5 THE EVOLVING MISSIONS AND FUNCTIONS OF ACCESSIBLE COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Joshua Travis Brown

To successfully educate a diverse population of individuals, a nation requires a network of postsecondary institutions equally as diverse as the needs of its population. The wide variety of colleges and universities that serve as the backbone of the U.S. system of higher education exists to achieve this end (Harris, 2013). Scholars, policymakers, and media in recent eras have laudably devoted considerable focus and resources to understanding the diverse educational needs of *individuals*. However, the same attention, advocacy, and interest has not been extended to understand the diverse set of *institutions* established to meet the multifaceted educational needs of the U.S. population (Tarrant et al., 2018).

The higher education discourse has been dominated by elite and research institutions while broad access institutions (BAIs) have received paltry representation and voice (Kirst et al., 2010). BAIs are the entities within the U.S. system of higher education who admit more than 80% of applicants in order to provide educational access to a wide group of people rather than emphasizing research or admissions selectivity. This group of "invisible" institutions has been characterized as being obscure (Astin & Lee, 1972; see Chapter 2), yet they have served as the primary gateway for marginalized populations to gain access to higher education (Henderson, 2009). These colleges and universities were designed to meet some of the most diverse educational needs in the U.S. population, particularly those overlooked by elite and research institutions (Carey, 2016). Yet the persistent skew in attention leaves us with an inadequate understanding of BAIs and their vital contribution in meeting the diverse educational needs of the U.S. population.

This chapter sheds light on these underexamined institutions in higher education by using their mission statements as a window into their strategic approach to providing educational access (Taylor & Morphew, 2010). In the first half of the chapter, I map the multidimensional identity of BAIs, putting forth a Framework of Institutional Identity that categorizes institutional missions across four dimensions – geographic location, institutional control, historical origin, and educational modality. In the second half of the chapter, I describe the four environmental drivers that influence the evolution of the missions of BAIs over time – demography, public policy, social norms, and resources. I integrate the four dimensions of institutional mission with the four environmental drivers of change into a single conceptual model that synthesizes both mission composition and evolution. This integrated framework more accurately portrays the factors that contribute to the missions of this diverse collection of *institutions* that have been established with missions to educate a diverse population of *individuals*.

A Framework of Institutional Identity

Most organizations are driven by a mission, broadly conceived as a common goal its members attempt to achieve and sustain over time. The mission of a college or university is officially declared in a "mission statement" collectively established by administrative and academic leaders. The mission statement succinctly identifies the essential characteristics of an institution (Morphew & Hartley, 2006). It is also an important declaration of institutional identity that serves as a touchstone for strategic planning and organizational branding (Drori et al., 2013; Ozdem, 2011).

The diverse array of existing BAIs is reflected in the multifaceted character of their mission statements. A thematic review of the mission statements (archived in a national database known as the Integrated Postsecondary Educational Data System) reveals that the varied missions of BAIs can be categorized along four distinct dimensions – geographic location, institutional control, historical origins, and educational modality. I systematize these four interrelated dimensions of identity for BAIs into a single conceptual model (see Figure 5.1). The Framework of Institutional Identity shows how the published mission statement of a specific BAI is a unique constellation of these four dimensions.

This section describes each of the four dimensions of identity using excerpts of mission statements from BAIs. The selected excerpts are intended to sample across states, regions, and BAI types.¹ The section concludes by presenting a mission statement in its entirety to illustrate how BAIs are more fully understood as the confluence of the four dimensions.

Geographic Location

An important aim of many BAIs is to provide educational opportunities to people in a specific geographic area (Hillman, 2016; see Chapter 3). BAIs are missioncentered and do not strive to increase their prestige within the global university rankings like elites, but rather are rooted in their community and focus on improving local educational programs and services (see Chapter 6). For many, physical buildings and structures underscore the immovable institutional commitment

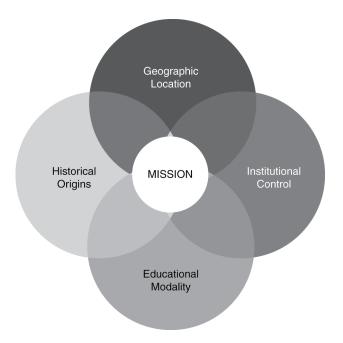


FIGURE 5.1 Framework of Institutional Identity

to in-person learning opportunities for nearby citizens. Some institutions have even established branch campus systems to broaden access to in-person academic programming.

The mission statements of many BAIs emphasize their commitment to geographic location (Lake & Mrozinski, 2011), highlighting their educational emphasis on rural areas, urban locales (Harris & Holley, 2016) or county, province, or geographic portion of a state (e.g., bay area, mountain district, etc.). For example, Atlanta Metropolitan State College (Georgia) "prepares students from a *diverse urban community* . . ." while Wayne State College (Nebraska) "is a comprehensive institution of higher education dedicated to freedom of inquiry, excellence in teaching and learning, and *regional service* . . ." The geographic dimension of an institution's mission is further underscored by some institutions who reflect their geographic commitment in their actual name, such as Metropolitan State University of Denver (Colorado).

Institutional Control

U.S. colleges and universities can also be classified based on fundamental organizational structures in terms of institutional control (i.e., who ultimately "runs" the school and its primary funding and profit classification). *Public* colleges or universities are state owned, receive their primary funding from the state governments, and are commonly referred to as state institutions. In contrast, *private* institutions are privately held by a board of directors and receive their primary funding from tuition-paying students or private donors. The profit classification of an institution refers to which of three different legal classifications an institution adopts regarding its treatment of excess revenues – nonprofit, not-for-profit, or for-profit. An institution whose mission and purpose provides a public benefit and returns any excess revenues to the organization is considered to be nonprofit and qualifies for tax-exempt status. Not-for-profit institutions also do not generate profitable revenues to sustain their mission; however, unlike nonprofits, they may use excess revenues and money from fundraising efforts to reward their working members. The aim of a for-profit institution is to generate revenues by selling a profitable product, and rather than returning the profits to the organization, the excess revenues are used to pay owners, investors, and shareholders.

These two components of institutional control are frequently seen in mission statements of BAIs:

- "Minot State University is a *public university* dedicated to . . ." (North Dakota)
- "Long Island University's mission is to provide excellence and access in *private higher education* to people from all backgrounds . . ." (New York)
- "The University of Northwestern Ohio is an *entrepreneurial, not-for-profit institution* of higher learning, preparing students for . . ." (Ohio)

While useful, the primary funding distinction has become blurred due to neoliberal policies that have made state institutions increasingly reliant on student tuition – or even outright challenged, like when Purdue University (Indiana), a public, nonprofit institution, purchased Kaplan University (Iowa), a private, for-profit institution (Lieberman, 2019). Higher education has also seen multiple for-profit institutions become nonprofit to avoid social stigma and regulatory scrutiny (Shireman, 2015).

Historical Origins

The historical founding of BAIs and their subsequent efforts to sustain themselves through their earliest years have been well chronicled. The stories are diverse, each offering a unique narrative about educational access. There is Booker T. Washington founding Tuskegee University (Alabama) to advance racial equality for Black Americans; there are the Protestant pioneers of George Fox University (Oregon) who possessed a global evangelical perspective; and there are the community members who created Converse College (South Carolina), eager that their daughters might receive an equal education. Each founding account highlights the commitment of a particular individual or group willing to provide educational opportunities to specific student populations, some of whom were excluded from attending white/male institutions. The rich array of founding groups has influenced the diverse landscape of BAI types, from tribal and Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) to land-grant and normal schools.

Many BAIs emphasize their historical origins in their mission statements:

- "Grounded in its rich tradition as a *historically Black college and university, and a land-grant institution*, Langston University offers quality post-secondary education to diverse populations . . ." (Oklahoma)
- "Sinte Gleska University provides a model for *Indian-controlled* education. It is an institution governed by people rooted to the reservation and culture . . ." (South Dakota)
- "Zaytuna College aims to educate and prepare morally committed professional, intellectual, and spiritual leaders who are *grounded in the Islamic scholarly tradition* . . ." (California)

While some institutions "drift" from their historical emphases, many remain steadfast in their commitment to specific student populations as motivated by their founding groups (Burtchaell, 1998; see Chapter 6).

Educational Modality

Tasked with educating diverse groups of students, most BAIs do not offer a one-size-fits-all approach toward learning. It is customary for BAIs to have distinct approaches to educational modality – the unique blend of credentials and methods an institution uses to meet the specific educational needs of its student population.

The type of educational *credential* BAIs confer conveys the different certification pathways an institution establishes for its students. Traditional colleges and universities commonly offer the four-year undergraduate diploma and advanced graduate degrees for post-baccalaureate study. While some BAIs also offer undergraduate diplomas and graduate degrees, they also offer expanded forms of credentialing to meet consumer and employer interests, including industry-based certifications, technical certificates, associate's degrees, technical diplomas, and licensure (see Chapter 7).

The type of educational *method* highlights the different platforms an institution establishes for its students. While traditional colleges and universities predominantly emphasize a residential model of higher education, BAIs have established a variety of alternative platforms for students to pursue an educational credential. Some of the many platforms include adult education, career and workforce training, online, technical training, transfer opportunities, vocational education, lifelong learning, continuing education and community enrichment.

As with the other dimensions of identity, many BAIs emphasize their educational modality in their mission statements. For example, Daytona State College (Florida) "provides access to a range of *flexible programs, from community enrichment*

70 Joshua Travis Brown

to the baccalaureate degree . . ." while East Georgia State College "is an associate degree granting, liberal arts institution of the University System of Georgia providing its students access to both academically transferable programs of study and collaborative programs in occupation related fields. The College also offers targeted baccalaureate level degrees . . ." The mission statements highlight how each institution chooses to emphasize the educational credentials and methods it offers to students.

The Framework in Action

As the Framework of Institutional Identity illustrates, the missions of BAIs are multidimensional, with each BAI choosing to highlight different aspects of its identity in its mission statement. Consider Delaware State University, which foregrounds all four dimensions of institutional identity in its mission statement:

Delaware State University is a *public, comprehensive*, 1890 *land-grant institution* that offers access and opportunity to diverse *populations from Delaware*, the nation, and the world. Building on its heritage as a *historically black college*, the University purposefully integrates the highest standards of excellence in teaching, research, and service in its *baccalaureate, master's and doctoral programs*. Its commitment to advance science, technology, liberal arts, and the professions produces capable and productive leaders who contribute to the sustainability and economic development of the global community.

The institution emphasizes its institutional control, historical origins, geographic location, and educational modality in conveying its identity through its mission statement.

However, an awareness of the specific constellation of these multiple dimensions offers only a partial understanding of the missions of BAIs because these organizations are embedded in a complex and changing environment (Brown, 2021). In this vein, a fuller understanding of their institutional mission must move beyond its multidimensional composition to examine its evolution over time.

Evolving Missions

Institutions collectively evolve because the environment in which they are embedded is dynamic and continually changing (Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Brown, 2017, 2018). Thus, institutional missions are not static, but rather develop across historical eras (Scott, 2006) as a result of exogenous pressures (Gumport, 2003). Scholars have described this process of change within BAIs as "mission drift" (Jacquette, 2013), "mission creep" (Gonzales, 2013), "decoupling" (Delucchi, 2000), and "transfer of identity" (Burtchaell, 1998).

Yet, studies that examine the evolving missions of BAIs predominantly focus on a single institutional type, relying heavily on case studies of individual institutions or a comparative methodology that examines institutions within the same sector, such as the sustainability of women's colleges (Renn, 2014), schools that become Hispanic Serving Institutions (Garcia, 2019), and the status-seeking actions of comprehensive regional colleges (Gonzales, 2013). Although these studies provide vital insights about specific types of BAIs, the research remains compartmentalized due to its reliance on homogenous approaches in examining institutions within a heterogeneous sector.

The second half of this chapter draws upon the disparate areas of research on BAI types to incorporate them into an aggregate theoretical framework. I review prior scholarship that examines the evolving missions of individual types of BAIs (e.g., Tribal colleges, religious universities, etc.), and categorize the common exogenous drivers of organizational change as deriving from demography, public policy, social norms, and resources. Given that institutions are embedded within a broader social context, I integrate the four dimensions of institutional mission within these external exogenous drivers of institutional change to establish an Integrated Framework of Institutional Identity (see Figure 5.2).

The Integrated Framework of Institutional Identity underscores the relationship between the mission of a BAI and environmental factors that contribute to its evolution. The Integrated Framework of Institutional Identity builds upon previously established institutional typologies (Crisp et al., 2019; Harris, 2019) and follows similar theoretical approaches that examine BAIs as embedded in wider social environments (Gumport, 2003) and institutional identity as interacting with environmental dynamics (Miller, 2019).

Changes in Demography

The principle of demography as it relates to the missions of BAIs can be simply put: the movement of people moves missions. Researchers have focused on three primary demographic processes to understand the changing structure of human populations in higher education: interstate migration, immigration, and births (Grawe, 2018). These processes have notably impacted BAIs given their emphasis on promoting racial equity and providing education opportunities to marginalized student populations (see Chapter 12).

Interstate migration focuses on the movement of persons across states, cities, and counties. By tracing the movement of ethnicities across various geographic locations, researchers have discovered dynamic population structures such as "white flight," a process whereby white persons relocate away from regions that are becoming more ethnically diverse. Interstate migration processes have notably impacted the missions of select minority-serving institutions defined by their historical origins and student enrollment thresholds. Bluefield State College (West Virginia) and West Virginia State University were established as HBCUs in the late 1800s. Over time, the two geographical regions the institutions serve became predominantly white, leading to these schools becoming Predominantly White

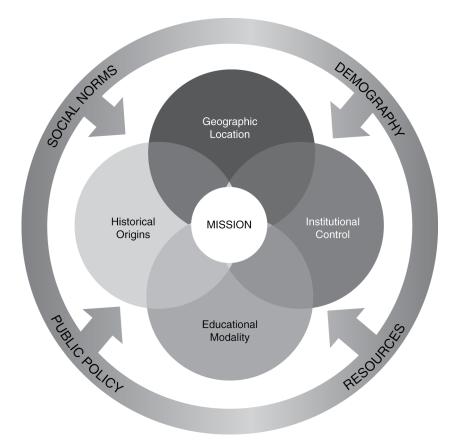


FIGURE 5.2 Integrated Framework of Institutional Identity

Institutions (PWIs) as well (Johnson, 2020). A similar change occurred at two urban institutions. Historically, Chicago State University (Illinois) and Trinity Washington University (District of Columbia) were considered PWIs, having been established as a normal school and women's college, respectively. Today, these broad access colleges and universities have been classified as Predominantly Black Institutions (PBIs) and receive federal funding based on the designation (Johnson, 2020). Garcia (2019) found the same demographic phenomena resulting in the emergence of many Hispanic Serving Institutions (HSIs).

Immigration focuses on the movement of persons, both documented and undocumented, across the borders of nation-states. Perez (2015) contends that sustained increases in immigrant populations have put some institutions in the position of functioning as both "gateway and gatekeeper." To continue to serve as a "gateway" of opportunity, institutions with increased immigrant student populations transformed the fundamental nature of their educational modality from a native-born to foreign-born focus; these included accommodating diverse cultural norms, rethinking learning outcomes (particularly language mastery), evaluating the appropriateness of educational assessment, and supporting students with institutional finances (Gray, 1996). Yet these same institutions also grappled with being a "gatekeeper," guided by federal and state policies that constrain resources for undocumented students (Perez, 2015; see Chapter 8). These changes pit policy compliance against educational access, causing tension with the mission of BAIs.

Births (also known as fertility rates) are a third demographic process researchers often examine. The different birth rates among groups of people change population structures notwithstanding any movement across state or national borders. Researchers use fertility rates to predict the enrollment availability of traditional college students (e.g., 18–22 years of age). Grawe (2018) contends that the decline in the national fertility rate in the 1960s resulted in the "first birth dearth" whereby higher education experienced a decline in the total number of traditional college students in the final decades of the 20th century. In response, many BAIs changed their educational modality to establish "new markets" of adult students (e.g., over 35 years of age). The population of adult students during this era nearly doubled as institutions transformed themselves to service this new type of student.

Changes in Public Policy

Colleges and universities are embedded in a broader policy environment regulated by both federal and state levels of government. Federal policy changes impact institutions across the country, whereas state policy changes differentially impact institutions within a given state according to their public or private governance classification (Zumeta, 1992; see Chapter 8). Both federal and state governments establish foundational policies that oversee the practices of institutions, such as educational access, and then modify these policies over time through further legislation (Orphan, 2018; St. John et al., 2018).

Throughout the late 20th and early 21st centuries, federal legislators implemented a series of policies that established funding systems for both individuals and institutions in order to provide higher education access to new populations of citizens. One such policy was approved in 1998 when U.S. policymakers added sections to the Higher Education Act to allocate additional funding for accredited institutions whose overall enrollment was comprised of at least 25% Hispanic students (Garcia, 2019). The group of eligible colleges and universities were referred to as "Hispanic Serving Institutions," or HSIs. Some schools like Adams State University responded by changing their mission statement to include the new identity, "to provide equitable access to education for all. We promote successful and engaged lives by caring for, connecting with, and challenging our students, campus, and community. As Colorado's premier *Hispanic Serving Institution*. . ." The implementation of the federal policy provided institutions with the opportunity to publicly acknowledge their HSI status and communicate their institutional identity to constituents in a new way.

The missions of BAIs are also influenced by policy changes at the state level. During the mid-20th century, many states increased educational access to underserved populations by providing annual block funding to BAIs to develop adult education, workforce training, and vocational programs. However, some state legislative bodies later revised these block funding policies to place greater emphasis on degree completion by incorporating a component known as performancebased funding (PBF) (Tandberg et al., 2014). These policies are designed to award money to institutions based on the achievement of specified goals rather than solely through block allocation, and reflect a broader public policy emphasis on increased accountability.

Despite its intended focus on improved educational outcomes, recent research has emphasized that PBF policies have generated unintended consequences that resulted in "a narrowing of institutional missions" (Dougherty & Reddy, 2013, pp. 40–41). Some BAIs deemphasized aspects of their mission that were not rewarded or acknowledged in performance-based funding metrics, while others became more selective in their admissions processes by admitting students with a greater chance of graduating (Umbricht et al., 2017). Scholars also highlighted that PBF policies could actually make it harder for low-income students to gain entry to college (Kelchen & Stedrak, 2016). The examples drawn from the federal and state levels illustrate how the embeddedness of BAIs in a wider policy environment influenced the components of their mission.

Changes in Social Norms

Social norms are the shared understandings of behavior for groups and societies; the informal rules that specify what is considered acceptable or not. Prior generations established specific educational institutions informed in part by prevailing social norms and values. Some groups established institutions based on gender norms such as women's colleges (e.g., Chowan University, Tennessee) and normal schools (e.g., Winthrop University, South Carolina). Others chartered institutions informed by professional norms such as agricultural colleges (e.g., North Carolina A&T University), mining schools (e.g., South Dakota School of Mines & Technology) and military institutions (e.g., New Mexico Military Institute). And some founded institutions based on religious norms (e.g., Xavier University, Ohio).

However, social norms are a dynamic feature of society and change across eras. When the norms of a society change, they also influence organizations. The evolution of social norms, such as those related to gender, race, and religion, brought about corresponding changes to the missions of BAIs, affecting their approach to educational access. Institutions whose historical charter was informed by 19th-century gender norms were confronted by a changing society in the 20th century (Miller-Bernal & Poulson, 2007). Strengthening feminist norms helped bring about (among many other social changes) voting rights, workforce representation, and improved wage equality. Many institutions correspondingly transformed the historical origin dimension of their missions. Ogren (2003) notes that normal schools, which primarily served women, became public coeducational institutions (e.g., Rhode Island College), and many women's colleges shifted to coeducational models of education (e.g., Randolph College, Virginia).

Similarly, institutions established due to the segregated *racial norms* of the 19th and early 20th centuries faced widespread social change in the 1960s and 1970s. During this era, civil rights norms led to changes in voting rights, public accommodations, and educational access (Johnson, 2020). HBCUs were confronted with enrollment challenges as the educational opportunities for Black students expanded to include access to traditionally white colleges and universities. Some HBCUs shuttered due to falling enrollments and inequitable funding practices, while others changed their educational modality to establish new educational markets to survive (Fort, 2013).

Colleges and universities whose founding was guided by *religious norms* have faced the challenge of operating in a society whose norms have become increasingly secular. Secularization is the process whereby religion loses its significance within a society, largely becoming an individual rather than a collective matter (Taylor, 2009). Scholars have described how Christian, Islamic, and Jewish institutions of higher education have differentially responded to secular norms by changing their mission, specifically their governance, curriculum, and denominational affiliation (Arthur, 2006; Platt, 2014).

Changes in Resources

BAIs are resource-dependent organizations, which means they have small endowments and must maintain a stable flow of resources from external sources to ensure their sustainability (Tolbert, 1985). The external resources upon which colleges and universities depend has fluctuated in distinct ways, wherein per-student funding resources have varied by amount and type and other financial resources were constrained or declined. These variable aspects of external resources significantly impacted the mission and education access of BAIs, and many altered specific dimensions of their missions to secure vital financial resources through one of four strategies: enrollment management, converting from private to public, converting from for-profit to nonprofit, and embedding for-profit entities.

Throughout the latter decades of the 20th century, BAIs established entire new divisions of *enrollment management* tasked with strategically increasing student enrollment to secure the associated financial resources allocated on a per-student basis (Kraatz et al., 2010). To achieve this, institutions changed their education

modality to pursue new student enrollment markets. They implemented various marketing strategies, changed their name from "college" to "university," and overhauled degree programs to achieve greater appeal (Jacquette, 2013). Hartley (2003) asserted the emphasis on these enrollment management strategies ultimately brought about an "erosion of mission" in many BAIs (p. 77).

While many BAIs secured vital financial resources by increasing their student enrollment, others were less successful in securing the per-student funding resources and opted to pursue an alternative form of funding through state allocations. The College of Charleston (South Carolina) pursued this strategy by converting its institutional classification from *private* to *public* (Brown, 2011). In doing so, the institution received tens of millions of dollars the state legislature would have spent to build a new community college in the underserved region. Morgan State University (Maryland) and Jackson State University (Mississippi) are additional examples of BAIs that converted from private to public to secure necessary resources. By altering their mission, these institutions successfully secured vital resources and embarked on major growth initiatives.

Resources change when external agencies, such as governments, supporting religious denominations, and philanthropic organizations decide to restrict or cap the maximum allowable funding an institution can acquire. In these instances, some BAIs opted to alter their mission. Both Herzing University (Wisconsin) and Remington College (Florida) elected to reclassify their tax classification from *for-profit* to *nonprofit* status (Shireman, 2015). By changing their tax status, the institutions were no longer required to conform to the maximum allowable funding limits for tuition. Moreover, the reclassification enabled the institutions to increase marginal revenues by reducing corporate taxes.

Resources also change when external agencies decide to reduce or cut funding for an institution. While many scholars have highlighted that institutions respond to reductions in state resources by raising tuition prices (Heller, 2001), institutions also responded by cutting costs (Blumenstyk, 2016). Some BAIs pursued *embedded for-profit* online program management (OPM) companies to establish new enrollment markets. In exchange for a substantial portion of student tuition revenues (usually greater than 50%), the for-profit OPM managed core academic services for the institution, including student recruitment, curriculum design, and faculty/student support (Mattes, 2017). The embedded for-profit approach permitted nonprofit colleges and universities to benefit from profitable growth strategies without having to reclassify as a for-profit organization.

Adapting to Complex Environments

BAIs are embedded in a complex environment wherein people, policies, norms, and resources continually fluctuate. While this chapter highlights individual exogenous drivers of change, institutions typically adapt their missions due to a combination of drivers in their environment. This section highlights how mission adaptation occurs as a result of multiple interacting environmental components using the case of "dynamic" Minority Serving Institutions (MSIs).

Minority Serving Institutions are broad access colleges and universities that differ as widely as the population of students they serve. The MSI sector is comprised of Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs), Hispanic Serving Institutions (HSIs), Tribal Colleges (TCs), Predominantly Black Institutions (PBIs), Asian American and Native American Pacific Islander Serving Institutions (AANAPISIs), Native American Serving Non-Tribal Institutions (NASNTIs) and the Alaska Native and Native Hawaiian Serving Institutions (ANNHs). One distinguishing characteristic among various MSIs is how they differentially employ race in their institutional missions. HBCUs and some Tribal colleges employ race as a static characteristic of their mission, using their historical origin to categorize them as an MSI (Fort, 2013). In contrast, HSIs, PBIs, and AANAPISIs employ race as a dynamic characteristic of their mission, using population thresholds (e.g., race/ethnicity percentage) to categorize them as an MSI (Núñez et al., 2016), leading some institutions to possess multiple MSI designations.

The missions of the "dynamic" MSIs came about due to the combination of four exogenous drivers – public policy, demography, social norms, and resources. Changing *social norms* in the latter half of the 20th century brought about increased demand to provide equitable educational opportunities for minority student populations. Shifting *demographics*, most notably The Great Migration and white flight, shifted race/ethnic populations in many regions of America (Johnson, 2020). These trends resulted in a sizable increase in the minority student populations for specific BAIs. In 2008, federal legislators passed *public policies* that officially designated MSIs as eligible for additional financial *resources* if they met certain population thresholds. In short, "dynamic" MSIs highlight how the combination of multiple exogenous drivers of change contribute to the evolving missions of BAIs.

Conclusion

For generations, BAIs have served as the primary gateway for marginalized populations to gain access to higher education. Like the students they serve, BAIs remain marginalized, having been eclipsed in discussions of higher education by elite and research institutions (Kirst et al., 2010; Tarrant et al., 2018; see Chapter 2). The framework put forth in this chapter provides a model for understanding *who* these diverse institutions are and *how* they have adapted their missions amidst a complex and changing environment. It is certain that BAIs will continue to evolve in innovative ways to sustain their educational missions (Grawe, 2018). Consequently, rather than overlook BAIs, we might begin to focus on these institutions as exemplars in providing educational access for a diverse population of individuals.

Acknowledgement

I would like to acknowledge Patrice Brown for her graphic design assistance.

Note

1. Portions of mission statements have been italicized by the author for emphasis, but verbiage is original to each respective institution

References

Arthur, J. (2006). Faith and secularisation in religious colleges and universities. Taylor & Francis.

- Astin, A. W., & Lee, C. (1972). The invisible colleges: A profile of small, private colleges with limited resources. McGraw-Hill.
- Blumenstyk, G. (2016, January 4). How for-profit education is now embedded in traditional colleges. *The Chronicle of Higher Education*. www.chronicle.com/article/ How-For-Profit-Education-Is/234550
- Brown, A. W. (2011). Case study of reinvention: College of Charleston. In A. W. Brown & S. L. Ballard (Eds.), *Changing course: Reinventing colleges, avoiding closure* (pp. 41–47). Issue 156 of New Directions for Higher Education. Wiley Periodicals, Inc.
- Brown, J. T. (2017). The seven silos of accountability in higher education: Systematizing multiple logics and fields. *Research & Practice in Assessment*, 11, 41–58.
- Brown, J. T. (2018). Leading colleges & universities in a new policy era: How to understand the complex landscape of higher education accountability. *Change: The Magazine* of Higher Learning, 50(2), 30–39.
- Brown, J. T. (2021). The language of leaders. Executive sensemaking strategies in higher education. American Journal of Education, 127(2), 265–302. www.journals.uchicago. edu/doi/abs/10.1086/712113
- Burtchaell, J. T. (1998). The dying of the light: The disengagement of colleges and universities from their Christian churches. WB Eerdmans Publishing Company.
- Carey, K. (2016). The end of college: Creating the future of learning and the university of everywhere. Riverhead Books.
- Crisp, G., Horn, C. L., Kuczynski, M., Zhou, Q., & Cook, E. (2019). Describing and differentiating four-year broad access institutions: An empirical typology. *The Review of Higher Education*, 42(4), 1373–1400. https://doi.org/10.1353/rhe.2019.0069
- Delucchi, M. (2000). Staking a claim: The decoupling of liberal arts mission statements from baccalaureate degrees awarded in higher education. *Sociological Inquiry*, 70(2), 157–171. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-682X.2000.tb00903.x
- Dougherty, K. & Reddy, V. (2013). Performance funding for higher education: What are the mechanisms? What are the impacts? Community College Research Center. https://ccrc. tc.columbia.edu/publications/performance-funding-mechanisms-impacts.html
- Drori, G. S., Guisepp, D., & Achim, O. (2013). Branding the university: Relational strategy of identity construction in a competitive field. In L. Engwall & P. Scott (Eds.), *Trust* in higher education institutions (pp. 134–147). Portland Press.
- Fort, E. (Ed.). (2013). Survival of the historically Black colleges and universities: Making it happen. Lexington Books.
- Garcia, G. A. (2019). Becoming Hispanic-serving institutions: Opportunities for colleges and universities. Johns Hopkins University Press.

- Gonzales, L. D. (2013). Faculty sensemaking and mission creep: Interrogating institutionalized ways of knowing and doing legitimacy. *The Review of Higher Education*, 36(2), 179–209. https://doi.org/10.1353/rhe.2013.0000
- Grawe, N. D. (2018). Demographics and the demand for higher education. Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Gray, M. J. (1996). Immigration and higher education: Institutional responses to changing demographics. RAND Corporation.
- Gumport, P. J. (2003). The demand-response scenario: Perspectives of community college presidents. Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 586, 38–61. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716202250210
- Harris, M. S. (2013). Understanding institutional diversity in American higher education: ASHE higher education report (Vol. 39, No. 3). John Wiley & Sons.
- Harris, M. S. (2019). An empirical typology of the institutional diversity of us colleges and universities. *Innovative Higher Education*, 45, 1–17. https://link.springer.com/ article/10.1007/s10755-019-09494-6
- Harris, M. S., & Holley, K. (2016). Universities as anchor institutions: Economic and social potential for urban development. In M. Paulsen (Ed.), *Higher education: Handbook* of theory and research (vol. 31, pp. 393–439). Springer.
- Hartley, M. (2003). "There is no way without a because": Revitalization of purpose at three liberal arts colleges. *The Review of Higher Education*, 27(1), 75–102. https://doi. org/10.1353/rhe.2003.0038
- Heller, D. E. (Ed.). (2001). The states and public higher education policy: Affordability, access, and accountability. Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Henderson, B. B. (2009). Introduction: The work of the people's university. Teacherscholar: The Journal of the State Comprehensive University, 1(1), 5–29.
- Hillman, N. W. (2016). Geography of college opportunity: The case of education deserts. American Educational Research Journal, 53(4), 987–1021. https://doi.org/10.3102/ 0002831216653204
- Jacquette, O. (2013). Why do colleges become universities? Mission drift and the enrollment economy. *Research in Higher Education*, 54(5), 514–544.
- Johnson, A. (2020). The history of predominantly black institutions: A primer. Rutgers Center for Minority Serving Institutions. https://cmsi.gse.rutgers.edu/publications/ ru-research-briefs
- Kelchen, R., & Stedrak, L. J. (2016). Does performance-based funding affect colleges' financial priorities? *Journal of Education Finance*, 302–321. https://muse.jhu.edu/arti cle/613777
- Kirst, M. W., Stevens, M. L., & Proctor, K. (2010, December). *Broad-access higher education: A research framework for a new era*. Stanford University.
- Kraatz, M. S., Ventresca, M. J., & Deng, L. (2010). Precarious values and mundane innovations: Enrollment management in American liberal arts colleges. Academy of Management Journal, 53(6), 1521–1545. https://doi.org/10.5465/amj.2010.57319260
- Lake, R. S., & Mrozinski, M. D. (2011). The conflicted realities of community college mission statements. *Planning for Higher Education*, 39(2), 5.
- Lieberman, M. (2019, January 9). Purdue's online strategy, beyond "global." *Inside Higher Education*. www.insidehighered.com/digital-learning/article/2019/01/09/purdue-pre pares-online-expansion-support-newly-acquired-profit
- Mattes, M. (2017). The private side of public higher education. The Century Foundation. https://tcf.org/content/report/private-side-public-higher-education/

- Meyer, J. W., & Rowan, B. (1977). Institutionalized organizations: Formal structure as myth and ceremony. *American Journal of Sociology*, 83(2), 340–363. www.jstor.org/ stable/2778293
- Miller, G. N. (2019). Choose your friends wisely: How organizational identity influences behavior at US colleges and universities. *The Review of Higher Education*, 42(3), 1185–1206. https://doi.org/10.1353/rhe.2019.0033
- Miller-Bernal, L., & Poulson, S. L. (Eds.). (2007). Challenged by coeducation: Women's colleges since the 1960s. Vanderbilt University Press.
- Morphew, C. C., & Hartley, M. (2006). Mission statements: A thematic analysis of rhetoric across institutional type. *The Journal of Higher Education*, 77(3), 456–471. www.jstor. org/stable/3838697
- Núñez, A. M., Crisp, G., & Elizondo, D. (2016). Mapping Hispanic-serving institutions: A typology of institutional diversity. *The Journal of Higher Education*, 87(1), 55–83. https://doi.org/10.1080/00221546.2016.11777394
- Ogren, C. A. (2003). Rethinking the "nontraditional" student from a historical perspective. *The Journal of Higher Education*, 74(6), 640–664. https://doi.org/10.1080/002215 46.2003.11780862
- Orphan, C. M. (2018). Public purpose under pressure: Examining the effects of neoliberal public policy on the missions of regional comprehensive universities. *Journal of Higher Education Outreach and Engagement*, 22(2), 59–101. https://openjournals.libs.uga.edu/ jheoe/article/view/1387
- Ozdem, G. (2011). An analysis of the mission and vision statements on the strategic plans of higher education institutions. *Educational Sciences: Theory and Practice*, 11(4), 1887–1894.
- Perez, W. (2015). Americans by heart: Undocumented Latino students and the promise of higher education. Teachers College Press.
- Platt, R. E. (2014). Sacrifice and survival: Identity, mission, and Jesuit higher education in the American south. University of Alabama Press.
- Renn, K. A. (2014). Women's colleges and universities in a global context. Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Scott, J. C. (2006). The mission of the university: Medieval to postmodern transformations. *The Journal of Higher Education*, 77(1), 1–39. https://doi.org/10.1080/0022154 6.2006.11778917
- Shireman, R. (2015). The covert for-profit. The Century Foundation. https://tcf.org/ content/report/covert-for-profit/
- St. John, E., Daun-Barnett, N., & Moronski-Chapman, K. M. (2018). Public policy and higher education: Reframing strategies for preparation, access, and college success. Routledge.
- Tandberg, D. A., Hillman, N., & Barakat, M. (2014). State higher education performance funding for community colleges: Diverse effects and policy implications. *Teachers College Record*, 116(12). www.tcrecord.org/content.asp?contentid=17691
- Tarrant, M., Bray, N., & Katsinas, S. (2018). The invisible colleges revisited: An empirical review. *The Journal of Higher Education*, 89(3), 341–367. https://doi.org/10.1080/002 21546.2017.1390971
- Taylor, B. J., & Morphew, C. C. (2010). An analysis of baccalaureate college mission statements. *Research in Higher Education*, 51(5), 483–503. https://link.springer.com/ article/10.1007/s11162-010-9162-7
- Taylor, C. (2009). A secular age. Harvard University Press.

- Tolbert, P. S. (1985). Institutional environments and resource dependence: Sources of administrative structure in institutions of higher education. *Administrative Science Quatterly*, 1–13. https://doi.org/10.2307/2392808
- Umbricht, M. R., Fernandez, F., & Ortagus, J. C. (2017). An examination of the (un) intended consequences of performance funding in higher education. *Educational Policy*, 31(5), 643–673. https://doi.org/10.1177/0895904815614398
- Zumeta, W. (1992). State policies and private higher education: Policies, correlates, and linkages. *The Journal of Higher Education*, 63(4), 363–417. https://doi.org/10.23 07/1982119