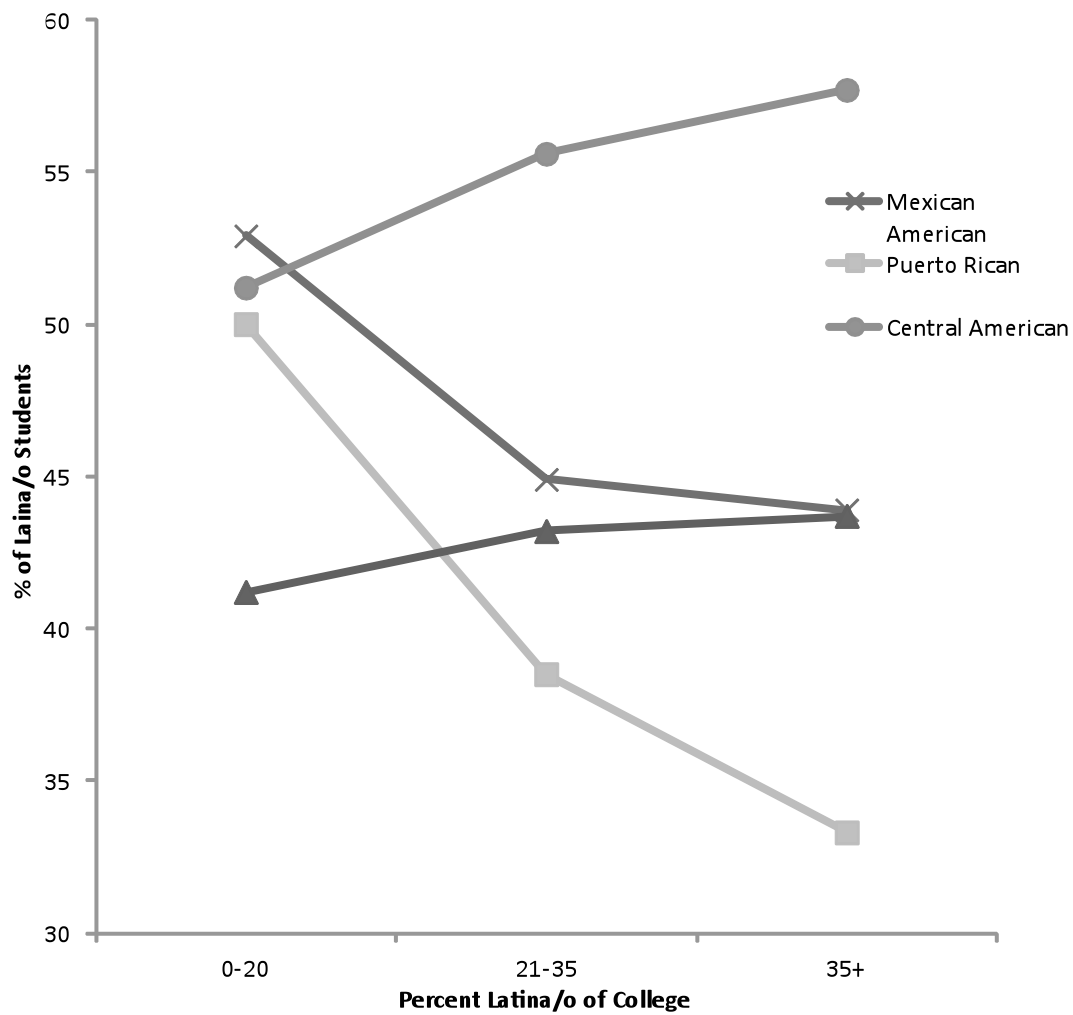
Figure 4. Percent of Students Indicating High Salience of Class, by Percent Pell Grant Recipients at Their College
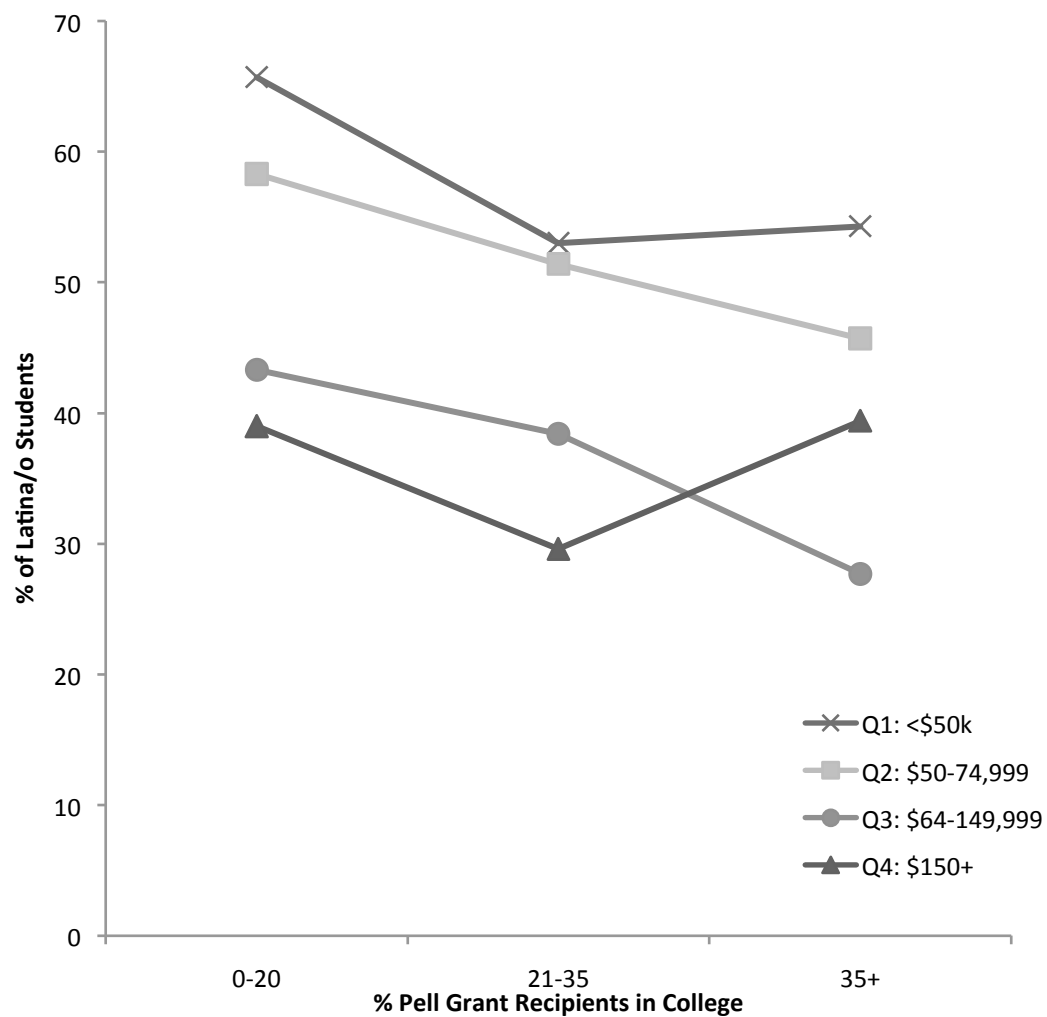
Figure 5. Percent of Males Indicating High Gender Salience, by Level of an Institution's Percent Female