Diversity on Jesuit Higher Education Websites:

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DIVERSITY ON JESUIT HIGHER EDUCATION WEBSITES

Dissertation
by

SCOTT D. OLIVIERI

submitted in partial fulfillment
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by

Scott Olivieri

Dr. Ana M. Martínez Alemán, Dissertation Chair

ABSTRACT

The term "diversity" was popularized in Justice Powell's opinion in Regents of the University of California v. Bakke, which identified the benefits of a diverse student body as a compelling state interest ("Regents of Univ. of California v. Bakke," 1978). Forty years after Bakke, deep inequities remain in higher education and racist events occur with regularity on college campuses ("Campus Racial Incidents : The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education," n.d.). Institutions continue to struggle to address student concerns and a significant gap remains between students and administrators on the topic of diversity and inclusion.

Because the public website is the face of the university to the world and the most powerful platform for conveying institutional values, goals, and priorities, representations of diversity on university webpages are potent statements about how institutions address these topics (Snider & Martin, 2012). Jesuit universities in particular have a 500-year tradition in education that is founded on a deep respect for cultural difference, making them an excellent choice for a study on diversity (O'Malley, 2014). This exploratory qualitative study utilizes Critical Discourse Analysis to examine how diversity is characterized on Jesuit higher education

websites. The 28 Jesuit higher education institutions in the United States were analyzed during two time periods using a framework combining elements of Fairclough (2003) and McGregor (2014). The data were interpreted through the lens of Critical Race Theory (CRT), which posits that racism continues to be endemic and omnipresent in the United States. CRT scholarship on microaggressions, whiteness, and colorblindness is a foundational element of this analysis

Based on this analysis, institutions were placed in an adapted model of diversity development based on Williams (2013). While respecting cultural difference and care for the marginalized is at the core of the Jesuit mission, translating this to an inclusive diversity web presence has presented challenges for institutions. In this study, just 3 of the 28 Jesuit higher education institutions attained the most advanced stage—Inclusive Excellence. Few Jesuit institutions placed diversity at the core of the mission or maintained cohesive and powerful diversity messaging across the website. This study found instances where imagery, prose, and information architecture issues reinforced hegemonic norms and objectified individuals. This analysis concludes with diversity website content recommendations for administrators, communications professionals, and faculty who seek to be inclusive rather than alienate, deconstruct hegemonic norms rather than reinforce them, and balance marketing goals with campus authenticity.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

In the last decade, use of the term "diversity" has become part of higher education

lexicon. There are centers, administrative positions, operational units and mission statements

containing this term. Diversity is often coupled with "inclusion", referenced in course

descriptions or tacked on to compliance, legal, and policy documents. The term is ubiquitous,

but how is diversity characterized? And what are the implications?

In recent years, diversity moved to the forefront of the national agenda when student

activists, led by the #BlackLivesMatter movement, ignited a wave of protests across college

campuses (Jaschik, 2017). At the source of campus discontent is inequity in a variety of forms—

unequal representation of students of color, uneven faculty representation, and instances of both

overt and institutional racism. Today, racism is prevalent on college campuses (Griggs, 2016).

The *Journal of Blacks in Higher Education* reports a new racism incident each week, including

hate crimes, "Ghetto-Themed" parties, racial slurs and other heinous acts ("Campus Racial

Incidents : The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education," 2017). Institutions have struggled to

address student concerns and a significant gap remains between students and administrators on

the topic of diversity and inclusion.

The Society of Jesus, commonly known as the Jesuits, has a rich 500-year tradition in

education with a deep respect for cultural difference (O'Malley, 2014). Diversity is central to the

mission of Jesuit higher education institutions (Bangert, S.J., 1986). Adolfo Nicolás, S.J., former

Superior General of the Society of Jesus, believes all aspects of identity should be valued and "in

our diversity, we are, in fact, a single humanity, facing common challenges and problems."

(Nicolás, 2010, p.6). How have Jesuit institutions carried out Nicolás' vision? This is unclear.

However, I contend that in modern society an institution's website is the most accurate

representation of its values, beliefs, and mission. By evaluating public websites, we can learn

what matters to an institution. A critical analysis of Jesuit higher education websites will enable

us to characterize—among this group of institutions—the nebulous, evasive, yet essential

concept known as diversity.

Theoretical Framework

A democratic society should consist of "a community of individuals, all of whom [have]

equal rights and none of whom [have] special privileges or exclusive avenues of access to

happiness" (Dewey, 2015, p.287). This study is grounded in the notion that in the United States,

access to resources remains highly unbalanced and fosters a system of privilege and oppression

based on group identity (Tharp, 2014). Wealthy, white, heterosexual, Christian males dominate

all fields—education, business and government—and control resources (Harris, 1993). Higher

education in the United States is intended to critique, support, improve, and ultimately reshape

society (Bowen et al., 1998; Brubacher & Rudy, 2008; Gutmann, 1987). Therefore, higher

education institutions are obligated to expose ongoing societal injustice, cultivate democratic

citizens, and foster an inclusive campus climate (Labaree, 1997). The goal of this research is to

analyze the content on Jesuit higher education websites in order to expose the "foundations of

culture and social convention so that we may change those principles and practices that dominate

and suppress communities of individuals" (Martínez Alemán, 2015, p. 32).

In this study, a qualitative research method known as Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) will be used to evaluate the prose, images, and other content on Jesuit higher education websites based on a model combining elements of McGregor (2004) and Fairclough (1993). Content analysis is an important tool for revealing social norms, power and processes because "embedded in the texts and objects that groups of humans produce are larger ideas those groups have" (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011, p. 227). Critical Discourse Analysis is a form of content analysis where prose and images are deconstructed into smaller elements, then interpreted (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011). This approach is appropriate for evaluating institutional progress on diversity issues because textual analysis can serve as an effective indicator of social change (Fairclough, 1995). Based on the analysis of website content, institutions will be placed into a model adapted from Williams' (2013) Stages of Institutional Diversity Development, which places an institution in one of four stages based on the effectiveness of its diversity content. As outlined in Table 1, the four stages of Strategic Diversity Development are Startup, Transitional, Mature Implementation, and Inclusive excellence (Williams, 2013). Ultimately, the effectiveness of research utilizing CDA is judged by its ability to expose inequity proliferated by the wealthy elite, then derail the mechanisms of subjugation (van Dijk, 1993).

Table 1

Williams' (2013) Stages of Institutional Diversity Development

Stage 1	Stage 2	Stage 3	Stage 4
Start Up	Transitional	Mature Implementation	Inclusive Excellence

This analysis will rely on additional theories such as Critical Race Theory (CRT) and

Whiteness Theory. A few key aspects of Critical Race Theory that will be explored in Chapter

Two include the endemic nature of racism in American society, interest convergence theory,

microaggressions, and counter storytelling as a valuable tool to disrupt the dominant ideology

(McCoy & Rodricks, 2015). Critical Race Theory ultimately seeks to reveal and eradicate

systematic racism (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). Whiteness Theory posits that in American

society whiteness "structures the social order such that it results in the de facto social, economic,

political, and cultural supremacy of those racialized as white" (Owen, 2007). These theories will

enable me to expose exclusion, objectification, and subjugation in website content resulting from

hegemonic norms and systematic racism.

Significance of the Study

Despite the ubiquity of websites and the central role they plan in modern society, there is

a dearth of research utilizing Critical Discourse Analysis to examine website content. A study is

needed to understand how higher education institutions characterize, communicate, and present

diversity on their websites. As the face of the university to the world and the most prominent

statement of what it has to offer, the website provides insight into the culture, priorities, and

values of an institution (Snider & Martin, 2012).

Jesuit higher education institutions are appropriate to study because diversity is a key

aspect of the mission of Jesuit institutions. For centuries, as Jesuits have traveled to evangelize

the Catholic church, they have demonstrated a deep respect for native cultures around the globe

(O'Malley, 2014). In recent decades, Jesuit institutions have sharpened their focus on attending

to the needs of underserved populations such as undocumented immigrants(LaBelle & Kendall,

2016). Jesuit higher education in the United States consists of 28 institutions connected by a shared history and a common set of values. Though they share a consistent mission, these institutions provide variety across geographic regions, size of student population, and academic focus—from small colleges to large research universities.

In higher education, "diversity" web pages are the platform institutions use to describe their notion of difference. This study will offer insight into how diversity is characterized at Jesuit colleges by critically analyzing content on their websites. The public statements made by a university provide a window into campus climate and support for minoritized groups. The primary objective of this study is to utilize Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to examine representations of diversity on twenty-eight Jesuit higher education websites. The basis for this study is that higher education websites serve a critical role in presenting university values, goals, and campus climate. This study seeks to characterize diversity according to Jesuit higher education websites and shine a light on how language can alienate, control, and exclude.

The findings of this study have the potential to provide data that higher education web professionals could apply to their practice. In addition, the findings could trigger dialogue among higher education senior administrators on the topic of diversity. Data will be shared with Jesuit higher education institutions and a set of recommended best practices will be produced as part of this study. The goal is not merely to identify issues where website communication has served to reproduce hegemonic norms, but also to create an opportunity for institutions to reflect on why this content was on the website. While changing the diversity content on ineffective Jesuit higher education websites is certainly a short-term goal—the findings of this study could ultimately alter higher education policy and improve campus climate at the institutions under

study.

Overview of the Study

This is an exploratory study investigating how Jesuit institutions characterize diversity on their websites. Research in this field is extremely limited, with just a single study analyzing general content of higher education websites and no research systematically analyzing diversity content on websites. There are no studies focusing on Jesuit higher education websites. It is imperative to examine how words, images, and other tools construct meaning for website visitors. This will illuminate effective practices, issues, and omissions. By understanding how institutions characterize diversity, minoritized groups can be better positioned to use this information in their ongoing fight for equity.

This research will examine the nexus of three elements: diversity, websites, and Jesuit higher education. Diversity is a complex and important topic in higher education. Websites will be analyzed based on how they function as tools used to communicate institutional diversity. The context for the study is Jesuit higher education institutions, which have a specific history, tradition, and set of goals that will inform the analysis. As the literature review in Chapter Two will demonstrate, diversity is central to the Jesuit mission. However, within this group of Jesuit higher education institutions in the United States, how is diversity characterized and what are the implications? Websites as a communication vehicle have particular goals and objectives, as well clear limitations and benefits. By learning how diversity is characterized at each Jesuit institution, we can identify environmental factors that could aid or hinder full participation by minoritized individuals. To achieve this, an in-depth analysis of key web pages at each

institution is the sole focus of this research study. This is not a study about how students received these messages or whether student felt included—student perceptions would be an appropriate follow-up study based on the findings of this research.

Throughout this study, the terms *characterize*, *portray* and *describe* will be used interchangeably when I provide my interpretation of diversity content on Jesuit higher education websites. This study will collect, categorize, evaluate, and analyze diversity content on Jesuit higher education websites, but stops short of formalizing a definition of diversity at an institution.

Research Questions

The primary research question will be layered on two foundational elements, which will be documented in Chapter Two. The first element is that diversity is central to the Jesuit mission. Secondly, the website is an institution's most important vehicle for communicating mission and values. These underpinnings lead to the primary research question: Based on a critical examination of website content, how do Jesuit institutions characterize diversity and what are the implications?

Individuality, multiple identities, and multiculturalism are the focus of the secondary research question. When Jesuit institutions present diversity on their websites, are certain identities prioritized, misrepresented, or excluded and what are the implications?

This study presents a rare opportunity to analyze an entire group of related institutions, which raises additional research questions. Are there patterns in how Jesuit higher education institutions characterize diversity? For example, can we categorize how institutions portray

diversity as using either a compliance or student-centered lens? Finally, within this network, is there a relationship between key demographic data points (size of institution, location, students served) and an institution's characterization of diversity?

Chapter Outline

Chapter One has provided background information and established the context for this study. Chapter Two will begin by examining the term "diversity" and how it was shaped by a half century of Supreme Court cases. Next, I will review relevant literature in the areas of Critical Race Theory and discuss research on whiteness, the myth of meritocracy, and microaggressions. Websites are powerful strategic marketing tools used by institutions to differentiate themselves, present mission and values, and connect with prospective students (Anctil, 2008). Literature on higher education websites is limited, so I will examine available literature on viewbooks, marketing in higher education, and website effectiveness. Jesuit higher education has a unique tradition and mission spanning nearly five centuries. Exploring this tradition will inform our understanding of how diversity is presented on these institutional websites.

Chapter Three will discuss the research methodology used in this study. I will provide an overview of Critical Discourse Analysis, the framework used to evaluate the prose and images presented on these websites. I will examine threats to validity and discuss mitigation strategies. Next, I will describe the assessment process—the specific techniques used to evaluate website content and how results will be documented. In Chapter Four, we will turn our attention to the research findings. I will present four themes that emerged from the analysis. Each theme will be

described and relevant examples will be cited from the data. Chapter Five will begin with a discussion of the findings from this research and revisit the limitations. I will categorize the 28 institutions into the four stages of diversity development based on the Williams' (2013) Model of Strategic Diversity Development. Next, I will provide information on possible implications based on this work. The chapter will conclude with topics for future research and recommendations for practitioners.

In the Appendix, I will share a summary of the data that was the foundation of this study. More than five hundred images were collected for this analysis and only a fraction of those can be included in the Appendix. The data will be presented for each Jesuit institution in alphabetical order, utilizing a consistent format. First, I will present the demographics of each institution, followed by the location, size, and race/ethnicity of its students. This will be followed by the text and image analysis of the website content using Critical Discourse Analysis. Each website review will conclude with an analysis of how diversity was characterized at that institution based on the content available on the public website.

CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction to the Literature

This study will examine how diversity is characterized on higher education websites. To provide a context for this study, the chapter will present relevant literature on the following topics: diversity, Critical Race Theory, higher education marketing, websites, and Jesuit higher education. The first section will examine diversity as a concept in American society. Diversity is a vague institutional term that cannot be effectively analyzed without a well-established theory to provide sociohistorical context to the many themes and elements behind this loaded term. I will review literature on Critical Race Theory and its essential components: whiteness, microaggressions, the myth of meritocracy, and colorblindness. Literature on higher education websites is limited and typically focuses on how websites are utilized to market to prospective students. Therefore, I will examine available literature on marketing in higher education and the use of college viewbooks to present university values to prospective students. Next, the focus will shift to higher education websites. How are websites used in higher education? How should they be evaluated? The final section will provide background on the religious order known as the Jesuits. As the literature review will demonstrate, the unique mission and characteristics of Jesuit higher education institutions make this group ideal for a study on diversity.

Diversity

Diversity is defined by Merriam-Webster as "the condition of having or being composed of differing elements" ("Diversity | Definition of Diversity by Merriam-Webster, " n.d.). In higher education, then, are "the different elements" intended to be students? Over time, diversity

has become infused with meaning far beyond this simple definition.

Reviewing how the Supreme Court popularized the term "diversity" will be a foundational element of this research study. In *Regents of the University of California vs. Bakke* (1978), the courts ruled that universities could not use quotas in admissions policies (Olivas & Baez, 2011). The Supreme Court determined that race could be used as a "plus" factor enhancing a candidate's admission status (Chang & Ledesma, 2011, p. 75). The University of California Davis presented four justifications for the use of race in college admissions: reducing the historical deficit of minorities, countering the effects of societal discrimination, increasing the number of physicians in underserved communities and the educational benefits of a diverse student body ("Regents of Univ. of California v. Bakke," 1978). Justice Powell, in writing for the majority, cited student body diversity as "a compelling state interest" (Chang & Ledesma, 2011, p. 79). Powell's "diversity rationale" or "diversity compromise," as it was called, popularized the term diversity and undermined restorative justice as a goal in race-conscious admissions policies (Chang & Ledesma, 2011). The discussion shifted from remediation of past injustices to the educational benefits for all students (Chang & Ledesma, 2011). As I will discuss in Chapter Five, this case initiated a more nebulous concept of diversity that resulted in a backgrounding of Black interests.

The Supreme Court's decision in *Bakke* exemplified the interest-convergence principle wherein persons of color only receive benefits when white interests are also served (Morfin, Perez, Parker, Lynn, & Arrona, 2006). Powell's language is unflinchingly focused on white interests when he wrote that the nation's future depends upon leaders who have "wide exposure" (*Regents of Univ. of California v. Bakke*, 1978, p. 438) to the ideas of diverse students. In a

white-dominated world where the vast majority of leaders were white males, Black and Latino/a

students certainly did not "lack exposure" to white peers. Decades of legal housing and

education and the ensuing decades of self-segregation have isolated whites from people of color

(Anderson, 2016). Powell's leaders in need of "exposure" are white males. Moreover, Powell

does not mention that some of the "diverse" students may be capable leaders themselves who

have been denied opportunity. If so, he would have endorsed the reparations rationale. Powell's

sole rationale was that higher education needed to diversify campus so that future white leaders

would have exposure to "diverse" peoples. While affirmative action advocates could claim a

small victory, the decision silenced efforts focused on restorative justice. After decades of

subjugation and overt racism, Blacks became a slice within a pie chart of "diverse" groups—

individually subjugated but now collectively segregated. In Chapter Four, I will demonstrate the

significant and enduring impact of this shift in terminology from *race* to *diversity*.

Higher education was merely one battleground for diversity and equity. Nearly twenty

years after the landmark *Brown v. Board* case ordered desegregation of K-12 schools, its promise

was largely unrealized because the high court left implementation to the states. A devastating

loss for equity in American society occurred in *San Antonio Independent School District v.*

Rodriguez. In this case, Mexican-American and Black parents claimed the school funding model

relying on district property taxes was unjust because districts with lower property values

generated insufficient revenue to adequately fund schools (Anderson, 2016). The plaintiffs

argued these under-resourced schools were incapable of serving students (Anderson, 2016). For

Blacks, relocating to districts with more funding and better schools was not an option due to

centuries of racist education and employment policies (Anderson, 2016). In *San Antonio*, the

court acknowledged the disparity in school funding, but ruled that the tax model was not unconstitutional, and in doing so sentenced generations of students of color to subpar schooling and de facto segregation. Today, the property tax model persists. The resulting inequities in K-12 education leave many students of color ill-prepared for college, while producing culturally isolated whites (Williams, 2013).

While the K-12 inequity was all but cemented with *San Antonio*, higher education institutions' use of race in admissions faced new attacks. Challenges continued for four decades as a new ideology took hold. In 1995 and 1996 two related Supreme Court cases (both with rulings in 2003) attacked the *Bakke* affirmative action gains. *Gratz v Bollinger* ruled that the University of Michigan's use of a point system, which granted 20 points to members of underrepresented racial groups, was unconstitutional (*Gratz v. Bollinger,* 2003). It is important to note that the use of the point system itself was not criticized, just the use of race as one of the categories—a clear progression toward a colorblind legal doctrine. Assigning points to SAT scores, for example, was unchallenged, despite a body of evidence suggesting that the SAT is white-focused and an ineffective predictor of college success (Gunier, 2015). These elements of a modern racism—colorblindness and the myth of meritocracy—will be further explored in the ensuing section on Critical Race Theory. The second important case was *Grutter v Bollinger*, which upheld the central premise of Powell's diversity rationale in *Bakke*. In *Grutter*, the court granted the University of Michigan a "degree of deference" (*Grutter v. Bollinger*, 2003, p. 5) to use race within the admission process in order to achieve the compelling state interest of a diverse student body. Despite these two clear rulings, challenges to affirmative action continued. In 2008, Abigail Fisher brought suit again the University of Texas because she was denied

admission to the university, challenging the race-conscious admission standard affirmed in *Grutter* (Goldstein Hode & Meisenbach, 2016). In a majority opinion written by Justice Anthony M. Kennedy, the court ruled in favor of the University of Texas and reinforced the use of race as a consideration in the admissions process ("Fisher v. University of Texas," 2015).

Today, nearly forty years after *Bakke,* the ruling remains intact, but many challenges remain. When the *Bakke* court shifted the guidelines from race to diversity, higher education was provided with insufficient guidance on what it meant to have a diverse campus and how it was to be achieved (Chang, Milem, & Antonio, 2011). Who is to be included in this concept of diversity? More than 90% of institutions characterized diversity using traits beyond race and ethnicity, such as age, gender, physical and mental abilities, and sexual orientation (Williams, 2013). Secondary characteristics include: education, income, religion, work experience, language skills, geographic location, and family status (Williams, 2013). According to the American College Personnel Association (ACPA) and National Association of Student Personnel Administrators (NASPA) diversity includes race, ethnicity, nationality, class, gender, age, sexual orientation, gender identity, dis/ability, and religious beliefs (*Professional Competency Areas for Student Affairs Practitioners*, 2015). These varying definitions of diversity have created confusion in higher education—requiring institutions to devise their own notion of a diverse campus. In addition to not explicitly defining diversity, the courts failed to provide guidance on how higher education institutions should achieve the education benefits of diversity (Chang & Ledesma, 2011).

This study will examine how the concept of diversity is characterized on university websites. Next, we will turn our attention to Critical Race Theory (CRT), which will provide a

foundation for examining the shift from race to diversity. Ultimately, this will serve to frame our analysis of website content by revealing class structures and hegemonic norms that attempt to minoritize a range of identities.

Critical Race Theory

Critical Race Theory (CRT) argues that racism is ingrained in political and social structures by normalizing white European Americans (Morfin et al., 2006). As such, racism is endemic to American society and has contributed to modern class advantage and disadvantage (Morfin et al., 2006). In modern American society, standard operating procedure in business, education, and politics "serves to deny equal access and opportunities for some while providing advantages and benefits for others" (Sue et al., 2008, p. 767). Providing a summary of several incidents will establish the urgency of this issue and provide a context for the evaluation of website content.

Racism has been prevalent on college campuses for centuries, but has been highly publicized in recent years. Dozens of documented incidents have risen to the surface, revealing systemic societal problems with no easy answers. The frequency and scope of racial incidents on college campuses is alarming and encompasses institutions of all sizes, in all geographic regions, up and down the selectivity hierarchy ("Campus Racial Incidents : The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education," 2017). The unlawful killing of unarmed black teenager Michael Brown by law enforcement sparked a series of protests at the University of Missouri, including hunger strikes, protests by the football team, and ultimately the resignation of the University System President (Pearson, 2015). In April 2015, more than a thousand people protested at Duke

University after a student was subjected to a racial song, a noose was hung in a public area and a prominent campus group stated that Duke was not a safe place for people of color ("Racism Rears Its Ugly Head at Duke University : The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education," 2015). At Amherst College, a student documented the use of racial epithets, isolation, and verbal assaults on affirmative action (Lindsay, 2015). At the University of Oklahoma in 2015, fraternity students were captured on video participating in a racist chant about lynching Blacks (Neuman, 2016). In the spring of 2017, white supremacist posters were found at Indiana University, Black students at Penn were subjected to hateful text messages, students in North Carolina protested a campus climate marred by sexism and racism, and a racial slur was found on a sidewalk at University of Saint Thomas in Minnesota ("Campus Racial Incidents : The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education," 2017).

Incidents involving slurs and graffiti are deeply troubling and pose immediate safety risks to students. However, there are several additional barriers to equity hindering minoritized groups. The American college system is steeped in a tradition of "exclusion, cultural insularity and intellectual reticence" (Martínez Alemán, 2001, p. 500). Normalized forms of bias are embedded in higher education processes, structures, communication and practices (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). Often debated in the media or discounted by individuals believing we live in a post-racial society, modern day bias requires Critical Race Theory and Whiteness Theory to illuminate common practices to Whites, evaluate the power of these tactics, and reveal their impact on minoritized groups. Understanding this framework will ultimately enable us to review website content through a more holistic lens to evaluate class structure, power, hegemonic norms and institutional values.

Representing the experiences of students and faculty of color in higher education requires altering the narrative to support counter storytelling as a way to elevate issues and move closer to social justice (Morfin et al., 2006, p. 263). At predominantly white institutions, it is imperative to share and elevate the lived history of students of color in order to derail normative social structures and share alternative views of campus life (Morfin et al., 2006). CRT positions colorblindness as a weapon used by the white majority to maintain power, obfuscate whiteness as a structuring property, and proliferate dominance (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). Rather than fostering notions of colorblindness or a post-racial society, CRT aims to "destabilize dominant visions of reality" (Delgado & Stefancic, 1984, p. 12) and foreground the lived experiences of people of color.

The next section will examine the shift in racism from overt expressions such as epithets, slurs, and hiring practices—which are visible and uncontested—to more nuanced, but equally powerful mechanisms such as microaggressions, microinvalidations, whiteness, and the myth of meritocracy. Examining and defining how racial devices work in a coordinated fashion to subjugate and control is imperative, because "when…racist injuries are named, victims of racism can find their voice" (Solorzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000, p. 63). These concepts provide a crucial foundation for understanding the structures in place that lead to creation of website content reinforcing hegemonic norms.

Microaggressions. Microaggressions are derogatory and commonplace acts that cause targets to feel invalidated (Minikel-Lacocque, 2013, p. 459). Examples include: racial jokes, denial of racism, unwelcoming stares, nicknames based on gender or racial stereotypes, segregated spaces, or being ignored in a classroom, restaurant or group setting (Harwood, Huntt,

Mendenhall, & Lewis, 2012). Initially focused on people of color, microaggressions have been expanded to include acts perpetrated based on gender, gender identity, sexuality, and religion (Kelman, 1987).

Several important themes have emerged from research on microaggressions. Black Americans in particular are made to feel less academically competent in classroom settings and are overtly treated by whites as potential criminals (Sue et al., 2008). Finally, there is an assumption that white cultural values and communication styles are superior to Black language and cultural norms (Sue et al., 2008). Each of these has implications in our analysis of website content. For example, picturing white students on an "Academics" page, while relegating Blacks to a "Student Organizations" could reinforce Black students' negative experiences with these types of microaggressions. Similarly, over-representing Blacks on top level pages of the website could create issues.

Microaggressions represent a shift in racism from its most overt forms such as hate crimes, the Ku Klux Klan, and lynching to a more nuanced process of oppression (Anderson, 2016). This shift attempts to reframe racism as "an individual aberration rather than something systematic, institutional, and pervasive" (Anderson, 2016, p. 100). Whites do not suffer the impact of microaggressions, so these injustices are largely invisible to whites. Not surprisingly, critics of microaggressions at major research universities have attempted to reframe the issue from a white perspective. For example, Lilenfeld (2017) attempts to undermine foundational research on microaggressions, alter the vocabulary used to describe modern racism and halt cultural competency training programs on college campuses. One tactic utilized by Lilenfeld's is to attack the word "aggression" by claiming that it is too strong and implies intent (Lilenfeld,

2017). In addition, he argues that by paying more attention to microaggressions, the victims may be "hypervigilant to trivial potential slights" (Lilienfeld, 2017, p. 162). It is the work of CRT to recognize instances where white interests seek to perpetuate hegemony through controlling language, then provide forceful counterarguments (McCoy & Rodricks, 2015).

The concept of microaggressions dates back nearly four decades, but has received renewed attention in recent years as researchers have uncovered the damaging impact of microaggressions on student development and campus climate (Pepper, Reyes, & Tredennick, 2013). Though perpetrators often commit microaggressions due to ignorance or insensitivity, and critics dismiss microaggressions as nominal slights, their impact is quite real. Black students at Georgetown described being uncomfortable and invisible on campus while also enduring ignorance and microaggressions ("Voices: Being black at Georgetown University by USA TODAY College," 2016). Claremont McKenna College (CMC) student Lisette Espinosa wrote of feeling marginalized, stereotyped, and assaulted while at CMC (Espinosa, 2015). CMC Dean Mary Spellman responded with an email message identifying her bias by suggesting there was a CMC "mold" that excluded certain students (Kingkade, 2016). Student protests ensued, additional incidents of campus racism were revealed, and Spellman ultimately resigned. Spellman's response is endemic of a society that seeks to assimilate and mold, rather than appreciate and validate. Ultimately, microaggressions create a hostile campus climate for minoritized students, impacting their sense of belonging and academic success (Museus, Yi, & Saelua, 2017). The persistence and frequency of microaggressions isolates students and causes emotional harm (Minikel-Lacocque, 2013).

Microinvalidations are acts that seek to deny the experiences of people of color

(Harwood et al., 2012). Examples of microinvalidations include denying that racism exists, claiming that a comment revealing racial bias is harmless, and claiming victims of bias are too sensitive (Young, Anderson, & Stewart, 2015). Microaggressions and microinvalidations are aspects of a white-centric society unable or unwilling to see the steady barrage of insults and disrepect targeted at minoritized groups (Harwood et al., 2012). An important example of microinvalidations occurred as a result of the "Black Lives Matter" movement. Slogans appeared shortly after the start of movement claiming "All Lives Matter." While it may seem innocuous to whites, use of "All Lives Matter" fails to recognize the unique historical racism and subjugation experienced by Blacks in the United States and therefore "invalidates the concerns about injustice toward Black Americans" (Beaulieu, 2016). In the next section, we will investigate how whiteness is ingrained in all aspects of American society, requiring non-white individuals to adapt to the rules of this structure in order to assimilate and gain access to resources.

Whiteness. Whiteness can be defined as a social construct "predicated on white dominance and Black subordination (Harris, 1993, p. 1761). Critical race theory seeks to expose whiteness in order to "shed the legacy of oppression" (Harris, 1993, p. 1791). Whiteness can be understood as the position one has in society, but also as a political and sociological construct of power that "allows whites to assert superiority over those who are not White" (Gusa, 2010, p. 468). Proliferation of white-centric language and culture has enabled those in power to define what is "natural, normal, or mainstream" (Owen, 2007, p. 206), creating a societal structure based on "monoculturally conceived anglo-only concerns" (Lugones, 1994, p. 471). In this way, whiteness controls the social order by defining identity formation and cultural representations

(Owen, 2007).

From its earliest days, this nation's legal system recognized whiteness as property and enabled those who possessed it to deploy this resource at a "social, political and institutional level to maintain control" (Harris, 1993, p. 1734). Whiteness itself is a property instilled with status and power, and those in possession of it crafted the development of an economic and social system that attached significant financial and cultural value to being white (Morfin et al., 2006). Whiteness has acted as a structuring property in education by controlling the "perceived horizon of thought" (Owens, 2011, p. 207). Liberal college education "required identification with and internalization of a Protestant, Anglo-Saxon masculinity" (Martínez Alemán, 2001, p. 487).

Whiteness was at the core of the *Bakke* case, and has thus shaped our definition of diversity. It can be argued that Allan P. Bakke challenged the admission criteria because it jeopardized his property interest in whiteness (Harris, 1993). In the end, the court's decision in *Bakke* used colorblindness to protect the property interests of whites (Harris, 1993). The ensuing *Gratz* and *Grutter* cases reinforced whiteness and reframed the conversation based on white interests. The bare facts of these cases warrant examination: Marginally qualified, middle class whites claimed they were discriminated against because they were denied admission to an elite public institution. It is important to note that legalized racism in the United States has persisted for nearly two hundred and fifty years, beginning with slavery, continuing with *Plessy v. Ferguson*'s separate but equal mandate, and then shifting into more complex forms such as the undeniable discriminatory Federal Housing Administration practices that excluded Blacks from the great housing boom of the 1950s (Anderson, 2016). Yet when marginally qualified white

students were denied admission to an elite institution, white claims of "unfair treatment" are validated and the term "reverse discrimination" enters the public lexicon (Anderson, 2016).

By controlling and altering the conversation, white interests were maintained and the borders of whiteness were redefined, which Owen indicates is a functional property of whiteness (Owen, 2011). The courts supported only the educational benefits of diversity, which serves as an example of the interest-convergence principle—whites will support change insofar as they also receive benefits (Morfin et al., 2006). As such, the diversity rationale links the presence of more racial minorities on campus to economic goals that serve dominant interests (Hode & Meisenbach, 2016). By divorcing diversity from history and race, white interests are served and white power structures remain intact (Hode & Meisenbach, 2016).

Negative repercussions of *Bakke* continue today. According to Gusa (2010), "primarily white institutions do not have to be explicitly racist to create a hostile environment" (Gusa, 2010, p. 465). The focus on economic goals serving majority interests contribute to an unwelcoming campus climate (Park, 2009). Whites do not comprehend the damaging effects of a race-diminishing definition of diversity because they suffer no disadvantages due to their race (Owen, 2007). Instead, whites refuse to recognize the inequitable power balance by denying their "unearned privilege and advantage in society" (Sue, 2004, p. 763). In this way, whiteness impacts the ability of the majority to fully understand the implications of ignoring racial status in favor of a wider view of diversity because their position of advantage limits their perspective (Owen, 2011). Lauded as a major victory for Blacks, Powell's Diversity Rationale is a stunning example of how interest-convergence facilitated the creation and persistence of a higher education system replete with "exclusion, discrimination and marginalization" (Chun & Evans,

2016).

In this analysis of websites, I will examine how content on a website can favor hegemonic norms. Language patterns and norms differ between races and cultures, impacting how people acquire information and engage in conversation (Mullen, 2012). When Black and Latina students are in schools where white linguistics and learning styles are rewarded (and their own patterns and cultural norms are punished), they are required to master nuances and norms of the white majority in order to get access to the material, placing them at a significant disadvantage (Mullen, 2012). By utilizing and rewarding these arbitrary linguistic and cultural patterns, whites maintain a position of advantage.

Whiteness not only influences the success of minoritized students in integrated schools, but determines which schools they can attend. Despite victories in *Brown v Board* and others, de facto racial segregation in schools continues to this day, as eighty percent of white students attend schools with poverty rates below 10%, while only 5% of blacks and 7% of Latino students attend such schools (Lewis & Manno, 2011, p. 28). White college students are often unable to comprehend issues of racism in inequity because they often grow up in segregated communities unaware of their privileged status (Williams, 2013). Ultimately, white students who grow up in segregated communities lack awareness of white privilege—causing many white students to succumb to the myth of meritocracy.

The myth of meritocracy. In a society where whiteness controls access to resources, it is unsurprising that the definition of merit and achievement would aid white success. The myth of meritocracy posits that hard work and desire are the only factors in an individual's question to achieve academic, social, professional, and economic success (Gunier, 2015). In American

society there is a common belief that race, gender, socioeconomic status, and physical abilities

do not significantly hinder an individual's chance of increasing their social status, education

levels, and economic standing (Minikel-Lacocque, 2013). However, there are embedded

structural norms that favor the white majority. For example, colleges rely heavily on the SAT

for determining who gains acceptance into selective institutions. While the SAT is generally

viewed as a fair measure to evaluate students, it is a tool used by the wealthy elite to perpetuate

class hierarchy—one part of a white-centric, test-obsessed evaluation system "disguised as a

meritocracy" (Gunier, 2015, p. 15). Suburban K-12 schools altered the curriculum in an effort to

improve students' SAT scores. (Gunier, 2015) . This model is deeply flawed—as the SAT does

not correspond to intelligence or college preparedness. In fact, only 2.7% of grade variance in

the first year of college can be attributed to differences in SAT scores (Gunier, 2015, p. 19). The

SAT is a far more effective predictor of wealth than it is of academic achievement—every

twenty thousand dollars in household income equates to an increase in average SAT score

(Gunier, 2015, p. 20). Similarly, the ethnicity of the test-taker predicts SAT score, with the

average score of Blacks just below 1300 and Whites close to 1600 (Gunier, 2015, p. 21). Black

students who do well in standardized tests are still less likely than whites to be placed in higher

levels, indicating that race and ethnicity is a stronger indicator of placement than test scores

(Lewis & Manno, 2011). In the end, upper class families live in areas with better schools and are

able to spend thousands on test preparation courses that "transform wealth into merit" (Gunier,

2015, p. 23). The SAT is just one example of metrics society accepts as "fair", but are

inequitable because certain groups have been consistently denied access to key resources. By the

time many white students attend college, they have spent their high school years ultra-focused on

their hard work and accomplishments, unaware of the white privilege underpinnings of their own personal myth of meritocracy. This results in an influx of students who lack the cultural competence, tools, and knowledge to navigate an integrated college environment, so they remain segregated (Gusa, 2010). Cultural competence is poorly defined in higher education and often associated with study abroad programs, appreciation of cuisine and dance, and having acquaintances who are non-white (Chun & Evans, 2016). When stripped of its "uncomfortable sociohistorical implications of inequality, social stratification, oppression, and privilege" (Chun & Evans, 2016, p. 8), cultural competence loses urgency and shifts the focus from the oppressed to the oppressors. Instead, institutions should embrace the complexity of cultural competence and absorb the testimonials of minoritized persons' pain and humiliation. Ultimately, cultural competence should result in meaningful cross-cultural engagement wherein majority group students engage in solving social and political issues with their minoritized peers (Museus et al., 2017). Superior General of the Jesuits, Hans-Peter Kolvenbach believed institutions are required to develop in their students "an educated awareness of society and culture" (Kolvenback, 2000, p. 10) which will facilitate in them solidarity with those in need. However, it is unclear whether the institutions themselves possess this competence. In our analysis of Jesuit higher education websites, we will examine to what extent institutions demonstrate cultural competence as they communicate their institution's notion of diversity.

I have detailed how Powell's diversity rationale forever changed admissions, how institutions view race, and how they approach diversity. Next, we will turn our attention to a key construct for understanding how this expanded and white-focused understanding of diversity can be situated within higher education. Modern scholars such as Damon Williams (2013) have

explored how to work within the framework established by *Bakke* to further the interests of minoritized groups while achieving educational excellence.

Strategic Diversity Leadership

Within higher education, diversity has transitioned from a racially focused issue in which the goal was to protect the rights of historically disadvantaged groups to leveraging diversity as a critical competency for graduates who must function in a global economy (Williams, 2013). According to Williams (2013), diversity is no longer an optional social justice initiative—it has become a "mission imperative" (Williams, 2013, p. 5). To achieve excellence in diversity leadership, administrators must redefine diversity as a mission critical goal—not for equity—but institutional excellence.

Diversity leaders should be enhancing access and equity, creating a multicultural and inclusive campus climate, conducting more research on diversity and preparing all students to prosper in a global society (Williams, 2013). However, the business and economic benefits may attract more attention in our consumer-driven society. A diversity learning environment "promotes creativity and innovation, improved problem solving and decision-making, organizational flexibility, and tolerance for ambiguity" (Williams, 2013, p. 59).

It is critical to create a diverse student body through holistic admissions policies, but admission is merely one thread in a complex web of problems. Subjugated groups face financial difficulties paying for college, lack of effective support in overcoming the academic challenges of an uneven and largely ineffective K-12 system, concerns with social support, and lack of effective mentors in cases where a student is the first member of their family to attend college

(Williams, 2013).

In this study, Jesuit higher education websites will be categorized based on Williams' (2013) stages of diversity development. Organizations progress through four stages when embarking on the journey to expand diversity efforts: Start up, Transitional, Mature Implementation, and Inclusive Excellence (Williams, 2013). The model presented by Williams has six dimensions, which leaders can use as a guide to assess their progress through the stages and gain insights for furthering diversity efforts. The "diversity idea" (Williams, 2013, p. 198) is the notion of diversity on a particular campus. In the Startup stage, diversity is not defined or well understood. For institutions that have evolved to inclusive excellence, diversity is embraced at the highest levels while being embedded in procedures and institutional culture (Williams, 2013). The presence of diversity committees, the language of the mission statement, and specific goals related to the university strategic plan are components of university websites that can be inspected and analyzed to determine institutional commitment to diversity.

We reviewed several key theories on race, diversity, and whiteness. Next, we will turn our attention to how information is presented on university websites. This will require us to first review how marketing has infiltrated higher education in recent decades. In the most basic sense, a website is a tool for disseminating information, but in recent years higher education websites have developed into powerful recruiting platforms. How has this occurred? To understand this phenomenon, we must examine the evolution of higher education marketing.

Marketing in Higher Education

For more than a century, higher education institutions have utilized advertising in the

form of printed advertisements and billboards to recruit new students and bolster enrollment (Bok, 2009). However, higher education has largely resisted corporate notions of advertising due to conflicts with the values of liberal education (Hemsley-Brown, 2006). In recent decades, intense competition, increased costs, declining enrollment, and decreased state support has forced universities to utilize marketing tactics that were not previously part of higher education (Anctil, 2008). Since the 1990s, institutions have increasingly embraced marketing techniques (Zemsky, Wegner, & Massy, 2005). In fact, due to enrollment challenges and financial pressures, institutional marketing programs are more prevalent than at any point in the history of higher education (Klassen, 2001). Marketing begins with establishing a brand and a visual identity.

Visual identity is the manner in which an organization uses logos, type, styles, and design in order to communicate its philosophy and personality (Balmer, 1995). Universities must use branding to differentiate themselves in the eyes of students because the majority of institutions "stand for nothing in the minds of the public" (Klassen, 2001, p. 12). Higher education offers an intangible product, making branding a critical component "to build awareness and relevance in an often crowded marketplace" (Anctil, 2008, p. 31). Mourad, Ennew and Kortam (2011) studied the impact of marketing activities and found these efforts have been largely unsuccessful in altering perceptions about an institution (Mourad, Ennew, & Kortam, 2011). Nevertheless, universities are adopting marketing practices to sell education as "distinct, branded commercial services" (Furey, Springer, & Parsons, 2014). These tactics, while battle-tested in the corporate sector, face challenges when applied to higher education because the product in higher education is difficult to define, the mission of higher education differs from corporate goals and classifying

the student as a customer is challenging (Bay & Daniel, 2001).

Student as customer. It can be difficult to promote university programs and services to prospective students when it is unclear what is being sold to whom. One reason why higher education has traditionally avoided mainstream marketing practices such as advertising is that institutions have resisted classifying students as customers (Bay & Daniel, 2001). There is ongoing debate regarding the student as customer. Students consume the educational "product" while they attend, but institutions are judged by the students they produce, resulting in a situation where "students are characterized as consumers and products intermittently and together" (Anctil, 2008, p. 2). The for-profit sector has unabashedly classified students as customers (Blumenstyk, 2006). For-profit institutions such as the University of Phoenix have utilized call centers to provide immediate response to inquiries by potential students. Recently non-profit institutions such as Regis College in Denver have mimicked this practice and started their own small call centers to aid student recruitment efforts (Blumenstyk, 2006).

Bay and Daniel (2001) challenge the modern notion of student as customer. In business, profit is the singular goal, while in higher education goals are more complex. There are cases where students behave as customers (dining, course registration, athletic events), but often their role is more akin to employees (Bay & Daniel, 2001). Students impact the quality of their education and that of other students. Institutions can end the relationship with a student if they do not meet academic or behavioral standards. Perhaps more importantly, treating the student as customer implies that "value is only created by transferring specific skills and knowledge to the student" (Bay & Daniel, 2001, p. 13). Characterizing the relationship as transactional may overlook the complexities of the student-university interaction model.

Faculty generally oppose the notion of student as customer (Zemsky et al., 2005). The relationship between students and faculty may be more complex and symbiotic, as suggested by Bay & Daniel's (2001) partnership paradigm which posits that "both partners bring important knowledge, skills, and perspectives to the relationship" (Bay & Daniel, 2001, p. 8). Bay and Daniel applied Kanter's (2001) stages in relationship marketing to students, which include courtship (evaluation of recruitment and promotion strategy), engagement (orientation), setting up housekeeping (advising), learning to collaborate (delivery of courses) and changing within (Kanter, 1994). This analysis suggested an alteration to marketing techniques used for traditional customers. Impersonal mass communication is replaced with direct marketing and personal communications with smaller groups (Bay & Daniel, 2001). Post-enrollment advising and relationship management of students should be personalized and done by the same group as recruitment to ensure relationship consistency (Bay & Daniel, 2001). During the "learning to collaborate" stage, large lecture classes are replaced with more intimate settings where there is collaboration with faculty. Transfer of specific skills is less important than knowledge, with value added for the institution and community. Finally, the satisfaction is not measured by student evaluations or grades, but by the quality of the student's relationship with the institution after graduation (Bay & Daniel, 2001). These stages illuminate the complexity of the student-institution relationship and the limits of adhering too closely to traditional marketing practices.

The economics of higher education further complicate the notion of the student as customer. Businesses succeed or fail based on whether they can profit from the product or service they provide. However, higher education services are typically sold at a price that fails to cover costs (Winston, 2004). In other words, the "business" of higher education loses money on

every transaction. Nationally, only 26% of the total revenues of all colleges (public and private) are generated by tuition, leaving 75% of college costs to be funded by donations and public support (Winston, 2004). Higher education provides services as a means of providing equal opportunity, educating citizenry and aiding economic growth (Winston, 2004).

Marketing in higher education. Universities serve as social institutions and often have concerns implementing marketing practices (Anctil, 2008). According to Bok (2009) advertisers consistently engage in practices inconsistent with the values of higher education and teaching: stretching the truth, hyperbole, and omitting key information (Bok, 2009). Zemsky (2005) posits that institutions are caught between being churches providing need-based scholarships and car dealers vying for the top students through use of merit-based aid (Zemsky et al., 2005). However, due to market competition, institutions must be able to market to students or modify offerings based on student needs in order to remain viable. It is very difficult to show prospective students what a college education is, so institutions attempt to provide evidence of what the experience will be like (Anctil, 2008). Universities must embrace some form of modern marketing techniques to differentiate themselves in a crowded market. This can be done by developing a strategy that is "both mission driven and market driven" (Anctil, 2008, p. 99). Institutions can develop a strategic marketing plan based on the mission statement so they remain true to their identity and values (Anctil, 2008). For example, modifying the curriculum through the addition of new programs can enable colleges to respond to the market. Adding a program in environmental conservation management could help an institution address an immediate societal need and contribute to the public good, while providing specific skillsets in demand by employers.

In a crowded higher education marketplace, students struggle with choosing which college to attend. Colleges are faced with marketing a product that is largely intangible, so they often resort to marketing perceived academic quality, perceived social life, and campus amenities, and the success of the athletic program (Anctil, 2008). Higher education leaders must "broadcast who they are, what they do, and what makes them valuable" (Anctil, 2008, p. 100). Traditionally, the major marketing platform for higher education institutions to broadcast their values has been the viewbook. However, as the following review demonstrates, many institutions struggle to create marketing material that is authentic, unique, and grounded in reality.

Marketing and admissions viewbooks. Due to the dearth of research on higher education websites, it will be informative to assess the college viewbook. A college viewbook is a marketing document mass-mailed to prospective students and distributed to students during campus visits. Analyzing the role of the viewbook serves as an important foundation for our review of higher education websites because (a) viewbooks are marketing materials produced by higher education institutions; (b) there is more research available on viewbooks; (c) institutions often take a similar approach to the website and viewbook.

The viewbook has been a popular tool for marketing universities, but they often present an image of the institution that is spotless, stagnant, and unrealistic (Klassen, 2001). Armstrong & Lumsden (2000) reviewed 123 viewbooks and determined that they lacked sufficient detail for students and parents to make informed decisions (Armstrong & Lumsden, 2000). Students criticized viewbooks as lacking authenticity and did not believe the materials would positively affect their decision to attend (Armstrong & Lumsden, 2000).

Hartley and Morphew (2008) analyzed the content and themes of university viewbooks to determine what messages are being communicated to students about the purpose of higher education. While viewbooks are seen as "important institutional artifacts" (Hartley & Morphew, 2008, p. 673) their impact on students is unclear. Morphew and Hartley utilized Labaree's (1997) model for the goals of higher education, which identifies three goals of higher education: democratic equality, social efficiency, and social mobility (Labaree, 1997). Democratic equality includes citizenship training, equal treatment, and equal access (Labaree, 1997). Social efficiency refers to higher education's commitment to provide vocational training for students while also supporting a hierarchy of degrees from various institutions that can accommodate many types of students (Labaree, 1997). Finally, social mobility is a private good resulting in "individual status attainment" (Labaree, 1997, p. 51). Morphew found that college viewbooks present campuses as "idyllic havens" (Hartley & Morphew, 2008, p. 677). Though the United States has an incredibly diverse system of higher education with more than four thousand institutions, the viewbooks were so similar they could be interchangeable. Many institutions fear being different because it could reduce the number of students in the applicant pool (Hartley & Morphew, 2008). Overall, viewbooks presented content that highlighted the private good of social mobility, while omitting critical components of higher education such as hard work, service learning, and diversity (Hartley & Morphew, 2008).

Klassen (2001) analyzed images from college viewbooks and categorized messaging into four distinct groupings: the face, the package, the promise, and the big idea. The face of the institution is a symbolic representation of what the university stands for and seeks to make students feel connected to the institution on a personal level (Klassen, 2001). Interestingly, top

tier institutions featured faculty as the "face" of the institution, while lower ranked institutions featured far more students (Klassen, 2002). Klassen claims this indicates that at prestigious institutions there is a more active relationship between students and faculty while in lower ranked schools the relationship is more passive (Klassen, 2002). Regardless of where the university was situated, higher ranked schools featured more city photos, which represent pursuit of knowledge and advanced ideas, while lower ranked schools presented far more photos of outdoors and nature, which represent a simpler way of life (Klassen, 2001). The promise from top tier schools appeared to be the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake, while lower ranked schools seemed to take a "fast food" marketing approach—students will be in and out quickly and be able to get a job (Klassen, 2001, p. 19). The big idea also presented stark differences between institutions. At top tier schools, the notion was that learning is the top priority. At lower ranked schools, Klassen indicates that the marketing messages are "come here to be with others like you, then graduate" (Klassen, 2001, p. 19). In presenting idealized notions of college life in viewbooks, institutions may be "undermining their own success" (Klassen, 2001, p. 21). The purpose of higher education, according to Klassen (2001), is not to avoid the unpleasant aspects of life, but to improve the human condition through service, hard work, and search for higher meaning (Klassen, 2001).

Finally, viewbooks are expensive to print and it is exceedingly difficult to measure their effectiveness, leading many institutions to convert to digital means of communicating with prospective students (Fratt, 2012). Colleges should evaluate investments in viewbooks—while admissions professionals consider them valuable, prospective students have not found them useful (Chapman, 1981). Understanding how viewbooks are used has provided critical

background into how marketing practices are utilized in higher education. Next, we turn our analysis to the higher education websites.

Higher Education Websites

What is the purpose of a university website? According to Snider (2012), "a website is a university's most visible resource and a reflection of what it has to offer" (Snider & Martin, 2012, p. 30). In other words, the website is the face of the university to the world. However, the goals, management, governance, and support of university websites are not well understood. Higher education has competing goals, and serves disparate functions: education, research, career training, development of responsible citizenry, and the pursuit of truth (McGrath, 1949). Goals vary depending on the mission of the institution, the economic, and social climate in which it operates, and the competition it faces from peer institutions (Bok, 2009).

University websites began to appear at the end of 1996 as the World Wide Web changed the nature of how society used technology. Initially, higher education websites provided basic information about institutions and all that was required was an Internet presence. Dramatic technology advances such as faster computer processors, increased Internet bandwidth, and the development of new coding languages have enhanced website functionality and value ("World Wide Web Timeline," 2014).

While literature on higher education websites is limited, much of what is available focuses on prospective students. As early as 1998, prospective students relied on university websites for both official and unofficial information about colleges (Hartman, 1998). Tucciarone (2007) evaluated advertising and marketing impact using Hossler and Gallagher's model of

student choice and demonstrated that advertising strategies had no impact on student choice. Websites were more impactful than advertising and marketing materials in the college choice process (Tucciarone, 2007). The college website serves as a first contact point between students and the institution, so their primary perceptions about the institution are likely to be derived from the website (Vilnai-Yavetz & Tifferet, 2009). It is important for universities to be cognizant of the promises they are making through marketing messages—the website must represent the actual campus climate (Maringe & Gibbs, 2009). Marketing efforts should focus on promoting institutional strengths while not creating idyllic representations of campus life (Strout 2006).

Saichaie and Morphew (2011) analyzed college viewbooks utilizing Labaree's model of the goals of higher education. The researchers utilized Critical Discourse Analysis to interpret websites across Carnegie Classification groups to determine how messages being communicated on the website measured up against Labaree's (1997) goals of higher education (Saichaie & Morphew, 2014a). On their websites, institutions focused more on credentials than on knowledge. There was very little focus on teaching, research, and engagement, indicating that institutions were often promoting the benefits of the private good rather than the public good (Saichaie & Morphew, 2014).

Websites and college choice. University websites have changed from being an additional resource for prospective students to being the primary source of information about an institution (Carnevale, 2005). Creating a positive first impression on a university website is critical. For the majority of students, the first impression they have regarding an institution will be based on their experience using the website (Carnevale, 2005). Geyer explored websites related to student recruitment efforts, concluding that 92% of students would consider

eliminating a school from consideration if the website content did not meet their expectations, while 65% indicated that a positive experience resulted in increased interest in the institution (Geyer & Merker, 2011, p. 3) . University websites must serve as the institution's top recruitment marketing tools (Geyer & Merker, 2011). Students use websites to search for "clues to the academic reputation of a college or university" (Anctil, 2008, p. 83). While the website can hurt recruitment efforts, it can also provide a positive boost if students have a positive experience (Geyer & Merker, 2011).

It can be challenging for institutions to determine what content to put on the website. Universities must communicate their history, mission, values, and goals. However, institutions must also be sure to address the needs of site visitors. Thus, there are at least two broad goals with regard to content strategy on higher education websites: 1) ensuring the institution is presenting its values, mission, and distinctiveness and 2) enabling site visitors to achieve specific goals.

Website content: presentation of mission and values. A website can be a structured means for universities to focus on what makes them different from the competition and to consistently communicate that message to alumni, donors, parents, prospective students, and even legislators (Strout, 2006). Higher education institutions must carefully analyze the messages they are communicating via the website. Universities should also ensure easy access to the mission statement and provide information highlighting the institution's competitive advantage (Meyer & Jones, 2011).

While institutions have taken an increasingly active interest in improving campus culture to increase diversity and address racism, representation on the website must be carefully curated.

Wilson and Meyer (2011) examined attitudes of Hispanic and African American prospective students and found that site visitors relied on website imagery as one factor in determining if they would fit in and be comfortable at an institution (Wilson & Meyer, 2009). Institutions must be careful not to over-represent diversity on campus, as one study revealed that 78% of institutions overrepresented diversity on campus (Wilson & Meyer, 2009).

For institutions seeking to improve access for students from disadvantaged backgrounds, it is important to understand some of the many barriers to enrollment and to address these issues on the website. Venegas (2006) investigated the use of financial aid websites by low-income students. There are two critical aspects to consider regarding use of websites by prospective students: material resources and instrumental knowledge (Venegas, 2006). Institutions should not assume all applicants have instrumental knowledge on the mechanics of the admission and financial aid process (Venegas, 2006). Students, parents, and counselors need to be trained in the use of financial aid websites (Venegas, 2006). Currently, many students are not familiar with the process of financial aid and these individuals are missing out on opportunities (Venegas, 2006).

Universities should utilize websites to establish their identity, communicate expertise in teaching and research, and to share information on the university's international presence and social responsibility (Chapleo, Durán, Victoria, & Castillo Díaz, 2011). A content analysis of websites in the UK revealed traditional values such as research and teaching were well communicated through use of text, images, and video (Chapleo et al., 2011). Chapleo, Durán, Victoria and Castillo Díaz (2011) defined key indicators for each variable, which consisted of "the existence of messages, position on the site, adaptation to stakeholders, translation into other

languages and data reinforcements" (Chapleo et al., 2011, p. 34). However, emotional values

such as social responsibility and the culture on campus were not well represented on websites.

Universities could obtain an advantage by focusing on effective presentation of their institution's

emotional values (Chapleo et al., 2011). Vilnai-Yavetz and Tifferet (2009) evaluated images on

academic web pages and determined that images of people and buildings "lead to more positive

emotions, attitudes and purchase behavior" (Vilnai-Yavetz & Tifferet, 2009, p. 160).

Furthermore, the use of abstract images and symbols also positively influenced customers'

perceptions of web pages (Vilnai-Yavetz & Tifferet, 2009).

      Website content: supporting site visitor goals. While institutions must market

themselves to prospective students via their websites, they must also enable site visitors to

complete key tasks when coming to the website. Institutions must determine why students are

visiting the website and what they hope to accomplish. Research on prospective students' use of

websites indicates the most important website elements are academic programs, admissions

deadlines, and tuition information (Geyer & Merker, 2011). Adelman (2006) took a utilitarian

view of community college websites when investigating what elements on a web page would be

useful for prospective applicants. The web site should provide information on what students

need to do to prepare for college, application deadlines and procedures, tuition and aid data, and

advisement and registration procedures (Adelman, 2006).

      Students' needs change during the college choice process, so breadth of information may

be as important than depth. The variety of student needs and types of institutions make it

difficult to provide specific recommendations for website content, but universities would be well

served to include introductory information on a broad range of topics (Pampaloni, 2010). Meyer

and Jones (2011) found that graduate students were most interested in admission information, access to the course management system, access to library services, and the university calendar (Meyer & Jones, 2011).

Ng (2003) found that graduate students wanted clearly organized information, intuitive navigation, engaging content, and a site that was downloaded quickly (Ng, Parett, & Sterrett, 2003). Poock and Andrews Bishop (2006) evaluated websites by collecting feedback from prospective graduate students. Prospective graduates are interested in programs descriptions, course information, application requirements, and deadlines, faculty biographies, and financial aid information (Poock & Andrews Bishop, 2006). With regard to visual elements, students consider older building architecture to be more prestigious (Idris & Whitfield, 2014). Similarly, logos that appeared regal or had some form of a seal garnered more respect from prospective students (Idris & Whitfield, 2014).

Dialogic features. For college students, the viewbook has been supplanted by the university website, so it has become critical for institutions to change the nature of the interactions they have with college students (Rogers, 2014). The website presents an opportunity to engage in two-way communication. Students want to be addressed directly on web pages, so they know content is specifically for them (Snider & Martin, 2012, p. 38). Establishing a dialogue with current students provides administrators with insights into the motivations and attitudes of prospective students (Tucciarone, 2007). Kent and Taylor (1998) present the notion of dialogic interactions as a more effective and collaborative communication model because it can create "lasting, genuine, and valuable relationships with [students]" (Kent & Taylor, 1998, p. 328), which differentiates it from propaganda, marketing, and advertising tools. They describe

several principles of dialogic communication that seek to describe factors involved in developing

an interactive relationship with clients or customers. Dialogic principles include enabling

website visitors to ask questions, providing content that is useful for the user rather than the

organization, aiming to create websites that inspire users to return to the site in the future, and

ensuring the website is intuitive and easy to navigate (Kent & Taylor, 1998). Gordon and

Berhow (2009) found that liberal arts institutions featured links for contacting admissions staff

more than twice as often as national universities (Gordon & Berhow, 2009, p. 151). Overall,

these types of dialogic features were only included on 38% of websites (Gordon & Berhow,

2009, p. 151). Enabling site visitors to vote on an issue or feature suggestion only appeared on

4% of websites (Gordon & Berhow, 2009, p. 151). Ultimately, not engaging with students via

the website can harm recruitment efforts.

Websites are important not only for attracting the right types of students, but in creating

an image of the institution that will enable placement of students in the job market. Finch,

McDonald and Staple (2013) explored the impact of branding from the viewpoint of prospective

employers and claim the goal of institutional branding should be to define a distinct position in

the market (Finch, McDonald, & Staple, 2013). Prospective students develop beliefs toward an

institution by "anchoring an institution's brand in a category" (Finch et al., 2013, p. 1).

Employers also develop strong brand perceptions. Employers view career colleges and

undergraduate universities as more capable of producing graduates with practical skills (Finch et

al., 2013). Research institutions are criticized for having reputational attributes that are

misaligned with employer hiring goals (Finch et al., 2013). In this manner, research institutions

would be well advised to promote the development of specific skills that employers find

desirable.

Website effectiveness and usability. While there is research on what tasks students seek to accomplish on college websites, this tells us little about whether these websites are effective. Knowing what content to place on the page is but one small piece of the puzzle. Students make emotional, instinctive reactions to a website—and this initial impression is critical to determining whether they will perceieve this institution to be a good fit. How do institutions know what makes an effective website? Blending industry knowledge of website assessment with the needs of the target audience and the goals of the institution will help advance our understanding of what makes a higher education website effective.

Industry models of website effectiveness. According to Jakob Nielsen (1993), web usability has five components: learnability, efficiency, memorability, errors, and satisfaction (Nielsen, 1993). Assessing these on higher education websites requires specialized skills. The Organization for Standardization defines usability as efficiency, effectiveness, and satisfaction ("Ergonomics of human-system interaction," n.d.). Efficiency is how easily tasks can be accomplished, effectiveness is measured by the quality output of the completed tasks, and satisfaction is the users' subjective statements about their experience using the technology (Nielsen, 1993).

In the field of web design, information architecture (IA) is the technical term used to describe the organization of digital content on a website (Ruzza, Tiozzo, Mantovani, D'Este, & Ravarotto, 2017). Developing an information architecture entails creating top level categories, then adding website content to sub categories until all content is hierarchically organized. An effective IA enhances site visitors' ability to locate content and is considered a fundamental

dimension of website usability (Ruzza et al., 2017). In this study, the information architecture of

each Jesuit higher education website will be carefully examined, as the hierarchy of information

on a website can be an indication of institutional priorities (Burford, 2011). On websites with

thousands of pages, location and hierarchy are relevant. Diversity content on top level pages of a

site will be reviewed more often by site visitors and is more easily indexed by Google.

As shown in Figure 1, the Model of Information Systems Success (MISS) (2003) has

three dimensions: information quality, systems quality, and service quality (DeLone & McLean,

2003). Systems quality includes items such as response time and usability, while information
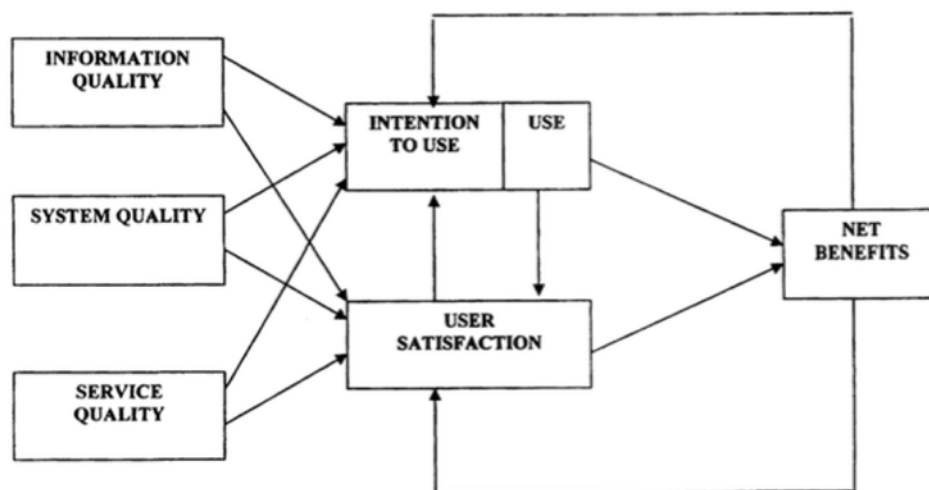
Figure 1. Model of Information System Success (DeLone & McLean, 2003).

quality includes the relevance and personalization of the content (DeLone & McLean, 2003).

There are challenges when applying MISS to higher education websites. The notion of service

quality may become a relevant factor when students visit campus or call the admission office to

ask questions, but at that point an initial impression of the institution has already been formed. Applying this model also assumes that prospective students are customers, which Bay and Daniel (2001) have demonstrated is not an effective means of describing the student-institution relationship. Furthermore, students make transaction decisions based on additional factors such as cost, location, and parental influence, which are beyond of the domain of the system. Finally, on ecommerce websites the final transaction is a sale. While this could be equated to applying to a school, the comparison is riddled with issues. Students can apply to a school with no intention of enrolling, and students may attend regardless of website quality. Modifying the Model of Infornatuin System Success for use in higher education is a topic warranting additional research. In recent years, advances in technology have triggered the transformation of websites from static brochures to complex, dynamic applications. Content, navigation, and visual appeal are most critical factors in assessing website success (Kincl & Štrach, 2012).

The Mystery of visual appeal. Site visitors have high expectations with regard to visual appeal, layout, and content, leading to an asymmetric effect: a negative experience results in decreased satisfaction, but a positive experience simply meets expectations and does not necessarily increase overall satisfaction (Kincl & Štrach, 2012). Researchers have struggled to define website appeal or develop consistent critera to operationalize it (Lindgaard, Fernandes, Dudek, & Brown, 2006). It may be difficult to define website appeal, but research indicates that when site visitors encounter something appealing, they know it instantly. Website visitors make nearly instantaneous judgments regarding websites, such that "a reliable decision can be made in 50ms" (Lindgaard et al., 2006, p. 125). These judgments persist throughout their use of the site. A positive initial impression of visual design creates what is known as the "halo effect", which

makes users less critical of site shortcomings, such as lack of functionality or missing information (Lindgaard, Dudek, Sen, Sumegi, & Noonan, 2011). If a positive visual appeal has a pervasive positive effect, unappealing sites have a similarly negative impact. Visually unappealing sites, which contained cluttered layouts, poor color combinations or difficult navigation were rejected within seconds by users (Lindgaard et al., 2011). In short, the aesthetics of a website influences site visitor perceptions of website functionality—which we would expect to be assessed independently of visual appeal (Lindgaard et al., 2006). Higher education institutions must carefully consider website visual appeal or risk losing prospective students before they even learn university offerings.

In addition to visual appeal, the website must accurately and professionally represent the university. The campus tour is a critical component of college choice (Chapman, 1981). Replicating the campus tour experience on the website is what Hawkins (2015) refers to as the visiting the digital campus (Hawkins, 2015). Similar to the physical campus, the digital campus is a representation of the university: it must be attractive, well maintained, and accessible (Hawkins, 2015). In fact, if a college has an ineffective website, students are likely to remove the college from their list without ever visiting campus (Geyer & Merker, 2011).

Table 2

Coker's Variables of Website Effectiveness

Variable	Description
Ease of Use	How easy was it to find your way around?

Ease of Search	How easy was it to search for information?
Information Quality	How was the quality of information?
Information Relevancy	How relevant was the content?
Satisfaction	How satisfied are you with your experience?
Likelihood of referral	Would you refer others to this website?
Loyalty	Would you visit this website again?
Trust	Do you trust this website?
Load Speed	How fast do the pages load on this website?
Visual Appeal	How attractive is this website?

Coker (2013) identified ten variables used to evaluate the effectiveness of corporate websites. Table 2 lists Coker's variables and provides clarifying questions on how they can be assessed. Several of Coker's variables have direct application to higher education websites. For example, ease of use and ease of search are equally relevant in higher education contexts. Of particular interest to higher education institutions is trust and information quality. If the content is not properly presented or inaccurate, it could create mistrust in prospective students and negatively impact their perception of an institution. Additional research is needed to explore how these factors could be measured on higher education websites.

Cox and Dale (2002) identify several key aspects of website design, which include ease of use, customer confidence, online resources, and relationship services. While these are aimed at corporate entities, they inform our discussion by providing a model for evaluating websites. Ease of use entails clarity of purpose and effective visual design, text, and graphics (Cox & Dale,

2002). Customer confidence involves speed, accessibility, and services (Cox & Dale, 2002).

Online resources include the functionality of the website and the ability to complete transactions

on the website. For prospective students, this could include registering for a tour or initiating an

online chat with an admissions representative (Cox & Dale, 2002). Relationship services in the

context of higher education could take the form of personalized emails sent to students about

specific academic or co-curricular programs.

This section focused on the evolution of higher education marketing, the use of websites

to communicate institutional values, and methods of evaluating website effectiveness. Next, I

will move to Jesuit higher education. I will review the history, mission, and characteristics of the

Jesuits, demonstrating how this set of higher education institutions has a unique focus on

diversity.

Jesuit Higher Education

In 1540, Ignatius Loyola and six other students at the University of Paris formed a

religious order known as the Society of Jesus (Bangert, S.J., 1986). Today, this order—

commonly known as the Jesuits—consists of male priests in the Roman Catholic Church

distinguished by a unique commitment to education, service, and justice in the name of faith (de

Ribadeneira, S.J., 2014). Jesuits declare vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience to the Pope,

but differ from local priests because they do not take orders from the bishop (O'Malley, 2014).

Several unique aspects of the Society of Jesus, which will be explored in the following sections,

make this order ideal for a study of diversity on higher education websites. First, the global

missions so foundational to the Jesuits' success required exceptional prowess in intercultural

dialogue (Ucerler, 2016). Secondly, the Jesuits were early believers in the transformative power of education and established an extensive global network of institutions (Bangert, S.J., 1986). Finally, the Jesuits have endured significant criticism, bias, and injustice, making this religious order well-suited to support minoritized identities (Pavone, 2016).

Missions. The Jesuits viewed ministry as a global venture that required overseas missions (O'Malley, 2014). As part of their missionary work, Jesuits dedicated themselves to a concept known as *magis*. This spiritual discipline offered Jesuits a standardized mode of discernment, which Ignatius characterized as the choice between many goods (Bangert, S.J., 1986). Using the concept of *magis*, or "the more", Jesuits sought to discern where their efforts, energies, and talents would most improve society (Geger, 2012). The earliest Jesuits diverged from traditional Catholic practices requiring priests to stay in one location and pray during set times each day (*What Are We? An Introduction to Boston College and Its Jesuit and Catholic Tradition*, 2009). Ignatius developed *Examen*, a series of spiritual exercises aimed at helping individuals explore the ways that God might be moving in and through their lives via regular prayer and reflective activities (O'Malley, 2014). Ignatius insisted the Jesuits could make a greater impact by obtaining advanced degrees and performing hands-on service in the communities they joined (O'Malley, 2014). The initial work of the Jesuits was caring for the needy, teaching the catechism, and providing spiritual guidance (Mahoney, 2003). In this way, Ignatius created the first religious order in the history of Christianity focusing their efforts on "work in the world" (Geger, 2012, p. 27).

The Jesuit missions were rife with hardship; travel was crude and dangerous, natives were unwelcoming, and language and cultural barriers presented challenges (Bangert, S.J.,

1986). Jesuits were imprisoned in Ireland, banished from England, and martyred in Ethiopia, Asia, and in the British colonies (*Chronology of Jesuit History*, 2018). Despite these challenges, during their first 60 years as a society, the Jesuits established countless global outposts in places such as India, China, Brazil, Germany, Africa, Mexico and Paraguay (Bangert, S.J., 1986).

The early Jesuits respected cultural difference and displayed "a fresh openness to human values and forms other than those of the West" (Bangert, S.J., 1986, p. 174). The Jesuit focus on "intercultural exchange" (Pavone, 2016, p. 113) was rare at the time—sharply contrasted by repressive tactics used by colonial authorities in Spain and Portuguese Latin America. Missionaries learned the local languages and customs and often educated Christians and non-Christians side by side (Banchoff, 2016). Not only did the Jesuits baptize people of all races and cultures, but when natives requested to join the Society, José de Acosta eloquently advocated for the cultivation of native clergies (Bangert, S.J., 1986). As early as 1541, Jesuits had established seminaries for natives in Goa, India. Alessandro Valignano, S.J. demonstrated appreciation for the Japanese language and customs and insisted Jesuit efforts in that country be led by a native clergy (Bangert, S.J., 1986).

Jesuit education. Education of lay people was not the early focus of the Jesuits. The residential college at Messina was established to educate new members of the Society of Jesus. Ignatius' decision to educate lay people at Messina "dramatically affected…the history of formal education" (Mahoney, 2003, p. 40). Ignatius believed that education had the power to transform society, and education soon became a defining characteristic and a principal apostolate of the Jesuits (Banchoff, 2016). The Jesuits established schools across the world and education was free for students from all backgrounds (O'Malley, 2014). No other religious order had created

such an extensive network of schools. At the time of Ignatius' death in 1556 there were 35 Jesuit universities, but by 1750 there were more than 800 Jesuit institutions spread across Europe, Asia, and Latin America (A Pocket Guide to Jesuit Education, 2012). Today, there are more than 100 Jesuit colleges and approximately 200 secondary schools (A Pocket Guide to Jesuit Education, 2012). In addition, there are more than 17,000 Jesuits, making the Society of Jesus the largest male order in the Catholic Church ("About Us | Who Are the Jesuits?" n.d.).

Anti-Jesuitism. Jesuits faced consistent bias from their founding in 1540 through their suppression in 1773 (Pavone, 2016). Jesuits were persecuted, imprisoned, and martyred (O'Malley, 2014). Ignatius was falsely imprisoned on multiple occasions, once for 17 days (de Ribadeneira, S.J., 2014). Jesuits were treated with suspicion by the Catholic church because their openness to dialogue with other cultures was in opposition to the Roman Catholic approach of direct evangelizing (Pavone, 2016). Jesuits engaged with local politics, which created tension because political authorities suspected the Jesuits would use their missions to upset imperial goals (Bangert, S.J., 1986). Protestant leaders considered Jesuits "power hungry, unprincipled, bloodthirsty, and in league with the devil" (Pavone, 2016, p. 114) and expelled the Jesuits from France and Spain in the mid-eighteenth century. In 1773, the Society of Jesus was suppressed by Pope Clement XIV (O'Malley, 2014).

Jesuit education in the United States. The suppression of the Society did not stop the Jesuits from building schools in the United States. Georgetown University was founded in 1789 by a group of disbanded Jesuits awaiting restoration of the Society (O'Malley, 2014). In 1814, the Jesuit order was restored by Pope Pius VII, but significant damage had been done to the reputation and mission of the Society of Jesus (O'Malley, 2014). In 1816, former Presidents

John Adams and Thomas Jefferson exchanged numerous letters expressing disdain for Jesuit principles and missionary work (Bangert, S.J., 1986). In the mid-1800s, two Jesuits demonstrated cultural sensitivity during their missions to the United States frontier. Charles Van Quickenborne expressed a "deep desire to work among the Native Americans" (Bangert, S.J., 1986, p. 486) and Peter De Smet's respect for Iroquois culture enabled him to broker a peace agreement between whites and Native Americans (Bangert, S.J., 1986).

Jesuit colleges in the early days of the United States were heavily criticized as lagging behind Protestant schools (Mahoney, 2003). In the second half of the 1800s, scientific facts gradually became more valued than theological doctrine, resulting in a dramatic educational shift wherein "heterogeneity and toleration replaced homogeneity and coercion" (Leahy, S.J., 1991, p. 15). Jesuit higher education in the United States was slow to adapt to this secularization (Bangert, S.J., 1986). Academic leader and educational reformer Charles Eliot was critical of Catholic higher education (Mahoney, 2003). In 1893, as President of Harvard University, Eliot determined that students from just three of the 24 Jesuit colleges (Georgetown, Boston College, and Holy Cross) would be considered for admission into Harvard Law School (Mahoney, 2003). Eliot's criticisms were not unfounded.

Jesuit institutions were slow to adapt to the needs of students, who flocked to institutions offering a broader range of studies, more social opportunities, a stronger student culture, and more advanced professional education (Mahoney, 2003). The charter of Jesuit institutions in the first part of the Twentieth Century was to provide education for the marginalized and to educate the elite who could affect change from their positions atop the societal hierarchy (Mahoney, 2003). In 1913, the University of Notre Dame was the only recognized Catholic College in the

United States (Leahy, S.J., 1991). By the early 1920's, Jesuit colleges in the United States were "beset by academic mediocrity, low morale, and public criticism" (Leahy, S.J., 1991, p. 43). It took decades, but Jesuit institutions adapted to the United States by focusing on accreditation, administration, curriculum changes, professional education, and financial management (Leahy, S.J., 1991). Though Jesuit institutions' inability to quickly adapt to changes in American education jeopardized the survival of the Jesuit higher education enterprise, when these institutions ultimately emerged from this crisis, they retained their Catholic identity (Mahoney, 2003). Timothy Brosnahan, S.J. acknowledged the benefits of professional training but warned "it might produce experts, but not develop a man" (Mahoney, 2003, p. 269). This focus on formation would remain a foundational aspect of Jesuit higher education into the new millennium as institutions sought distinction in a crowded marketplace.

During the middle part of the Twentieth Century, Catholic educators were criticized for being distant and out of touch with modern problems, prompting a renewed focus on "mission-inspired work and social and civil responsibility" (Hollenbach, 2011, p. 348). This was precipitated, in part, by the Second Vatican Council's 1965 document *The Church in the Modern World,* which proposed that the church move from "the lordly mountaintop of certitude into the messy valley of human challenges, risks, and ambiguities" (Hollenbach, 2011, p. 349). During the last quarter of the Twentieth Century, Jesuit higher education institutions reassessed their mission, triggering a shift to more active participation in social justice issues. In an influential and transformative speech in 2000, Rev. Peter-Hans Kolvenbach, S.J., Superior General of the Society of Jesus, challenged Jesuit institutions to refocus their efforts on social justice and equity (Kolvenback, 2000). Citing wide disparities between the flourishing research universities and

struggling public schools serving Blacks, Kolvenbach urged Jesuit institutions to live the mission through race-conscious admissions policies and financial support for minoritized students (Kolvenback, 2000).

Characteristics of modern Jesuit higher education. According to the Association of Jesuit Colleges and Universities, modern Jesuit higher education is defined by strong leadership, an academic environment fostering research and teaching excellence, a Catholic, Jesuit campus culture, service to the local church, service to others, a Jesuit presence on campus, and integrity (LaBelle & Kendall, 2016). LaBelle and Kendal (2016) developed a schematic representation of characteristics of Jesuit colleges. Jesuit presence is central to the identity and supported by three key aspects: leadership, offices and services, and the core curriculum (LaBelle & Kendall, 2016). This framework enables Jesuit institutions to adhere to their key values of service to the local church, integrity, service to others, academic life, and fostering a Catholic, Jesuit campus culture (LaBelle & Kendall, 2016).

Jesuit values are embodied in the Ignatian concepts of *magis*, *cura personalis* and *Ratio Studiorum*. Though not explicitly defined in Jesuit historical documents, *magis* can be understood as the goal of consistently opting for the "more universal good" (Geger, 2012, p. 19), when discerning what goals and methods to employ in the work of an apostolate. In other words, when presented with two options for service, Ignatius encouraged people to choose the option that would have wider societal impact (Geger, 2012). *Cura personalis* is Latin for "care for the individual person" (O'Malley, 2014). *Cura personalis* demands that a person's talents, abilities, physical attributes, faith, mind, and intellect all be considered in the process of student formation (Otto, 2013). The *Ratio Studiorum* refers to a standardized plan of studies developed and

published in 1599 by Claudio Aquaviva (O'Malley, 2014). *Ratio Studiorum* includes job descriptions for teachers in Jesuit institutions, defines pedagogical approaches appropriate to the *cura personalis* model, and outlines goals for student development (O'Malley, 2014). Reflection and discernment based on *Examen* principles outlined by Ignatius remain key components of modern Jesuit higher education, as evidenced in campus culture and activities which make extensive use of Ignatian principles.

Diversity and Jesuit higher education. Early Jesuits were considered the "original paradigm and model of intercultural engagement" (Ucerler, 2016, p. 43). In the *Spiritual Exercises*, Ignatius found beauty in human diversity and urged practitioners "to see the various persons: and first those on the surface of the earth, in such variety, in dress as in actions: some white and others black" (Mullan, S.J., 1914, p. 37). Pope John Paul II declared that Jesuit higher education should train students to "gain an organic view of reality, promote social justice, and be an instrument of evangelization and cultural dialogue" (LaBelle & Kendall, 2016, p. 269). At the core of the Jesuit higher education mission is "exploring the intellectual grounds for…potential agreement across diverse cultural and religious traditions" (Hollenbach, 2011). An example of how University of Chicago Loyola applies Jesuit pedagogy to modern racial conflict will be explored in Chapter Five.

Creating a diverse and inclusive campus environment is central to the Jesuit higher education mission. Jesuit colleges and universities profess a unique commitment to educating first generation students (*The Jesuit, Catholic mission of U.S. Jesuit colleges and universities*, 2010). The Association of Jesuit Colleges and Universities (AJCU) prioritizes access to "vulnerable and underserved populations" (*The Jesuit, Catholic mission of U.S. Jesuit colleges*

and universities, 2010, p. 7). Ignatius himself highlighted the importance of diversity in his directive to "find God in all things by widening awareness of grace at work in all created things and in the diversity of human culture" (*What Are We? An Introduction to Boston College and Its Jesuit and Catholic Tradition*, 2009, p. 33). The AJCU defines diversity as difference in economic, cultural, ethnic, religious, and geographic background (*The Jesuit, Catholic mission of U.S. Jesuit colleges and universities*, 2010). Notably absent are the traits and social markers of race, physical abilities, gender, gender identity, sexuality. In the AJCU statements, it is important to note that the text includes immigrants among those who are served, but not among those who should be educated (*The Jesuit, Catholic mission of U.S. Jesuit colleges and universities*, 2010). These points will be further explored in Chapter Five.

In summary, this study will evaluate how diversity is characterized on Jesuit higher education websites. This review of the literature began by examining how the concept of diversity was shaped by key Supreme Court cases. Diversity is a complex topic requiring the use of a robust framework such as Critical Race Theory to ground the analysis. Next, I reviewed the evolution of marketing in higher education and the importance of websites in communicating institutional values. Finally, I reviewed the history, mission, and values of Jesuit higher education, clearly establishing the centrality of diversity to the Jesuit mission.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH DESIGN

Introduction

This chapter will describe the methods used to collect and analyze data for this study. The research question will be restated, followed by a detailed review of the process used to collect and analyze the data on Jesuit higher education websites. In addition, I will describe the challenges of conducting CDA on websites and attempts to limit risks to internal and external validity.

Research Questions

The research questions were stated in Chapter One, but are restated here in order to demonstrate how the research methods address the research questions.

Primary research question. Based on a critical examination of website content, how do Jesuit institutions characterize diversity and what are the implications?

Sub-questions.

1. When Jesuit institutions present diversity on their websites, are certain identities prioritized, misrepresented or excluded and what are the implications?

2. Are there patterns in how Jesuit higher education institutions characterize diversity?

3. Within the Jesuit higher education set of institutions, is there a relationship between demographic factors (size of institution, location, students served) and institutional characterization of diversity?

Research Design and Methodology

     Qualitative research. Qualitative research is a broad term used to describe "a wide variety of approaches to and methods for the study of social life" (Saldana, 2015, p. 3). Qualitative research is more concerned with depth than breadth, seeking to investigate details of the human condition by adopting different lenses for analysis (Rossman & Rallis, 2017). Qualitative inquiry is inductive, customized, and emergent in nature—making it appropriate for exploratory studies (Saldana, 2015). Researchers must identify their ontology—the philosophical assumptions about how they view reality (Rossman & Rallis, 2017). As described in the literature review, this study views reality as socially-constructed and based on hegemonic norms, which have enabled White males to acquire and retain power and assets. Qualitative researchers must also identify their epistemology—which determines how they will acquire knowledge (Creswell, Hanson, Clark, & Morales, 2007). In this study, knowledge was acquired through a critical examination of website content. Epistemology also examines the relationship between the research participant and researcher. In this study, there were no human subjects. However, with a basis in critical theory, this research intends to incite "transformation in the participants that leads to group empowerment and emancipation from oppression" (Ponterotto, 2005, p. 131).

     There are four main genres of qualitative research: ethnographic, phenomenological, sociolinguistic, and case studies (Rossman & Rallis, 2017). This study will be sociolinguistic in nature and explore the meaning of words, images, and the structure of web content in order to understand how communication systems are used by the wealthy elite to marginalize groups and retain power (Rossman & Rallis, 2017). This study will utilize a critical paradigm, arguing that

acquired knowledge is socially constructed and that existing knowledge is often more an

expression of power than of truth (Mack, 2010). Evaluating website content requires a

qualitative framework suited for textual analysis, which is a complex discipline with no

overarching theory common to all research studies (Michaels, & O'Connor, 1992). In fact, there

is no one unified critical theory, but instead many "criticalist schools of thought" (Ponterotto,

2005, p. 130). Critical Discourse Analysis is a framework well-suited for this analysis of website

content.

  Critical Discourse Analysis. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a qualitative research

framework for evaluating words and images to reveal how the dominant class reproduces social

structures (van Dijk, 1993). Power and dominance are not individual as much as

institutionalized—favoring some classes over others and controlling access to wealth, status,

income, education, and knowledge (van Dijk, 1993). Fairclough (1995) contends that texts are

the primary tool used for "social control and social domination" (Fairclough, 1995, p. 209).

Patterns of language and communication become normalized in favor of dominant groups,

requiring subjugated peoples to overcome significant barriers in order to gain access to key

resources such as education, wealth, and employment opportunities (van Dijk, 1993).

  Textual meaning is created through a combination of the particular words used, the

structural organization of the text, and the inferences people make based on their understanding

of the author and the context (Gee et al., 1992). CDA requires the researcher to reveal how

language and communication are used to create hegemonic policies, which have generated

segregation and reproduced social systems of subjugation (Martínez Alemán, 2015). Ultimately,

the researcher is required to deconstruct "presumed normative structures" (Martínez Alemán,

2015, p. 25) so policymakers can take "intelligent social action" (Martínez Alemán, 2015, p. 37).

A primary objective of CDA should be to "denaturalize everyday language" (Luke, 2011, p. 9) in order to make sense of common patterns of communication so embedded in society that they are difficult to identify. Ultimately, CDA aims to demonstrate relations of "inequality, domination and subordination" (Luke, 1996). Content analysis was chosen as the method for this study because it can be "used to help shape social policy by calling attention to systematic inequalities in need of change" (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011, p. 233).

In my analysis, I began by examining content access. How do site visitors find diversity content and where is it located within the site? After the content is located, I analyzed the content using a framework based on McGregor (2004) and Fairclough (1993). I closely examined the text and images on key webpages, focusing on the voice and tone of the writing used to describe diversity, key omissions in the text, the foregrounding and backgrounding of identities, assumed power relations, phony register, and topicalization (McGregor, 2004).

Hypertext multimodality. Traditionally, Critical Discourse Analysis has focused on the role of words and grammatical elements to promote a particular worldview (Machin & Mayr, 2012). Modern websites differ from traditional text such as books and journal articles in two important ways. First, websites are not comprised exclusively of prose—instead utilizing a number of additional vehicles to convey meaning such as color, size of text headings, placement on the page, hierarchy, photography, animation, and sound. These elements serve as "active resources for the creation of further meaning" (Lemke, 2002, p. 299). Furthermore, interaction with the content extends beyond the "single conventional sequence" (Lemke, 2002, p. 300) found in print material. Due to these alterations in how content is created and consumed,

linguists have expanded the fluid field of Critical Discourse Analysis to include a new flavor of CDA known as multimodal critical discourse analysis (Machin & Mayr, 2012). To account for the variety of tactics used to convey meaning, a multimodal approach is required for this research study.

The second critical distinction between websites and traditional texts is that, in addition to utilizing a complex interrelationship of communication elements, websites enable site visitors to travel with independence and authority over the content (Lemke, 2002). In other words, site visitors are not compelled to consume content in a predetermined order as in a traditional text. If individuals find content unappealing, or they are intrigued by a link within the text, site visitors leave the page and go elsewhere. Google coined the term "bounce rate" to characterize the percentage of site visitors who have single page website visits (Snider & Martin, 2012). Nonlinear patterns of content consumption on websites—commonly known as "web surfing"—places a unique pressure on content authors to captivate and engage, or else be discarded. Similarly, researchers examining website content cannot assume that site visitors have a predetermined order of content consumption. With a written text, researchers can assume a linear approach and structure the content to build on knowledge or learning acquired on previous pages. The web is different. Each page can be accessed independently as a starting location or end point. Skilled web page authors can utilize techniques to provide backstory, educate site visitors, cross-reference content and elaborate on the message, but there are no guarantees—the next page is just a click away.

Accounting for hypertext multimodality. As a researcher, I took a multimodal approach to the analysis by accounting for text, images, use of color, information architecture, headings,

page layout, and other web elements. Addressing the unpredictable path of user content access and consumption is challenging. We cannot be certain which path site visitors will take to the content, so I must account for different perspectives and realities. During the analysis stage, I evaluated the content based solely on what is on the current page—without context. In other words, if supporting information clarifying a point is on another page on the site, I assumed that some site visitors will not review or access this content. Conversely, I considered common paths to the content and assessed the likelihood that site visitors may have the capability to contextualize certain information either because they came from another page within the website, or they have knowledge or understanding from other websites. During the analysis section of this study, I document these conditions and explicitly call attention to instances where the nonlinear nature of website interactivity enhanced or hindered site visitor meaning-making of web content.

Population and Sampling

Purposive sampling was utilized for this study. As described in Chapter Two, diversity is central to the Jesuit mission. The institutions in this study were selected based on their identity as Jesuit higher education institutions in the United States. Jesuit higher education provides a rich set of related institutions sharing a common mission, yet with significant variety in areas such as geographic location, degree offerings, and Carnegie Classification. The one previous study utilizing CDA to analyze higher education websites was a doctoral dissertation that reviewed 12 websites across Carnegie classification criteria (Saichaie, 2011). The analysis of 28 websites significantly increased the scope of the study, but is essential to gaining a thorough

understanding of diversity as depicted across Jesuit higher education institutions. Table 3 lists

the institutions included in this study.

Table 3

Jesuit Higher Education Institutions in the United States

Institution	Location
Boston College	Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts
Canisius College	Buffalo, New York
College of the Holy Cross	Worcester, Massachusetts
Creighton University	Omaha, Nebraska
Fairfield University	Fairfield, Connecticut
Fordham University	New York City, NY
Georgetown University	Washington, D.C.
Gonzaga University	Spokane, Washington
John Carroll University	University Heights, Ohio
Le Moyne College	Syracuse, New York
Loyola Marymount University	Los Angeles, California
Loyola University Chicago	Chicago, Illinois
Loyola University Maryland	Baltimore, Maryland
Loyola University New Orleans	New Orleans, Louisiana
Marquette University	Milwaukee, Wisconsin
Regis University	Denver, Colorado
Rockhurst University	Kansas City, Missouri
Saint Joseph's University	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Saint Louis University	St. Louis, Missouri
Saint Peter's University	Jersey City, New Jersey
Santa Clara University	Santa Clara, California
Seattle University	Seattle, Washington
Spring Hill College	Mobile, Alabama
University of Detroit Mercy	Detroit, Michigan
University of San Francisco	San Francisco, California
University of Scranton	Scranton, Pennsylvania

Wheeling Jesuit University   Wheeling, West Virginia

Xavier University   Cincinnati, Ohio

Data Collection

The data collection process was complex due to the unique structure, organization and content of each institutional website. For this reason, it was not feasible or realistic to identify a set number of pages for review. The data were collected by visiting public web pages of Jesuit college and university websites. Below, I will document the tools, schedule and methods used to locate, document, and analyze key web pages.

Tools. The 28 Jesuit higher education websites were accessed using the Chrome web browser on a Macintosh computer. I took screen shots of the web pages using the Chrome plugin Full Page Screenshot. In cases where unusual cropping occurred or there appeared to be technical issues, I visited pages on Safari and Firefox browsers to confirm results. The data were collected and organized using Evernote software, which enabled me to tag and categorize findings. For reference purposes, the URL of each page was also recorded in Evernote. The data collection phase resulted in more than 550 Evernote documents containing screenshots of the web pages analyzed for this study. The data were collected over two sessions, which is described in the next section.

Data collection schedule. In order to account for changes in the content and mitigate threats to internal validity, the data collection process utilized a two-phased approach. Each of the 28 Jesuit higher education websites was analyzed on two occasions—once during each phase of the data collection process. Phase I data collection lasted from September 15, 2017 to

September 30, 2017 and Phase II data collection was from December 1, 2017 to December 15, 2017.

This approach was developed based on my thirteen years of professional experience working with higher education websites. Higher education institutions typically update key web content at the beginning or end of each semester. Collecting all data in two distinct phases is a method of triangulating the data and enhancing internal validity (Anfara, Brown, & Mangione, 2002). In September, high school seniors visit higher education websites to learn about the application process, tuition, requirements, available programs, and deadlines. In November, prospective graduate and undergraduate students are seeking further information on the application and admission process. University administrators and website editors would likely update web content at least once during the semester, enabling me to get two snapshots of university website content during a prime window when it is being accessed by prospective students. If website content was outdated and not altered during either of these time periods, this did not damage the validity of the findings, but instead provided insight into institutional priorities.

Triangulation. Examination of web content using CDA is an emerging field of study with few formal methodologies. In this study, a risk to research validity was omission of data—diversity website content that I may have overlooked. Triangulation in qualitative research can take many forms. Methodological triangulation requires the use of multiple methods of data collection (Mathison, 2017). To mitigate this risk, I accessed diversity content using a four-pronged approach:

1) Browsing the website hierarchy. Navigation items and home page content are

politicized, as academic units wrestle for recognition, resources, and stature. The information

architecture of a site often mirrors administrative hierarchies, and institutional priorities (Laja,

2017). If a site visitor comes to the institutional website, would s/he encounter content that

communicates institutional values regarding diversity? In other words, is it tightly coupled with

the mission? What sections are available on the home page? How is information organized? By

asking these questions, I gained insight into institutional values.

2) Google search. I emulated how students access a college or university website by

utilizing Google searches. The following phrases were searched using Google:

> Diversity [institution name]
> Inclusion [institution name]
> LGBTQ [institution name]
> Black [institution name]
> Latina [institution name]
> Latino [institution name]
> Asian [institution name]
> Undocumented students [institution name]
> Race [institution name]
> Racism [institution name]
> Religion [institution name]
> Disability [institution name]
> Accessibility [institution name]
> Disability services [institution name]
> Culture [institution name]

As the purpose of this study is to examine how institutions present diversity on their

websites, I ignored Google search results that did not direct me to the institutional website. I

focused on the first three results that directed me to that institution's website. The goal was to

locate pages containing diversity content that may not have been prominently featured in the

navigation, but were accessible using Google. To ensure validity, Google searches and sites

searches were analyzed during the two data collection periods in September and December.

3) Site search tools. Utilizing available search tools on each higher education website was an effective means of locating diversity content. The same search queries were used as with Google, with the name of the institution omitted. To ensure validity, site searches were analyzed during the two data collection periods in September and December.

4) Detailed page review. To ensure no content was overlooked, I visited all subsections of each website in an attempt to uncover diversity content that may have been buried deep in the site. The hierarchical placement of diversity content informed this study. If diversity material is difficult for site visitors to find, this has implications for both institutions and site visitors. Using this technique enabled me to get a holistic picture of each institution's diversity-related web content and account for a key variable that could impact validity of the study: organizational politics. If a certain office had diversity content that was not elevated to the top level of the website for organizational or political reasons, I was still able to locate the content and get a complete view of the institutions' diversity content.

This four-pronged approach ensured that content was not omitted or overlooked. Another important reason for triangulation was to expose inconsistencies in the data (Mathison, 2017). For example, it is possible that diversity content on a student affairs web page differs from that in academic affairs. At many institutions, the organization and administration of higher education is decentralized, which can result in differing priorities, inconsistent language and contradictions (Cohen & March, 1974). Exposing these examples will enrich the study and aid the goal of providing "thick descriptions" (Anfara et al., 2002, p. 30) that authentically represent the inherent complexity of communicating diversity on higher education websites.

Website Evaluation Process

Each analysis will begin with a description of the institution and a figure containing data on the race and ethnicity of the student body. Next, I turn to the content analysis of the website in order to address the primary purpose of this study. According to each institution's website, how is diversity characterized? Guided by CDA, I followed a standard process when analyzing website content. Fairclough (1995) urges researchers to evaluate both form and function when utilizing CDA. Myopic focus on intertextual analysis in lieu of linguistics limits opportunities for discovery (Fairclough, 1993). A holistic view of the text must acknowledge that "the signifier (form) and signified (function) constitute a dialectical and hence inseparable unity" (Fairclough, 1995, p. 212). On a website, the *form* is a combination of the hierarchy and visual elements on a web page. The *function* of the page consists of the words. Form and function will be analyzed separately, then as a cohesive unit.

Text analysis. Prose remains the primary communication vehicle on college and university websites. Analyzing the words and grammar will enable me to define, expose, and ultimately derail power structures and hegemonic norms. How does the site communicate institutional values? Who has power and who is viewed as subjugated? Due to the dearth of research devoted to analysis of website content, it was imperative to combine methodologies. For this study, I developed an approach to website evaluation utilizing aspects of Fairclough (1993) and McGregor (2014), which is documented in Table 4. Diversity web page content was deconstructed to determine the grammatical person, intended audience, voice and tone, omissions, foregrounding and backgrounding, assumed power relations, phone register, and topicalization.

Table 4

Website Content Analysis Framework: Assessment Questions

CDA Element	Questions
Grammatical person	Third person, first (we), second person (you) or agentless passive. Is nominalization used to conceal the actors?
Intended audience & objectives	Who is the page intended for? What are the assumed page goals?
Voice and tone of content	Is the tone friendly, academic, formal or blended?
Omissions in the text	What is mentioned? What is missing? Are individual groups referenced?
Foregrounding and backgrounding	What content is placed in prominent regions on the page? Is diversity framed in a particular way by the institution? Which items are in the primary navigation? How does the hierarchy of navigation items inform our understanding of university priorities?
Assumed power relations	Are there clues about dominance? Are certain groups' needs prioritized?
Phony register	Is the content appropriate for the page? Is it sensitive to current events and campus climate? Does the content seem authentic?
Topicalization	Is diversity a top-level navigation item? Is diversity part of the mission statement? On diversity pages, what does the institution prioritize?

Based on Fairclough (1993) and McGregor (2014)

Table 5

Website Content Analysis Framework: Examples

CDA Element	Examples
Grammatical person	University of Scranton's use of first person "you" and the slang "U" spoke directly to students.
Intended audience & objectives	John Carroll University page in student affairs section contained inclusive restroom information targeted at students—intended to provide specific content to a minoritzed identity.
Voice and tone of content	Authoritative messaging on USF mission pages ("and they're better off because of it") positioned university as knowledgeable and authoritative on diversity issues.
Omissions in the text	Creighton University Intercultural Center pages omitted terms "black", "student of color", "African American", and "race."
Foregrounding and backgrounding	Loyola Marymount pages foregrounded three identities "African American", "Asian Pacific Islander", and "Latino/a" by placing only these three as navigation items.
Assumed power relations	Loyola Maryland Service page use of playful icons and language to describe service, established the institution as parent and students as children.
Phony register	Holy Cross images contained staged scenes and unusual group hugs that appeared inauthentic.
Topicalization	Gonzaga University global menu established priorities by selecting 42 links for global navigation menu.

Based on Fairclough (1993) and McGregor (2014)

Image analysis. Images are increasingly important tools used to communicate institutional values. Researchers should not only look at what is connoted using imagery, but how it is connoted. What is represented and the way it is represented are critical components of communicating meaning (Machin & Mayr, 2012). Analysis of imagery includes both the attributes of the images as well as the setting. Image attributes include the subject(s) depicted in the image. Who or what is pictured? Is the subject of the image presented in a way that empowers her/him or are they objectified? For a human subject, what is their facial expression, body language, and pose? Are they alone or with a group? In addition, the color, tone, crop, lighting and setting of the image is critical to communicating meaning (Machin & Mayr, 2012).

The placement and size of an image on a web page is relevant. Is the photograph a supporting element, or is it the focus of the page? Does it support the content or is it unrelated to the text and other elements on the page? In short, image analysis can reveal objectification, which includes reduction to appearance, denial of autonomy, instrumentality, and silencing (Nussbaum, 1995). In Chapter Four, I present examples of how images were used to objectify. In Chapter Five, I provide recommendations on the effective use of images on higher education websites.

Coding of Data. The data were coded to assess content targeted to minoritized identities. For each of the 28 Jesuit higher education institutions, the content was analyzed based on the quality of content available for a number of identities (Black, LGBTQ, Undocumented, etc.). As shown in Table 6, institutions were given a score of 0, 1, or 2 based on the assessment of the content attending to each identity. Using numbers in qualitative research is a "legitimate and valuable strategy" (Maxwell, 2010, p.12) for researchers when it is used to complement the

research process. This numbering scheme enabled me to view the data holistically and identify

patterns of exclusion or inclusion across the 28 Jesuit institutions.

Table 6

Sample coding matrix for identities

Institution	Undocumented Excluded=0 Referenced=1 Included=2	LGBTQ Excluded=0 Referenced=1 Included=2	Disability Excluded=0 Referenced=1 Included=2
Institution A	0	1	0
Institution B	1	1	1
Institution C	1	2	2

How was diversity characterized? I collected, interpreted, and synthesized website

data on the 28 Jesuit higher education institutions. The culmination of each website review was

to characterize diversity at that institution based on an analysis of the institutional website

content. How was diversity described according to this institution? How did the institution

portray race, gender, and other human characteristics? Who was included and excluded?

As shown in Table 7, the data were assessed based on a comprehensive analysis of the

diversity content. Phase I institutions had a number of issues with diversity content: missing

identities, inconsistent messaging, multiple instances of objectification, and excluding diversity

from the mission. In addition, these institutions did not prioritize diversity in the information

architecture. In contrast, Phase IV institutions spoke eloquently about diversity, did not objectify

individuals, and prioritized diversity using a landing page prominently featured in the

information architecture. Phase II institutions had isolated instances of excluded identities, but

generally attended to identities with significant content. Diversity was referenced in the mission,

not embedded, and institutions had landing pages. The voice and tone was inconsistent. Phase

III institutions contained significant diversity content, many had landing pages, and the

messaging was consistent and strong. However, the threshold for Phase IV was established such

that a single instance of objectification kept institutions from Inclusive Excellence. In Chapter

Five, Williams' Stages of Institutional Diversity Development are applied to the data in order to

categorize each institution as Startup, Transitional, Mature Implementation, or Inclusive

Excellence (Williams, 2013, p. 198).   Finally, I describe the implications of these findings.

Table 7

Criteria for Categorizing Institutions in Williams' Stages of Institutions Diversity Development

Stage	Criteria
Stage 1 Start Up	• Institutions excluded identities. • There were pages with inconsistent messaging, examples of phony register, significant objectification, and information architecture concerns related to diversity content.
Stage 2 Transitional	• Isolated instances of excluded identities. • Typically referenced diversity in the mission, but often had instances where phony register or insufficient content kept them from the Mature stage. • Institutions in this stage had isolated instances of objectification and had content targeted to specific groups.

| Stage 3 Mature Implementation | • Institutions had significant content targeted to minoritized identities and in most cases utilized a landing page to unify content from various organizational units.
• Diversity content was elevated in the site hierarchy and easily discoverable via Google.
• Messaging was consistent.
• Institutions had a range of shortcomings that kept them short of Inclusive Excellence, such as a single instance of objectification or phony register. |
| Stage 4 Inclusive Excellence | • All identities were included.
• Institutions spoke eloquently about diversity and embedded it in the mission.
• Extensive content targeted at minoritized identities, placed prominently in the site hierarchy and linked to from across the site.
• There was no objectification and images were authentic. |

Pilot

A pilot was conducted in April of 2017, which consisted of an analysis of two higher education websites. Table 4 describes the framework utilized for the pilot, which combines elements of Fairclough (1994) and McGregor (2014). For the pilot, two Jesuit institutional websites were analyzed: University of Scranton and Wheeling Jesuit University. Data collection consisted of visiting the public website of the institutions involved in the pilot, and documenting the structure of the site, the language, and use of imagery on the site. After data collection was completed, I coded the data in Evernote software and then conducted analysis using the methodology described in Table 4. The next section includes the pilot data from Wheeling Jesuit University, which was one of the two institutions analyzed in the pilot study.

Pilot Data Sample: Wheeling Jesuit University

Overview. Wheeling Jesuit University is located in Wheeling, West Virginia and has an

undergraduate enrollment of 1,000. As shown in Figure 2, the student body at Wheeling is 75%

white, with six percent of students identifying as Black or African American and six percent

identified as "non-resident alien." Eighty one percent of students are under the age of 24.   The

retention rate at Wheeling Jesuit University is 72% (National Center for Education Statistics,
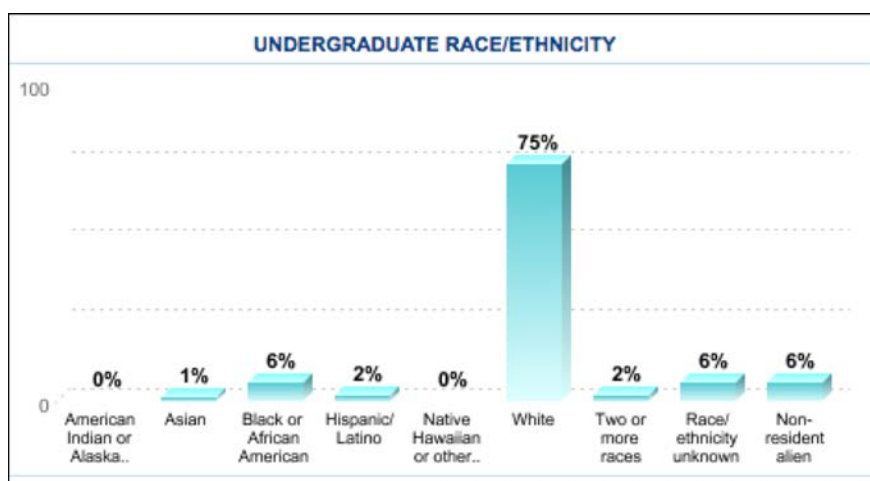
2016).

Figure 2. Student Race/Ethnicity at University of Wheeling Jesuit University

(National Center for Education Statistics, 2016).

Content access. A Google search for "diversity at Wheeling Jesuit University" returned

only one item directing me to the Wheeling Jesuit University website. The "Student Life

Diversity Policy" page contained a paragraph of text that was last revised in July 2002. Searches

for "LGBTQ" returned one item, a news story from 2016.

Content review. Diversity content was limited on the Wheeling website. The "Student

Life Diversity Policy" page shown in Figure 3 provided a statement that ties diversity to the

Jesuit tradition.

Wheeling Jesuit's goal is to help students develop a deep respect for all persons, resulting

in a desire to know and learn from men and women from various cultural, religious and

racial backgrounds. ("Diversity Policy - Wheeling Jesuit University," n.d.).

This statement powerfully indicates what is meant by diversity. It includes cultural,

religious and racial components. As a Jesuit, Catholic institution, including religious diversity is

Figure 3. Student Life Diversity Policy page on Wheeling Jesuit University website.

Retrieved from: https://www.wju.edu/studentlife/oma/diversitypolicy.asp

a critical aspect to creating a welcoming environment. Omitted from this page was any reference

to sexual orientation, disabilities or gender identity. The voice and tone of the page shifted in the

middle of the paragraph. The first few sentences referenced the goals of the institution, the Jesuit tradition, and respect for all persons. The language was aspirational, warm, and rooted in history. The final two sentences struck a formal, legal and detached tone, with phrases such as "grievance procedure", "discrimination" and "applicable federal and state laws." Finally, the university espouses to "ensure fair treatment to all students." Fair is often used interchangeably with "equal" or "identical." For students from minoritized groups, they may need additional emotional, financial and academic support to offset years of unequal education and social opportunities. The use of the term "fair" does not seem to acknowledge the uneven needs of students from different backgrounds.

Events that celebrate the culture and academic achievements of individuals from minoritized groups are critical elements in developing an inclusive campus environment. On the Wheeling Jesuit University website, the only items listed were athletic events. While it is possible that certain cultural events are not public, there does not appear to be a vibrant cultural component to campus life. On the "Student Clubs" page of the site there were five organizations listed in the "Cultural" section ("Wheeling Jesuit - Campus Life," n.d.). These included the Black Student Union, International Conversation Club, International Student Club, Life Gets Better Together (LGBT), and the Spanish Club.

One of the only places where diversity was presented in a positive light was on the "Culture Fest" page, which resided in the "International Office" section of the site.

The introductory text at the top of the page reads:

The melting pot of the Jesuit community, Culture Fest features music, dance, and food

from around the world. Diversity is always celebrated as students from all faiths,

ethnicities and socio-economic backgrounds call our campus home. We honor these

differences annually at our campus-wide Culture Fest, an event where students share their

<u>heritage and customs</u> with peers, faculty and the local community.

Melting pot is defined as "a place where a variety of races, cultures, or individuals

assimilate into a cohesive whole" ("Melting Pot | Definition of Melting Pot by Merriam-

Webster," n.d.). Over time, reviewing the context of accepted terms such as "melting pot" can

inform our understanding of historically minoritized groups. Assimilation is complex tactic used

by the white majority to strip entire cultures of their relevance and identity (Lugones, 1994). A

close reading of the introductory text also indicates that "music, dance and food" are being

celebrated. Are there opportunities for the ideas, academic achievements and history of various

cultures to be celebrated? By only focusing on music, dance and food, are these cultural events

positioning these people as providers of entertainment and not ideas? A balanced approach to

celebrating cultural, religious and ethnic diversity could include academic events, historical

remembrances, examples of resistance to subjugation, profiles of thought leaders from these

groups, and other components.

The sharing of "heritage and customs" also warrants attention. By using these terms, the

page authors have foregrounded hegemonic norms. Heritage and customs are things from the

past that may or may not still be relevant. There is an ancient and historical aspect to these terms

that reduce their salience for the white majority. In this way, the culture of minoritized groups is

an attraction—something that could be used to entertain or inform—but it is not critical

knowledge that will impact daily life. These groups also lack agency. On the Office of

Multicultural Student Affairs Mission page, the voice is agentless passive:

It is important for one to affirm his or her own identity as well as to participate fully in

university life.

While it is important to respect and appreciate history, by not supporting these aspects

with relevant and modern aspects of these minoritized groups hegemonic norms will ultimately

remain undisrupted. These terms position the cultures of subjugated groups as fascinating, but

positions "the culture [as] an ornament rather than shaping or affecting american reality"

(Lugones, 1994, p. 469).

Call out on Wheeling Jesuit University website. Finally, the image gallery of the event

depicts students of color, students wearing what appear to be thobes, and numerous images of

people dancing, eating food and singing. The pictures are not described with captions, so

someone visiting this page would lose the opportunity to learn more about each culture. In this

way, the "melting pot" of people are stripped of uniqueness and othered into a category called

diversity. It is imperative to tell the stories of historically subjugated groups in order to keep

their culture vibrant while educating other community members. Simple descriptions attached to

the pictures could preserve this uniqueness and then be made available to the world via Google's

indexing process.

As shown in Figure 3, the text on the "Student Life Diversity Policy" page is a mix of

legal and policy terms and aspirational language. In combining these two concepts, the text

merges inclusion with legal requirements. According to Critical Race Theory, society is

structured to favor the White majority. The legal and educational system favors those in power.

The university is obligated to document their nondiscrimination policy—regardless of whether it

is enforced. However, these policies are so commonplace that they have become meaningless.
By merging the legal and policy jargon with the aspirational language, the content authors may
be undermining the message of inclusion. People who would find the message of inclusion
meaningful are the same individuals who likely have developed a strong mistrust for hegemonic
norms. Microaggression research tells us that racism is prevalent, despite these statements and
the best intentions of senior administrators. Finally, minoritized groups would likely challenge
the notion that universities can "ensure fair treatment" as stated in the policy. At the heart of this
is the distinction between "equality" and "equity."

Content analysis. Applying the McGregor and Fairclough model to this content reveals a
number of interesting findings. On the Wheeling Jesuit University website, the grammatical
person was both third person and agentless passive. The intended audience for these pages
appeared to be prospective students. The primary goal of these pages seemed to be compliance
with policy—with a secondary goal of appreciation of "culture" such as music, dance and
cuisine. The voice and tone was formal, authoritarian and distant. Religion was foregrounded,
as evidenced by the callout button inviting non-Catholics to participate in campus ministry.
Surprisingly, undocumented students, international students and students with disabilities were
backgrounded. LGBT students were not referenced and as a result were denied full access to
university resources.

What is diversity? At Wheeling Jesuit University, diversity was described in a number
of ways. Primarily it was a policy and therefore was something that required compliance and
enforcement. Policies require administrative support and auditing and promise negative
repercussions to violators.

Methodology changes based on pilot. The pilot exercise proved to be effective at revealing hegemonic structures, exposing issues and finding patterns of systematic exclusion.

Table 8

Data Collection Category Alterations Based on Pilot Study

Pilot Data Collection Categories	Revised Data Collection Categories
1. Overview	1. Overview
2. Content access	2. Content access
3. Content Review	3. Content Analysis
4. Content Analysis	4. How is Diversity Characterized?
5. What is Diversity?	

Modifications were made to the methodology after the pilot. The category names were altered as described in Table 5. The "Content Review" section was folded into the "Content Analysis" section, which streamlined the evaluation process. In addition, the final section was changed from "What is diversity?" to "How is diversity characterized?" The pilot study revealed that this analysis cannot claim to define diversity for an institution. However, the analysis of the public content on the website can provide valuable insight into *how it is characterized*. This is a critical distinction. In presenting a third-party characterization of diversity, institutions can assess whether there is a disconnect between the message they intended to convey, and the messages they are actually conveying. For example, there may be an internal, working definition of diversity that is not represented on the website. This speaks to a central benefit of this study. For each institution, does this study's analysis of how diversity is characterized match the institutions goals, activities and commitment to diversity? In this way, the findings in this study

could serve as a change agent enabling administrators to see their institution from a different perspective, which could trigger a new understanding of how messages broadcast to the world via the website are inconsistent with institutional values, programs and commitment to diversity.

Agentless passive was added to the rubric in order to identify instances where the institution was distancing itself from the students and speaking more authoritatively. In addition, the pilot identified that more focus needed to be placed on the omission of certain words and phrases. Identifying *what is not mentioned* is a powerful indicator of priorities. The results of the pilot also helped me refine the Google searches used, develop a standard approach identical for each school, expand the number of pages examined in each website, develop a process for data categorization, and investigate methods of data presentation.

Positionality

I currently work as a higher education professional at a Jesuit institution. As the leader of the web team, I am responsible for all aspects of the university web presence. For more than twenty years, I have worked in the field of website development in various roles. In recent years, I have become particularly focused on how the website is used to communicate university mission and values. As such, I have worked to understand the technology, content management, content strategy and design techniques required to produce an effective web presence. Evaluating the Boston College website presented challenges. In order to preserve the integrity of the research, I evaluated the Boston College website based on the content that was available during this research project. In other words, I documented all problematic items I encountered. When the project is completed, I will meet with key team members to adjust areas where the

diversity content fell short.

In my current role, I am tasked with leading the redesign of the university web presence. To initiate this effort, I searched for research on best practices on university websites and discovered that very little research existed. That was the genesis of my interest in higher education websites as a focus for a research study. It is important to note that my goal in this effort is to first find patterns across universities, but ultimately to impact how these institutions characterize and present diversity. At the conclusion of this study I intend to work directly with institutions to share this research and reshape how diversity is portrayed on websites. The ultimate goal is to identify and dismantle hegemonic norms that subjugate and control access to resources. Critically evaluating diversity website content is the first step to change.

The focus of this research is on diversity and its components, such as religion, ethnicity, disability, gender, sexual orientation, socioeconomic status and country of origin. The inability to draw from personal experience is a limitation to this study. As a white, male, middle class, Catholic, college educated professional working in higher education, I am aware of the privilege these characteristics have afforded me in American society. I cannot fully understand the plight of minoritzed groups and have never experienced discrimination in any form. This research study presented one possible characterization of diversity content grounded in theory and supported by data, but I acknowledge there are other possible interpretations of the content analyzed in this study.

Research Quality and Rigor

Qualitative research positions the researcher as a learner (Whittemore & Chase, 2001).

The researcher begins with questions, collects data into units, and creates knowledge by finding patterns in the data (Rossman & Rallis, 2017). The purpose of this approach is to describe an aspect of the social world that may be difficult to quantify using traditional methods of experimentation found in quantitative research (Rossman & Rallis, 2017). Positioning the researcher within the study poses significant threats to the validity of this research discipline. Tensions between quantitative and qualitative researchers have persisted over several decades, specifically over the definition of validity (Whittemore & Chase, 2001). Qualitative research seeks depth over breadth and nuance rather than evidence, making traditional methods of research validity inappropriate (Whittemore & Chase, 2001). According to qualitative research paradigms, over reliance on rigor can hinder the creativity of interpretivist approaches to research (Whittemore & Chase, 2001).

Quantitative techniques of assuring validity include measurement, establishing controls and formal testing of previous hypotheses (Maxwell, 1992). It is clear that the positivist approach to validity with a reliance on procedures is inappropriate for inquiry-based research (Maxwell, 1992). Guba and Lincoln (1989) eschew the notion of validity in favor of authenticity. Unlike quantitative studies, qualitative researchers can effectively obtain authenticity by addressing alternative hypotheses after a "tentative account" (Maxwell, 1992, p. 296) has been developed. Maxwell (1992) categorizes qualitative validity into four groups: descriptive validity, interpretive validity, theoretical validity and generalizability.

Descriptive validity. Descriptive validity entails accurately describing the phenomenon, institution or people being evaluated in the study (Maxwell, 1992). Accurately capturing observations, quotes and events is imperative to achieving interpretive validity (Maxwell, 1992).

Omission is an additional threat to descriptive validity pertinent to this study. This study utilized a researcher's journal to achieve descriptive validity and triangulation to mitigate the risk of omission.

>*Researcher's journal.*   In qualitative studies, it is imperative for the researcher to document the data collection and analysis process to ensure that the study and results are unbiased, thorough and followed standard procedures (Anfara et al., 2002). Utilizing a research journal helped me document findings and perceptions throughout the study. Using Evernote software, I documented experiences, reflections, and observations while visiting the 28 Jesuit higher education websites. Journaling provided the opportunity to develop "analytic self-consciousness" (Wolfinger, 1995, p. 88) which can capture bias, preconceived notions and conclusions drawn without ample evidence.   Before the start of each analysis session, I reviewed the notes from the previous session to track my perceptions and biases over time.

>**Interpretive validity**. Accurately capturing the words, images, and hierarchy of website content provided useable data for this study. However, the researcher must then interpret what the data means, which is a major point of difference between quantitative and qualitative research (Maxwell, 1992). In this study, I must interpret how the content could be perceived by website visitors. It is important to acknowledge that there are multiple realities in social science research— and websites will be experienced differently based on a person's background, country of origin, native language and a myriad of other factors. To avoid missteps in interpretive validity, I regularly examined my analysis with an awareness of alternative interpretations, perspectives, cultural norms and expectations.

>**Theoretical validity**. Theoretical validity "goes beyond concrete description and

interpretation and explicitly addresses the theoretical constructions that the researcher brings to, or develops during, the study" (Maxwell, 1992, p. 291). The researcher must build a model from existing theories and then assemble the pieces in a manner that is logically sound and based on a deep understanding of current theory. In this study, I will not be developing a new theory. The primary goal was to critically evaluate text, images, hierarchy and other aspects of the university website in order to assess how diversity was characterized at each institution. In the end, one goal was to determine what patterns existed within Jesuit higher education websites. Of primary interest was determining who was included and who was excluded. Finally, I applied Williams' (2013) model of organizational diversity development to each institution based on this website evaluation. I minimized the threat of theoretical validity by leveraging existing theories, investing effort in describing and interpreting the data, and consciously limiting attempts to prematurely develop a theory in this area.

Generalizability. Generalizability refers to the extent to which the findings in a particular study can be extended to "other persons, times or settings than those directly studied" (Maxwell, 1992, p. 293). However, generalizing to populations is less important in qualitative research (Whittemore & Chase, 2001). The Jesuit institutions in this study share a unique and particular set of goals. The Catholic history and mission of these institutions will impact the generalizability of certain findings related to LGBTQ students and religious diversity. However, much of what is uncovered will be generalizable to other higher education institutions. For example, the findings regarding objectification through the use of imagery are also likely relevant for both small liberal arts colleges and large public universities. In Chapter Five, the Recommendations for Practitioners section will provide numerous diversity content suggestions

generalizable for most higher education websites.

Ethical Considerations

This study focused on an analysis of website content using Critical Discourse Analysis. I had no direct contact with students at institutions or website administrators responsible for diversity content. Despite the lack of interaction with human subjects, there are a few ethical considerations that warrant discussion.

Impact on web professionals, institutions, and firms. The thorough content analysis conducted for this study was critical in nature—problems were uncovered. In fact, the primary purpose of this research is to expose the ideology behind hegemonic social, political and institutional relations in order to trigger "corrective action" (Martínez Alemán, 2001, p. 23). All artifacts under analysis (words, images and information architecture) were produced by web professionals at an institution or a web firm hired to complete certain tasks. This critique of website content could harm the professional standing of individual website editors. While it is imperative to expose issues, it must be done in a sensitive manner that does not unnecessarily or overtly harm individuals. Below, I describe a remediation approach to address these concerns.

Competition in higher education. As noted in Chapter Two, higher education has become increasingly competitive as institutions seek to differentiate themselves in a crowded marketplace. Higher education products are intangible and difficult to quantify (Ramachandran, 2010). Universities are defining their programs and activities as "distinct, branded commercial services" (Furey et al., 2014, p. 119). Reputation management in higher education entails developing relationships with prospective students and publicizing successes in order to increase

the prestige of the institution (Maringe & Gibbs, 2009). The findings of this study could reveal content issues in need of remediation, but also expose institutional racism, systematic injustice and dehumanization of minoritzed groups. Whether directly or indirectly, this study may identify institutions that propagate hegemonic norms, exclude certain groups, or objectify individuals. Such revelations could damage the reputation of certain institutions, negatively impact the perception of administrators and possibly damage enrollment. It is imperative that this research is a catalyst for change, but precautions must be taken to limit personal or professional harm to individuals and institutions.

Remediation approach. As part of this study, I intend to present relevant findings to the appropriate individuals at each institution upon completion of the study. In addition, I intend to provide individuals at these institutions with a set of best practices regarding presentation of diversity on higher education websites. Criticism is imperative, but the ultimate goal is change. Sharing the findings in a professional, collaborative and supportive manner could enhance the value of these findings, protect individuals from harm and expedite change.

Additional considerations. This study focused on an analysis of website content in order to characterize diversity at Jesuit institutions. In some cases, it is possible that institutions have other materials focused on diversity. For example, an institution could have a printed booklet or video that promotes diversity programs. The institution may have an inclusive campus climate, but does not communicate this effectively on the website. Smaller institutions may not have the resources to keep the website up to date. There is also the possibility that university administrators focused on diversity are skilled, sensitive and effective in their work, but the information technology and marketing resources are unable to translate this to the

website.

Conclusion

As of 2017, evaluating website content is a field of higher education research that remains largely unexplored. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) was the most appropriate qualitative method for evaluating website content based on the flexibility it offered me to select specific techniques from past studies that would be relevant to websites. Furthermore, the use of CDA as a tool to expose hegemonic norms and ultimately trigger change made it the ideal tool for this study. However, due to the variety of content on a website, I used a hypertext multimodal approach that accounted for text, images, hierarchical representations and non-linear traversals of content (Lemke, 2002). Qualitative research poses many risks to validity, which needed to be addressed individually and consistently throughout the study (Rossman & Rallis, 2017). Internal validity was enhanced via a process that included a two-phased approach to data collection and triangulation of data collection using four different content access methods. Positionality was an important consideration in this study given my role as a white, male, educated professional at an elite higher education institution. Mitigation of these risks, along with a collaborative and professional approach to reviewing findings with administrators at Jesuit institutions will enhance the impact of this study.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS

Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of this study and seeks to answer the main research question: How is diversity characterized on Jesuit higher education websites and what are the implications? Four themes emerged from my analysis: 1) Information Architecture as a Tool of Oppression, 2) Objectification, 3) Diversity as Interest Convergence, and 4) Diversity and the Jesuit Mission.

The themes can be summarized as follows:

1. Information Architecture as a Tool of Oppression refers to ways in which website hierarchy, navigation and content structure are used to elevate or subjugate diversity content. If diversity web content is deprioritized or segregated, this sends powerful messages about the value, concerns and dignity of minoritized identities.

2. Objectification is the act of denying personhood. According to Nussbaum (1995), this can include instrumentality, inertness, silencing, fungibility and denial of subjectivity. This theme provides examples of how diversity website content objectified individuals and denied personhood.

3. Diversity as Interest Convergence argues that the diversity framework established in *Bakke* provided nominal gains for Blacks, but empowered institutions with the authority to determine who is considered diverse and how diversity is characterized on the website. Ultimately, the language of inclusion is owned by whites, and on their websites institutions foreground and background identities—redefining diversity

to support evolving institutional goals.

4. Diversity and the Jesuit Mission is the final theme that emerged from this analysis. In Chapter Two, I provided evidence that diversity has historically been central to the Jesuit mission. This theme examines ways in which the content on Jesuit higher education websites has both ignored and embraced diversity as a foundational element of mission.

Theme #1: Information Architecture as a Tool of Oppression

As discussed in Chapter Two, Information Architecture (IA) in web development entails creating a content structure based on an organizing principle. For the purpose of this study, I assume that institutional actors make IA decisions not at random, but based on some organizing principle. This study was not focused on how institutions determined organizing principles. Instead, I examined the end result of those decisions—which ultimately elevated diversity content (and the interests of minoritized groups) or worked as an agent to further subjugate individuals, deprioritize their needs and undermine their fight for equity. Four critical aspects of IA will be discussed. First, I will demonstrate how the content hierarchy created by institutions subjugated identities. Next, I will examine how mirroring organizational structure on the website was a barrier to the effective presentation of diversity content. I will then analyze how the use of microsites and landing pages impacted access to content targeted at minoritized identities. Ultimately, the IA approach utilized by Jesuit higher education institutions dictated access to diversity content—which either elevated or suppressed identities.

The content hierarchy. The location and hierarchical order of navigation items informs

site visitors about institutional priorities and can provide a window into campus climate. All

Jesuit websites were written in English and conformed to the standard of being consumed from

left to right and top to bottom. Therefore, items at the top of a list were foregrounded and items

at the bottom of a list were backgrounded. As such, diversity content can either be buried deep

within the site or elevated to a top-level concern.

A few examples will be used to illuminate this point. First, in the case of Regis

University, no diversity content was available on the "Home" page, "About" page or within the
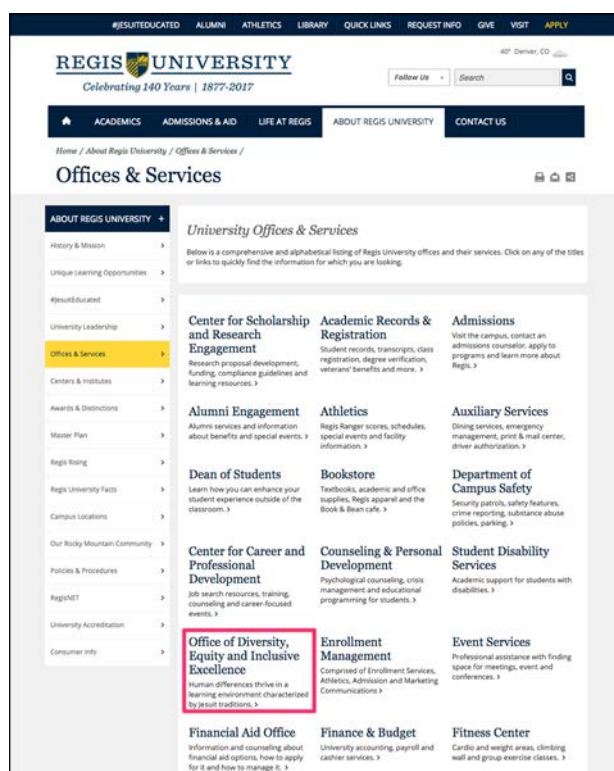

Figure 4. Regis University Offices and Services Page with red box added to show placement

of diversity content. Retrieved from: http://www.regis.edu/About-Regis-

University/University-Offices-and-Services.aspx

mission statement. Navigating the content hierarchy, I was able to find Regis University

diversity content listed among dozens of entries on the "Offices and Services" page shown in

Figure 4. It is important to note the content listed on the page does not appear to be organized

alphabetically, but instead follows some other organizing principle. On this particular page,

Regis foregrounds "Student Records", "Athletics" and "Bookstore" while backgrounding

diversity.

A second example is the Gonzaga University website, which has a global menu

containing the 36 items shown in Figure 5. The purpose of a global menu is to provide easy

Figure 5. Gonzaga University global menu. Retrieved from:

http://www.gonzaga.edu

access to key pages. These menus are propagated throughout the site, so site visitors can access

key content not just from the home page, but from any page in the website. In the case of

Gonzaga, despite having 36 links in the global menu, there was no item for diversity. Both of

these examples demonstrate how content authors deprioritized diversity concerns through the site

hierarchy. This backgrounding made diversity content difficult to locate. The implications of

this are significant, and will be discussed at the end of this section.

Saint Louis University (SLU) created an information architecture that was notable for its simplicity and symbolism. As shown in Figure 6, SLU embedded diversity content within the Catholic, Jesuit Identity section. This approach creates an interesting visual presentation, wherein the "Diversity and Inclusion" link is nested in the "Catholic, Jesuit Identity" section.
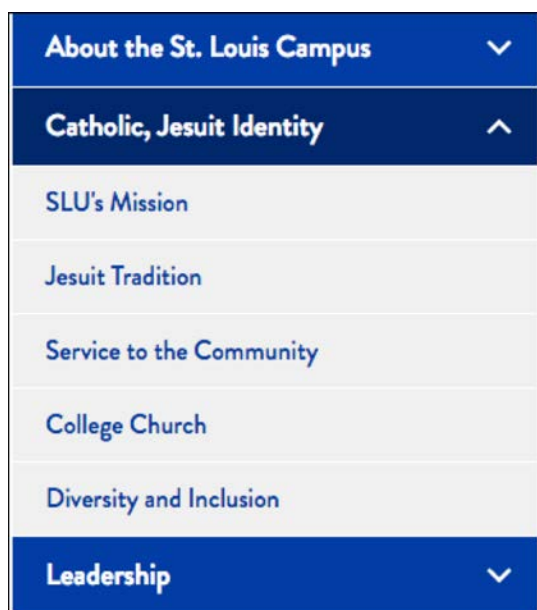
Figure 6. Menu on Saint Louis University website. Retrieved from:

https://www.slu.edu/about/index.php

Though it is a subsection and not a main item, diversity is elevated above "Leadership" and "Campus Safety" in the content hierarchy. Embedding diversity content within the pages focused on the Jesuit mission would seem to be in line with Jesuit higher education goals, but few institutions utilized this approach. In most cases, institutions placed diversity content on the "About" page, in "Human Resources", or in the "Student Affairs" section, which separated it—both physically and ideologically—from the institutional mission. The relationship between

diversity content and the university mission is the topic of Theme #4.

Organizational structure. Web best practices indicate that website information architecture should not mirror organizational structure, yet this was common among Jesuit institutions. I will present suggestions for avoiding this practice in Chapter Five. There were variations among Jesuit institutions regarding how diversity content was governed by organizational structure. The most common approach, utilized by 11 Jesuit higher education websites, positioned diversity content within two distinct organizational units on the website: student affairs and human resources. The student affairs units generally contained diversity content related to student organizations, scholarships, mentoring programs, events and community service. The second area for diversity content was within an institutional diversity section of the site focusing on staff and faculty development, policies, procedures and organizational climate. The most common unit containing faculty and staff diversity content was human resources, though in some cases it was also located under the provost's office or the general counsel's office. The key insight gained from this examination of the relationship between organizational units and diversity content was the problematic separation of student needs and faculty/staff needs. Next, I will provide examples and document the issues.

Figure 7 depicts the faculty and staff diversity content in the "General Counsel" section of the Creighton website. Figure 7 shows the student-focused diversity content within the "Division of Student Services" section of the Creighton University website. It could be argued that separation of diversity content could enable content authors to focus their efforts on the target audience—the human resources and general counsel units in higher education primarily serve staff and faculty while student affairs organizations serve students. However, this content

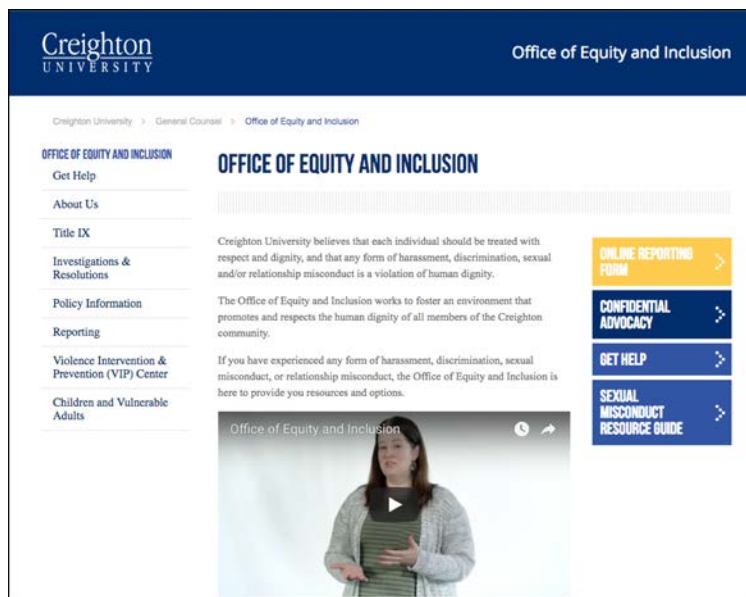*Figure 7.* Office of Equity and Inclusion page at Creighton University. Retrieved from:
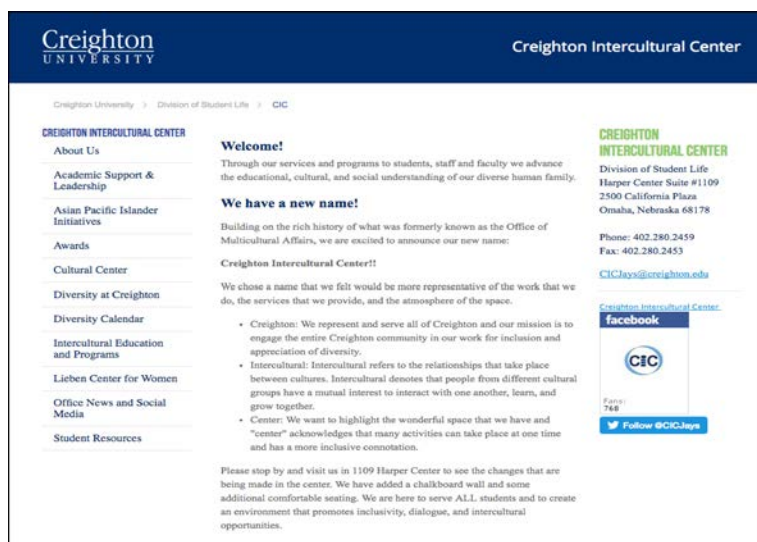
https://www.creighton.edu/generalcounsel/officeofequityandinclusion/

Figure 8. Creighton Intercultural Center website. Retrieved from:

http://www.creighton.edu/studentlife/cic/

segregation approach created issues and concerns.

Ultimately, separating content in this manner can create issues for minoritized identities because it foregrounds or backgrounds topics based on an individual's relationship with the university (staff, faculty, student, etc.). In addition, this approach favors the perspective of the university and may require site visitors to learn the organizational structure in order to locate content. In this study, the focus of the institutional diversity content was on legal and policy issues, which are not the sole concerns of faculty and staff. Similarly, the student affairs sections were ultra-focused on student organizations to the detriment of other diversity topics such as policy, academics or civic engagement opportunities. Why does this matter? A 17-year-old prospective student may not be familiar with the institution's organizational structure or the terms "institutional diversity", "human resources" or "student affairs." In this way, institutions prioritize their needs, place content in locations where the majority group can find it and department heads can "own" their units' pages.

Separation of content by organizational unit simplifies content management for the institution, but this can be at the expense of the Latina student from Chicago who is simply trying to find out if she will feel welcomed on campus. Can Google aid this process? It depends. Effective search engine optimization can help students find key diversity content within the university website. Content separated into distinct organizational sites hinders Google search engine optimization because the content is split between pages. For example, if Title IX information exists in multiple places on the site, Google will list all pages containing this content. Consolidating key information onto a single page, then linking to it ensures that Google will prioritize a single page, which will aid site visitors by providing them with the most

complete information in a single location. Conversely, if content is separated between units, students are likely to encounter incomplete sections or pages not authored for them, and as a result the content may not fully address their concerns.

Diversity content mirroring organization structure poses additional challenges. The human resources, student affairs and general counsel units may have varying levels of funding,
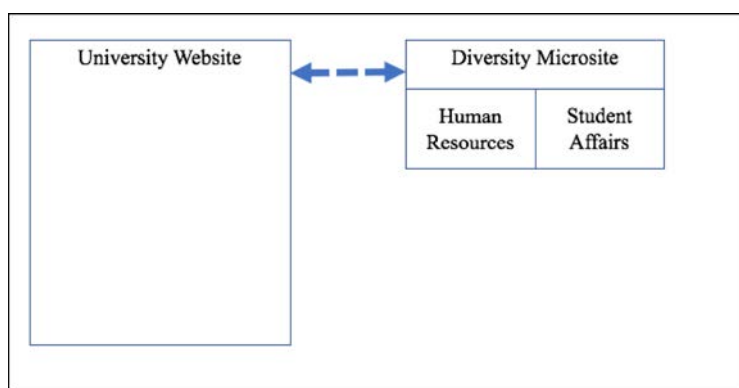
Figure 9. The diversity microsite.

resources, priorities and influence. The complexities of funding and organizational structure exceed the scope of this study. However, as I will describe in Theme #3, the concerns of certain groups—students with disabilities, for example—are consistently foregrounded by institutions because there are legal ramifications associated with non-compliance. As a result, students of color and LGBTQ students may be backgrounded. Later in this chapter, I will demonstrate how a diversity landing page can help consolidate content and foreground key diversity initiatives that would otherwise be buried deep in the university website. In this way, information architecture can propagate hegemonic norms.

The diversity microsite. A few institutions separated diversity web pages from the

university's main website. In web terminology, this is referred to as a microsite—a small,

unique and isolated web site delivering relevant content to a targeted audience ("All About

Microsites : Microsite.com," n.d.). For the purpose of this study, a microsite takes the form of a

standalone diversity website with a separate navigation, a handful of subpages, and a URL

different from the main institutional website. The concept of a diversity microsite is depicted in

Figure 9.

   Reasons for creating a diversity microsite. Creating a separate site could enable site

authors to implement a new design without concern for university branding or information

architecture. In essence, site developers can start fresh. The separate site can provide sharp

focus on a single topic. This is common with admissions websites where the goal is clear:

streamline the content, simplify the message and drive prospective students toward a key action

item—submitting an application. Universities also create separate microsites for accepted

students in order to provide additional information and influence their decision to enroll.

Similarly, at larger institutions university advancement may have a standalone website focusing

on donations. Finally, institutions may create a diversity microsite to address the concerns of

minoritized identities.

   Diversity microsite benefits. If the main institutional website uses a dated technology

platform or a design template with technical limitations, creating a separate website could

provide relief from these environmental constraints. For example, the template may not allow

web page authors to control navigation and could include a long list of institutional services on

every site. In this case, the key items for the diversity page could be difficult to find, or get lost

among the many options. Creating a separate site could enable an institution to establish a new

web design or navigation that streamlines content access. A microsite could enable page authors

to design a diversity site with more visual appeal than the main university website. As discussed

in Chapter Two, visual appeal is a key factor in website success. If the main university site has

limited functionality or visual appeal, students may not stay on the site long enough to learn

about the institution's commitment to diversity.

Saint Joseph's University (SJU) demonstrated the benefits of a well-executed diversity

microsite. The "Inclusion and Diversity at SJU" site combines a myriad of diversity resources

under a single area. This approach enables a site visitor access to all available resources in a

single location. Site visitors are not required to consider their relationship with the university,

map this to an organizational unit, and then locate this within the site hierarchy. The "Offices"

menu item provided a simple way to access both student inclusion resources and items focused

on faculty and staff needs. The design of the SJU microsite is identical to the main university

website. Variations in color palette or navigation have the potential to send signals to

prospective students about difference. Even if the intention is to enhance the design on the

diversity site, it may be perceived by the site visitor as inequitable treatment. If diversity is truly

integrated with the mission, then the design and interface of the diversity microsite should mirror

the institutional website.

A second important feature of the SJU diversity microsite is its integration with the main

site. The global menu on the home page of the Saint Joseph's University site contains two highly

visible links to the diversity microsite. As shown in Figure 10, both the "About SJU" and

"Campus Life" menus contain links to the "Inclusion and Diversity" microsite. In addition, on

the "Jesuit Identity" page there is a related link to the diversity microsite. This effective linking

strategy ensures that the microsite content is discoverable by site visitors. The content is also readily accessible through Google and site searches. The Saint Joseph's University diversity microsite was integrated with the main site, rather than segregated. Therefore, this implementation mitigated the risks of inability to access content and differences in user interface, while reaping the benefits of consolidation, improved user experience, and amplification of message.
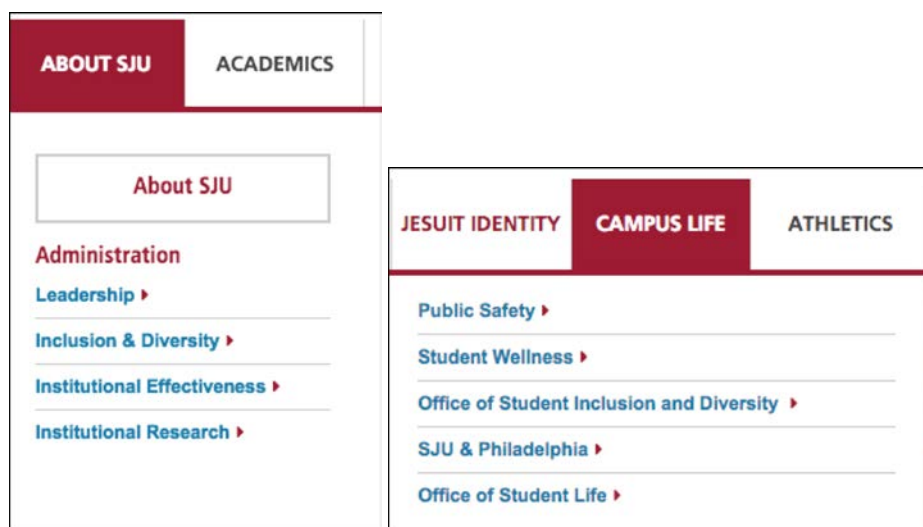
Figure 10. The global menu on Saint Joseph's University website. Retrieved from: https://www.sju.edu

Diversity microsite risks. The primary risk with developing a diversity microsite is content segregation. If the standalone website is not thoroughly and thoughtfully integrated with content in the main site, the microsite can separate and divide groups of people rather than integrate and empower minoritized identities.

The University of Loyola New Orleans (LUNO) created a microsite located at

http://diversity.loyno.edu/, which utilized modern practices such as concise writing, large

images, responsive design and a global menu providing easy access to the content. However, the

LUNO microsite presented a number of issues. The main LUNO website did not integrate with

the separate diversity microsite. In fact, the "About", "Admissions", "Campus Life", and "Jesuit

Identity" sections of the university site did not contain a single link to the separate diversity

website. This is particularly interesting in the case of LUNO because the top-level pages of the

main site contained very little prose—most top level pages were simply a list of links. The two

most common locations for diversity content among institutions studied were the "About" and

"Campus Life" pages. Despite having 25 links on the "Campus Life" page, there was no link to

the diversity microsite. Similarly, the "About" page shown in Figure 11 contained a list 32 links

but did not provide access to the diversity microsite. This oversight would prevent site visitors

from accessing diversity information. In this way, LUNO has separated the needs of minoritzed

from those of the main institution and then excluded the diversity microsite. This could be called

content segregation, wherein the information is public, but treated as different and non-essential.

The content literally has not made it into the physical space occupied by the majority group.

This content segregation could have occurred because the diversity microsite and the main

university website were managed by different functional groups, which resulted in

communication issues. However, if athletics or university advancement created a microsite,

would this content segregation have occurred? Unlikely. While the content segregation issues

with the LUNO diversity microsite could be the result of institutional politics, carelessness by an

institutional actor, or a failed administrative process, CRT requires us to consider alternative

explanations.

The content segregation issues of an ineffective diversity microsite have the potential to

reinforce the racist historical legacy of United States law and policy. In this country, the word

Figure 11. Loyola University New Orleans About page http://www.loyno.edu/about.php

"separate" is deeply embedded in our racist history. The "Separate but Equal" language of

Plessy v. Ferguson (1896), while now clearly understood as systematic racism, was normalized

by the courts and inflicted enduring damage on Blacks (Anderson, 2016). Plessy made

segregation legal, and condemned Blacks to decades of underfunded schools incapable of

providing equitable services (Anderson, 2016). Today, Blacks are still demanding access and

equity in higher education. Among other things, institutions often develop a website in an

attempt to address these needs. I suggest that creating a separate diversity website and then not

including any reference to this on the main site is emblematic of systematic inequity that persists

in higher education. In this way, information architecture can act as tool of oppression that

actively reinforces hegemonic norms.

The diversity landing page. An important concept in the presentation of diversity

information is the diversity landing page, shown in Figure 12. If web content is split between

multiple organizational units, a single page unifying the content can significantly improve the
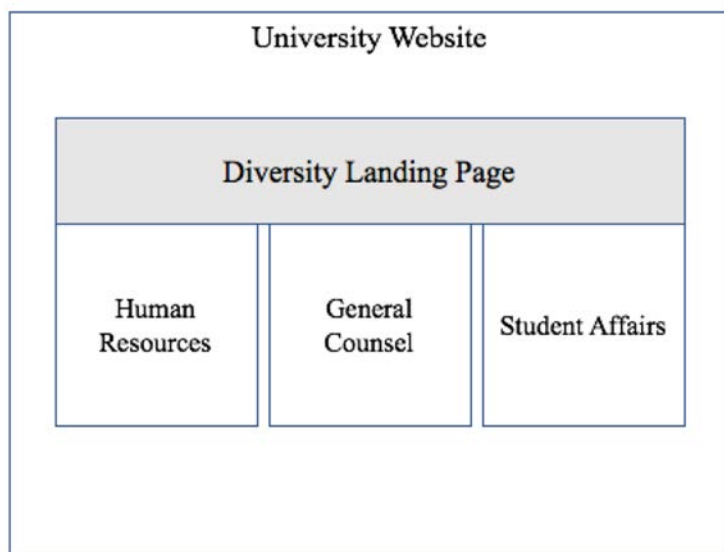
Figure 12. The diversity landing page.

user experience. As I will demonstrate in Chapter Five, the institutions in the Inclusive

Excellence stage not only had consistent content across the site, but created a diversity "hub" or

landing page that consolidated content, simplified the user experience and prioritized the site

visitor needs over the organizational structure. As shown in Figure 13, the College of the Holy
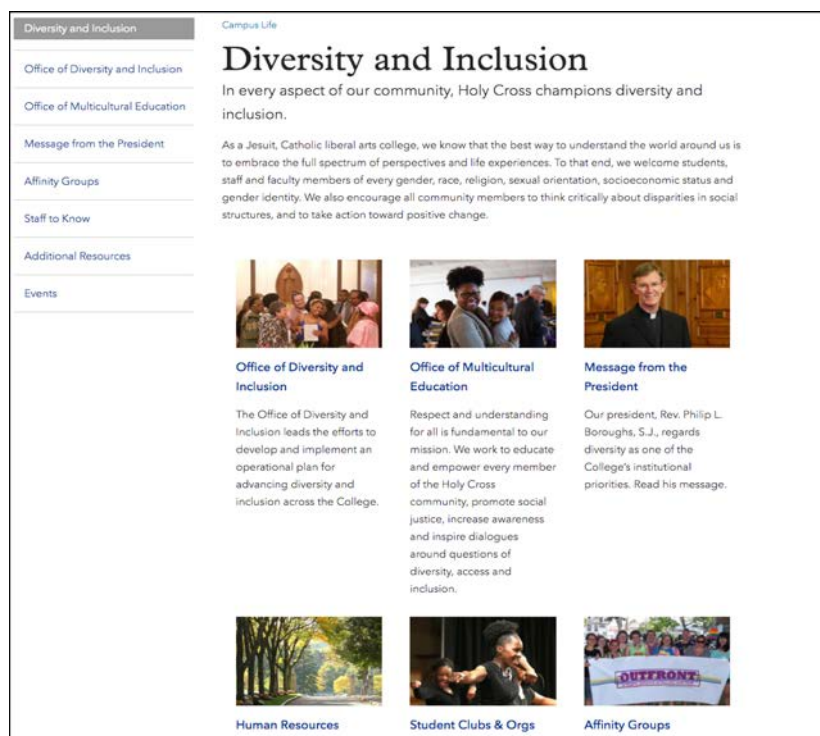
Figure 13. Holy Cross Diversity and Inclusion landing page. Retrieved from:

https://www.holycross.edu/campus-life/diversity-and-inclusion

Cross utilized a landing page to consolidate content from disparate sources. This page

effectively combined information from 17 areas on campus, including Human Resources,

Student Affairs, Admissions and Disability Services. Each section has a brief statement about

the type of diversity content offered by the group, service or program, and links to additional

information. The URL of the page is also at the top level of the site and was easily discoverable via Google search and an internal site search. This approach foregrounded diversity interests and elevated the concerns of minoritzed groups.

  Summary and implications of theme #1. The information architecture of a Jesuit higher education website is a public statement about institutional priorities. Jesuit institutions are charged with supporting, cherishing, and elevating those marginalized by society. Location of diversity content can either elevate or subjugate the needs of minoritzed groups. For example, if information supporting Undocumented students is difficult to locate (or absent from the site completely) students may not be aware of services or programs offered by the institution. If the IA of a site obfuscates diversity content, then that content—and the people it is intended to serve—are devalued by the institution. In this way, IA can act as a tool that can oppress marginalized identities and reinforce hegemonic norms.

Theme #2: Objectification

  According to Nussbaum (1995), objectification can include instrumentality, silencing inertness, fungibility and denial of subjectivity. Higher education websites are replete with imagery depicting the campus, faculty, and students. As noted in Chapter Two, a study of website imagery by Wilson and Meyer (2009) revealed that 78% of institutions overrepresented diversity on campus. Presenting images of people of color throughout a site projects an image of the institution as diverse and welcoming. However, inappropriate or ineffective use of imagery can objectify individuals.

  The Le Moyne College "Our Faculty" page, shown in Figure 14, contains an image of a

Black person, presumably male, dressed in a colorful shirt. At Le Moyne, only 3% of faculty are

Black ("Race, Ethnicity, and Gender of Full-Time Faculty at More Than 3,700 Institutions - The

Chronicle of Higher Education," n.d.). Among the 168 full-time faculty, Le Moyne has
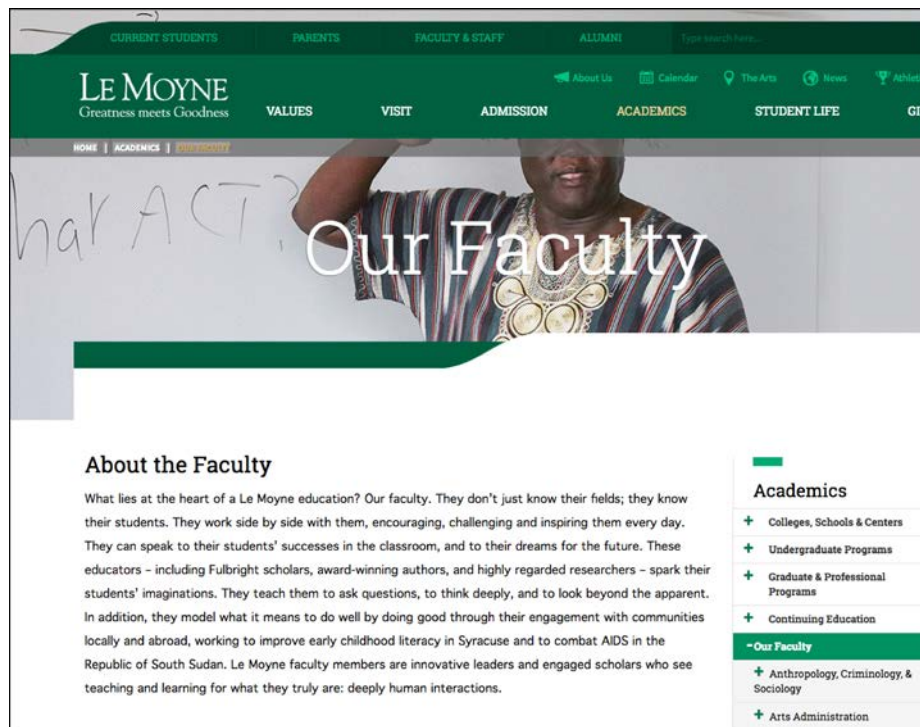
Figure 14. Le Moyne College Our Faculty page. Retrieved from:

http://www.lemoyne.edu/Academics/Our-Faculty

approximately five who identify as Black. Institutions use images of Blacks to present the

campus as diverse (Pippert, Essenburg, & Matchett, 2013). Selecting a Black faculty member

for the main page is an example of instrumentality wherein a person is objectified by being used

as a tool to benefit the objectifier. The second issue with this page is the cropping of the

image—which severs off the top of the person's head. To ensure this was not a problem with the

resolution of my particular computer display, I viewed the page on the most common screen resolution—which has the pixel dimensions of 1366x768—and the results were similar. Content authors were apparently unconcerned with the person's face or the context of the image—the subject was reduced to his appearance as Black. In fact, we do not need to even see his entire face for him to serve this function. He has also been objectified by being reduced to his body. Furthermore, this is an example of fungibility, wherein a person is treated like a commodity that can be exchanged with other objects (Nussbaum, 1995).

The use of the heading "Our Faculty" also warrants examination. This phrase was used on several Jesuit higher education websites, but typically appeared as a heading above a faculty list. In this case, it is listed over the singular image of the headless Black male. Due to the the objectification already demonstrated on this page, the use of "Our Faculty" is imbued with additional meaning. The use of "our" signifies ownership—further objectifying the individual in the image. Finally, there is no caption or description of the image. The person is nameless. We do not know his name or position; we only know that he is black. This person has been denied autonomy and self-determination (Nussbaum, 1995). He is a nameless black person used as an interchangeable object on a web page so a mostly-white institution can present itself as diverse and inclusive.

Silencing is another form of objectification wherein a person does not have a voice or is excluded from full participation (Nussbaum, 1995). As shown in Figure 15, a search for "LGBTQ" on the Rockhurst University website returned no results. People are complex and consist of many characteristics—but gender and sexuality are critical pieces of personal identity.

Institutions objectify individuals by denying critical aspects of their identity. The silencing of groups impacted multiple identities, and occurred on a number of Jesuit websites. As described in Chapter Two, the Jesuits have a history of supporting immigrants and using
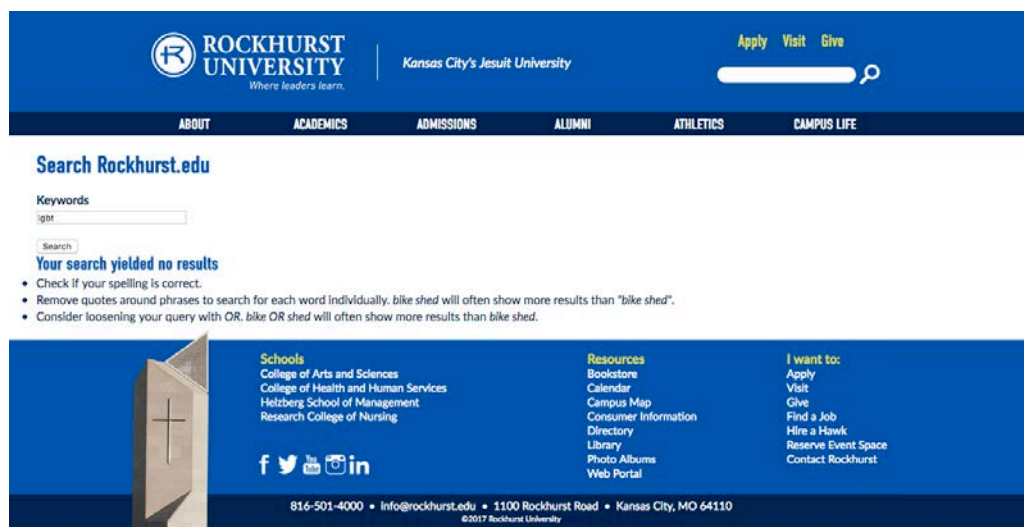
Figure 15. Rockhurst University search for "LGBTQ." Retrieved from: http://www.rockhurst.edu

education as a tool to empower the marginalized. At Spring Hill College, a site search for "undocumented" returned a single result, which was a page containing list of participants in a 2016 research project. Nationally, the plight of undocumented students and families has been escalated to front page news due to the DACA statements made by the president. At Rockhurst, there was no statement from the president of the university in support of DACA, no content in the admissions section providing financial aid resources, and no mention of immigrants, refugees or undocumented students on the mission page. In fact, across the site of this Jesuit institution there was not a single element of content demonstrating support for Undocumented students. At

Spring Hill College, Undocumented students were objectified because they have been silenced.

At Regis University and Saint Peter's University, groups were silenced through missing content.

Figure 16. Regis University Gender and Sexuality Alliance Page. Retrieved from:

http://www.regis.edu/RC/Campus-Life/Student-Activities/Clubs-and-Organizations/Affinity-

Groups/Gay-Straight-Alliance.aspx

Both websites had a page devoted to gender and sexual identity. At Regis, the web page for

"Gender & Sexuality Alliance" is depicted in Figure 16. This page contains just a heading and a

yellow callout box for the Regis undergraduate student government. There is no description of

the group, contact information, or other content. In the case of Saint Peter's, the web page for

the LGBTQ group known as PRIDE (Protecting and Respecting Individuality, Diversity and

Equality) in shown in Figure 17. This page contains a heading, and a one sentence brief

description, but no other content. It is important to note that at each of these institutions, the

page depicted was the primary page for LGBTQ students, faculty and staff. The website is the

most public presentation of what a university has to offer. At these institutions, LGBTQ students

have been silenced through missing or dated content. Next, I will review specific examples of

objectification that demonstrate othering, colorblindness and gender bias.

Figure 17. Saint Peter's University PRIDE page. Retrieved from:

https://www.saintpeters.edu/pride/

Othering is an emerging form of racism that works on an individual level, rather than as a social mechanism to maintain order (McCoy & Rodricks, 2015). On the student organizations page at Saint Joseph's University, shown in Figure 18, there is a grid of eight student organizations presented in an attractive manner, each with an image, mission statement and contact information. Four additional organization are included on the page. The SJU Pride, Student Interfaith Organization, Women's Leadership Initiative, and Advancement in Diversity STEM organizations are listed beneath the heading "Other Diverse Organizations." Each of the four remaining organizations is displayed using an accordion, which is a web tool used to simplify the user experience. Clicking on the organization name expands the accordion to display additional information. While this can be effective at condensing large amounts of

content into collapsible sections, utilizing an accordion in this context is inconsistent with the

established interaction model of the page, requires an additional click to view certain

Figure 18. Saint Joseph's University Student Inclusion and Diversity Organizations page.
Retrieved from: https://sites.sju.edu/oid/student-organizations/

information, and ultimately deprioritizes the interests of the four backgrounded groups.

Interestingly, each of the four organizations listed the same information as the foregrounded

groups, so this alternative treatment was not driven by content limitations. It is also important to

note that in modern web design, page scrolling in an accepted behavior, so there was little

incentive to reduce the page height by introducing the accordion for the final 4 items.

The heading "Other Diverse Organizations" warrants discussion. The use of "Other"

reflects sensitivity to the categorization of identities. Similarly, using "Diverse" as a modifier for

"Organizations" alters the meaning of the word "diversity" from an institutional goal to a blunt

synonym for "different." On this page, diversity has not been characterized as a powerful

institutional priority, but rather as a collection of "the different."

Figure 19. Fact from Xavier University admissions page. Retrieved from

http://www.xavier.edu/admission

As noted in Chapter Two, colorblind ideology posits that by claiming to not use race as a

factor in the distribution of resources and social status, whites maintain control and own the

dialogue on race (Anderson, 2016). According to this ideology, "whites do not see themselves as

having a race but as being, simply, people" (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017, p. 91). This notion is

reinforced by imagery depicting the default race as white. In Figure 19, there are two icons of

people. CRT requires researchers to expose common assumptions about race in order to

undermine and disassemble systematic racism. The icons lack physical features such as eyes, a

nose or a mouth. However, the default color of these individuals is white. White interests are

amplified by any visual representations depicting white as the default race.

Characterizations of gender identity, gender expression and sexual orientation were problematic on Jesuit higher education websites. Student services organizations objectify people through the use of administrative forms that do not capture "all aspects of gender" (Bazarsky & Sanlo, 2011, p. 135), then dictate treatment or services based on that piece of data. On the Xavier University website image shown in Figure 20, utilizing pink and blue to signify female

Figure 20. Gender representation on the Xavier University website. Retrieved from: http://www.xavier.edu/undergraduate-admission/

and male reinforces the binary, hegemonic notion of gender. Similarly, depicting a female in a dress and a male not wearing a dress categorizes people by their reproductive organs, reinforces gender stereotypes and provides insight into Xavier's notion of "normal." Identifying, grouping and categorizing people by their reproductive organs objectifies nonconformists and those possessing multiple identities. Transgender students, or people who are gender nonconforming could feel alienated by this graphic. Through this simple icon, the university is publicly reinforcing societal gender norms. Denying alternative notions of gender identity attempts to

strip nonconformists of their personhood. In short, gender identity, gender expression and sexual identity are complex topics. Simplifying these into two colors conforming to hegemonic norms alienates non-conformists and ultimately undermines the Jesuit tenets of inclusion, human dignity, and care for the person.

I will conclude this theme by demonstrating how ineffective use of imagery can result in objectification. The quantity, composition, and cropping of images depicting students of color must be carefully managed. At Le Moyne College, the student body is 77% white, but images of students of color dominated the website. Figures 21 through Figure 25 represent a selection of images on prominent pages of the Le Moyne website. While it would be unreasonable to expect that the number of images of students of color match student demographics, web designers must make a reasonable effort to authentically represent student diversity. In other words, site designers must holistically review website images to ensure a balanced presentation of identities. The images, as a group, must represent the student body at the institution.
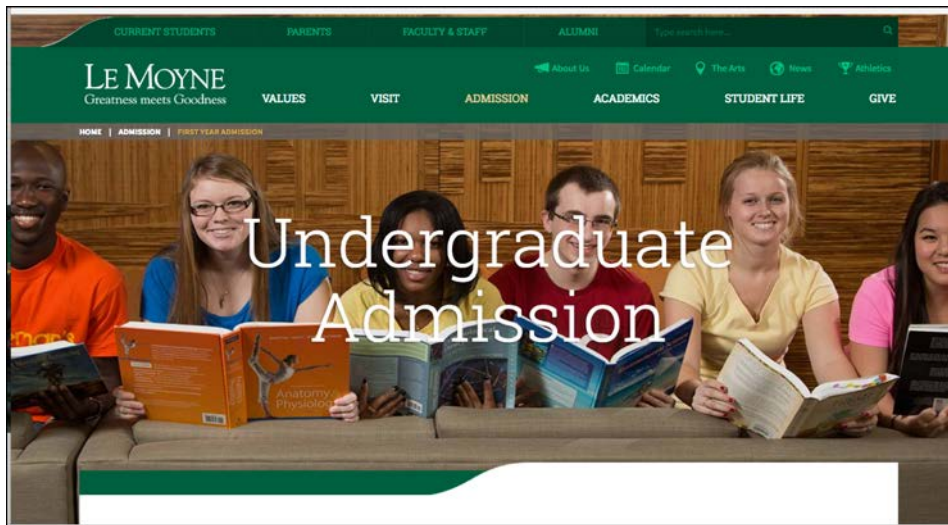
Figure 21. Le Moyne College Undergraduate Admission page. Retrieved from:

http://lemoyne.edu/admission
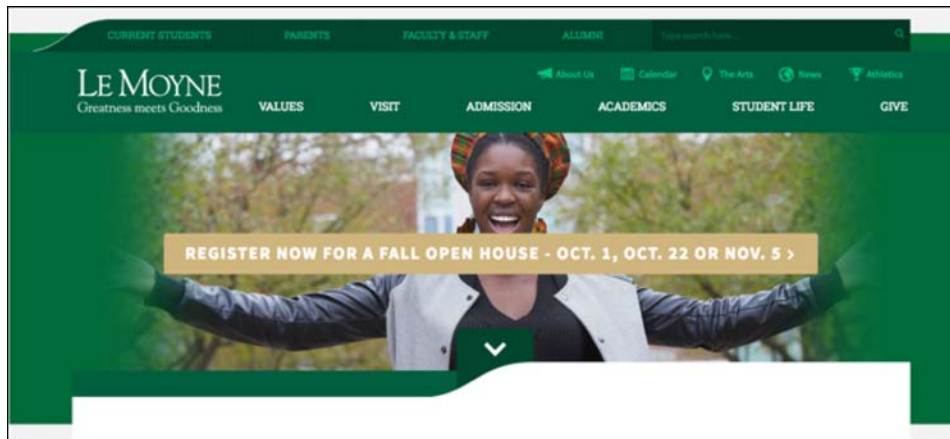
Figure 22. Le Moyne College Open House page. Retrieved from: http://www.lemoyne.edu/visit
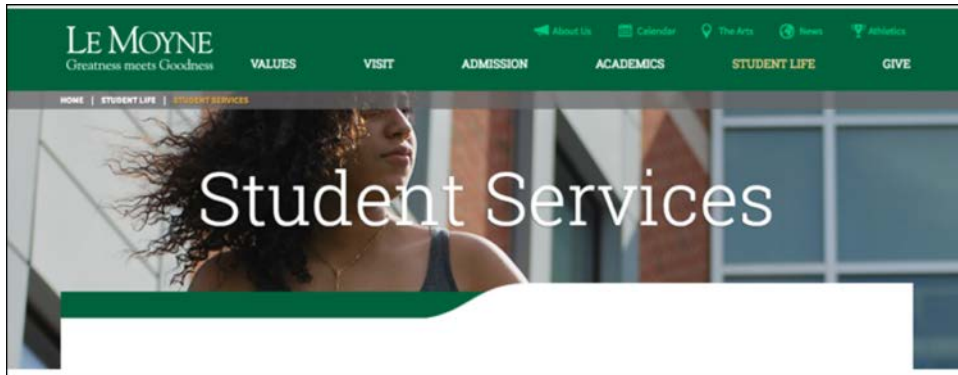
Figure 23. Le Moyne College Student Services page. Retrieved from:

https://www.lemoyne.edu/Student-Life/Student-Services

Figure 24. Le Moyne College Schools page. Retrieved from:

https://www.lemoyne.edu/Academics/Colleges-Schools-Centers
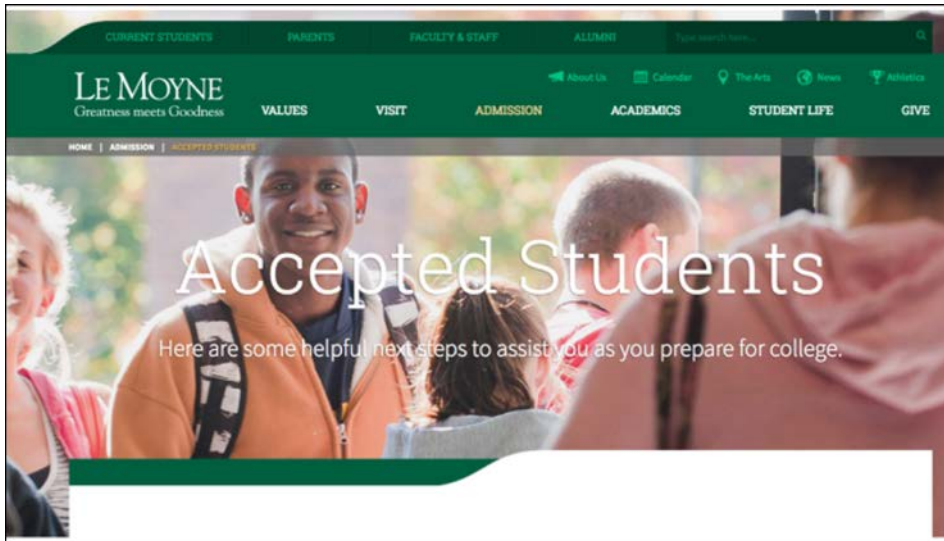
Figure 25. Le Moyne College Accepted Student page. Retrieved from:

http://www.lemoyne.edu/accepted

Images can objectify in unintended ways. The Undergraduate Admissions image shown

in Figure 21 contains six students sitting at a table. At first glance, this image may seem

harmless—it depicts a group of happy students studying. This type of photo has been

normalized by higher education websites, and similar images were present on nearly all Jesuit

higher education websites reviewed in this study. But through the lens of CRT, a close

examination of this image raises questions and concerns. Are the students studying? There are

no computers or note pads. Is the blend of gender and race coincidental? Given the student

demographics, it seems possible that university administrators collected these students based on

their appearance and asked them to pose for the photograph. Staging the photo in this manner

denies students their autonomy. When viewed through a CRT lens, these students are

interchangeable objects used to meet the promotional needs of university admissions. In this

way, the students are objectified by the institution based on their appearance. In Chapter Five, I

will provide recommendations for practitioners with regard to the use of images.

Summary and implications of theme #2. This analysis of the 28 Jesuit higher

education websites uncovered examples where imagery and icons objectified people. In

addition, people were objectified through missing or outdated content, ineffective content

organization, and problematic headings. Objectification on Jesuit higher education websites has

potentially damaging implications. *Cura Personalis* requires institutions to provide holistic care

for all aspects of a person's identity. All 28 Jesuit institutions analyzed in this study used the

word "dignity" to describe the inherent worth of each individual. The objectification

documented in this study actively strips people of this dignity. Jesuit institutions that objectify

individuals through website content are not only misaligned with the Jesuit mission, but are

actively recreating the systems of domination and inequity they are charged with eradicating.

Theme #3: Diversity as Interest Convergence

In Critical Race Theory, interest convergence argues that gains for minoritized identities

are only achieved when their needs align with white self-interests (Delgado & Stefancic, 1984).

In this analysis, I suggest the *Bakke* case was about Black interests challenging white privilege,

and ultimately resulted in a system that empowered whites to the present day. Diversity as

interest convergence is manifested on Jesuit higher education websites in a number of ways.

Primarily, white institutional actors determine who is diverse and foreground identities to suit

institutional goals. As a result, whites in many cases are now considered "diverse." Ultimately,

white students receive significant benefits from Powell's diverse campus.

Bakke as the framework for diversity. Critical Race Theory is tightly coupled with law

and policy; its origins can be traced to the field of critical legal studies (Ladson-Billings, 1998).

Analyzing the legal framework that established and perpetuated inequity will illuminate how

diversity is characterized on higher education websites. As noted in Chapter Two, *Regents of*

California v. Bakke (1978) established the conceptual framework for diversity in higher

education. The case focused on Blacks gaining access to higher education. When viewed

historically, Bakke initiated a retreat from race—diversity became something larger that included

whites. Subsequent legal challenges in *Gratz*, *Grutter* and *Fisher* left the diversity framework in

higher education virtually unchanged (Williams, 2013).

Bakke and Black interests. Thirty years after *Brown v Board* and more than ten years after the

Civil Rights Act of 1964, underrepresented groups continued to struggle for equity. During the

decades prior to *Bakke*, Harvard was credited with creating a "new definition of diversity"

("Regents of Univ. of California v. Bakke," 1978, p. 438) that focused on addressing racial

inequity in the student body. The *Bakke* case was the first attack on the practice of considering

race in higher education admissions. Powell's diversity compromise was a response to

reparations for historical societal injustice against "minorities." However, a close reading of

Bakke reveals that the most prominent underrepresented group referenced in the text was Blacks.

As shown in

Table 9, the terms "Chicano" and "Asian" appear 10 and 12 times respectively, while

"Black" appears 35 times and the offensive term "Negro" appears 122 times ("Regents of Univ.

of California v. Bakke," 1978). In his opinion, Justice Powell noted that "a black student can

usually bring something that a white person cannot offer" ("Regents of Univ. of California v.

Bakke," 1978, p. 438). *Bakke* was a case about the Blacks interests infringing on white power.

Table 9

Use of Racial Identifiers in Regents of University of California v. Bakke (1978)

Chicano	Asian	Black / Negro
10	12	157

Bakke was viewed as a victory for Black interests. However, Critical Race Theory requires researchers to examine normative structures and challenge assumptions—as Derrick Bell did by arguing that *Brown v Board* was motivated by white self-interests (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). Understanding how whites reprioritized race in *Bakke* is critical to contextualizing diversity on Jesuit higher education websites. In *Bakke*, Blacks received nominal gains, but whites achieved a far more significant victory—control of the language of diversity (Chang & Ledesma, 2011). Absent a legal mandate to achieve equity and demonstrate measurable gains in access for racial and ethnic minorities, higher education institutions were granted the autonomy to define diversity in a manner that best suited institutional goals (Chang et al., 2011). In this way, whites maintained control of the most significant system "by which society allocates privilege and status" (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017, p. 21). White institutional actors determined who qualifies as "diverse", what the allocation of assets should be, how the benefits of diversity are measured, and even how to frame diversity efforts to the world via the institutional website. Today, *Bakke's* diversity framework empowers institutions to choose which groups to foreground, background or exclude. Next, I will examine foregrounded identities on Jesuit higher education websites. Ultimately as more groups are included—which is

inherently positive—the Black interests so critical in *Bakke* have been backgrounded.

Foregrounding identities and interest convergence. The foregrounding of any minoritized identity is a positive development. However, a review of historical law and policy in the United States informs us that while "one group is gaining ground, another is often losing it" (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017, p. 81). Institutions strategically foreground identities that further institutional goals, while backgrounding those with relatively less value to the institution. Next, I will review a number of foregrounded identities and demonstrate ties to interest convergence principles.

Foregrounding individuals with disabilities. On Jesuit higher education websites, characterizations of diversity often included students with disabilities. The example below from Loyola University Chicago is representative of the inclusive language used in diversity mission statements.

> We embrace all races, sexes, gender identities, gender expressions, religions, ethnic backgrounds, socio-economic classes, sexual orientations, abilities, and residency statuses ("Mission & Vision: Student Diversity & Multicultural Affairs: Loyola University Chicago," n.d.).

Twenty-five of the 28 Jesuit institutions foregrounded individuals with disabilities through prominent links or a major section in the website. While evaluating the disability services language used on Jesuit websites exceeded the scope of this study, there was an expanded notion of disability presented on these websites that included a wide range of cognitive, social and emotional conditions. How has this occurred?   The Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 and subsequent amendments have considerable weight, and require

institutions to provide accommodations and services to students with a myriad of conditions or risk losing federal funds (Grossman, 2001). Students in need of additional support are required to have documentation from a medical professional, and accommodations can include comfort pets, service animals, note takers, and other residential and classroom support ("Higher Education Compliance Alliance," 2015). The needs of students facing racial discrimination or other biases are not as clearly defined, nor are their interests supported by such powerful, detailed, and far-reaching legislation.

Ultimately, whites benefit from any characterization of diversity that expands beyond race. Though beyond the scope of this study, it is possible that a significant percentage of students with disabilities are white. Whites attend better schools and have more wealth than their non-white counterparts, which could result in better K-12 support and earlier diagnosis. Therefore, it is not unreasonable to expect that many students with disabilities at the college level could be white. This would be an interesting area for future research. Providing additional support for students with disabilities is a laudable goal. Yet by including students with disabilities in with race, ethnicity and a myriad of other diversity identifiers, the focus on race is unavoidably diluted. In this way, positioning students with disabilities under the diversity umbrella is an example of interest convergence.

Foregrounding LGBTQ interests. Higher education has been slow to improve the campus climate for people who do not identify as heterosexual and cisgender. Fourteen of the

Figure 26. Gender Inclusive Restrooms. Retrieved from:

https://sites.sju.edu/oid/lgbtqia-inclusion/gender-inclusive-restrooms/

Jesuit institutions analyzed had considerable content focused on LGBT students, while an additional five institutions had some content. In all, 19 of 28 institutions had a group of pages devoted to LGBTQ issues, support and concerns. Figure 26 is an example of gender inclusive restroom information on the Saint Joseph's University website. Providing this information on the main website (and not on a student organization website) legitimizes LGBTQ issues, and prioritizes university support for trans students. Fairfield University, Saint Joseph's University, and Seattle University also had pages devoted to gender inclusive housing. As shown in Figure 27, Loyola University Maryland foregrounded LGBTQ concerns by educating site visitors on LGBTQ terminology. This would have been difficult to imagine ten years ago.

As mentioned, the elevation of LGBTQ concerns on higher education websites is a

Figure 27. LGBTQ terms on Loyola Maryland University website. Retrieved from:

http://www.loyola.edu/club/spectrum/lgbtq-terms-definitions

positive development, but there are implications that warrant discussion. Jesuit higher education

websites often placed LGBTQ resources in the Office for Multicultural Learning section. It is

unclear how LGBTQ students were associated with this office, as LGBTQ students can be of any

race (including white) and can identify with any cultural group. Figure 28 demonstrates the

positioning of LGBTQ content within the Office for Multicultural Learning at Santa Clara

University. The LGBTQ navigation item was elevated to the top level of the section—ahead of

Black, Latino/a, and Asian links—perhaps because LGBTQ students cannot be neatly

categorized. This had the effect of elevating LGBTQ concerns above those of other groups.

Figure 28. Santa Clara Office for Multicultural Learning page. Retrieved from:

https://www.fordham.edu/info/20908/multicultural_affairs

Foregrounding Latino/a. Latino/a concerns were foregrounded on several Jesuit higher

education websites. For example, as shown in Figure 29, several areas of the Xavier University

website included sections in both English and Spanish. Marquette University established a

strategic goal to become a Hispanic Serving Institution (HSI). On the Marquette website, the

institution links the HSI designation to the Jesuit goal of serving those in need, "regardless of

social status and socioeconomic class" ("Marquette's initiative to become a Hispanic-Serving

Institution // Diversity and Inclusion // Marquette University," n.d.). However, CRT requires us

to examine statements and assumptions to uncover aspects of systematic racism. Achieving the

HSI designation has financial implications, as it will provide Marquette with access to Title V

federal funds ("Frequently Asked Questions -- Title V Developing Hispanic-Serving Institutions

Program," 2016). The university states that "these funds foster the general development of the

university and can be used for a wide range of things to benefit all students" ("Marquette's

initiative to become a Hispanic-Serving Institution // Diversity and Inclusion // Marquette

University," n.d.). The HSI designation will provide Marquette with funds that will be used to provide benefits to all students while also furthering institutional diversity, making it an example of interest-convergence.
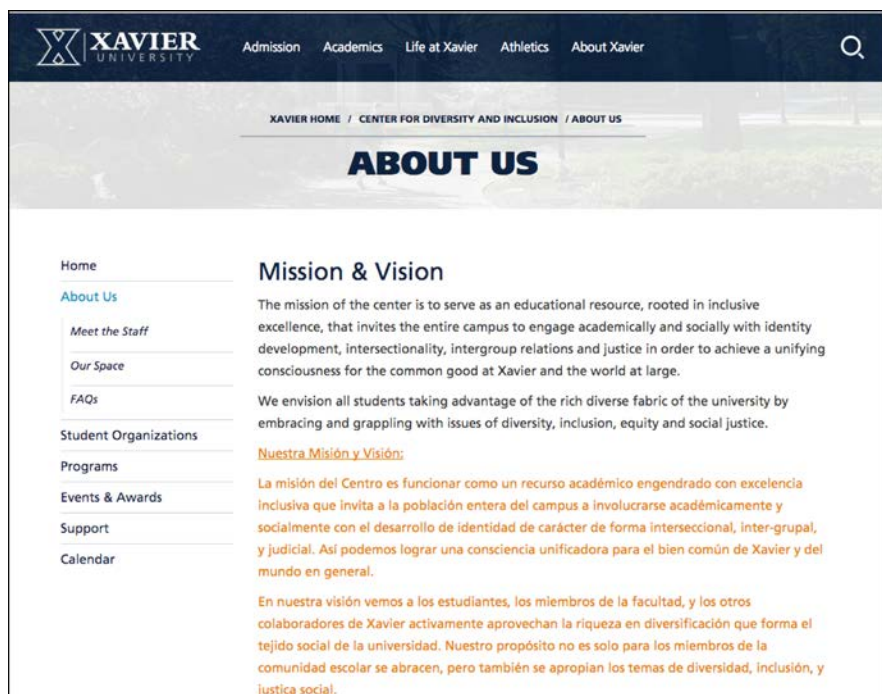
Figure 29. Center for Diversity and Inclusion page. Retrieved from: https://www.xavier.edu/diversity-inclusion/About-Us.cfm

Foregrounding Undocumented students. For centuries, Jesuits have provided care and advocacy for refugees (O'Malley, 2014). In the 1600s, Jesuits established missions to serve immigrants in key ports such as Boston, Washington DC and New York (Banchoff, 2016). Therefore, it is not surprising that Jesuit higher education websites addressed Undocumented

Figure 30. Immigration Resources menu on Loyola University Chicago website.

Retrieved from**: *https://www.luc.edu/diversityandinclusion/*

student needs by providing specific information on financial aid, legal resources and DACA. In fact, 15 of the 28 institutions foregrounded Undocumented student needs. In addition, the Jesuits' long history as immigrants aligns with the needs of students minoritized due to revised policies that attempt to deport people based on immigration status. As shown in Figure 30, Loyola University Chicago has a menu on their Diversity and Inclusion site foregrounding the needs of Undocumented students. As mentioned, including more identities in any notion of diversity is a positive development. However, it is possible that this expansion impacts groups in need of attention, services and support. Exploring the implications of this expanded notion of diversity would be an important follow-up study.

Foregrounding international. International initiatives in higher education include the

enrollment of international students in U.S. institutions, study abroad programs, and satellite

campuses overseas. From 2005 to 2016 the number of international students at U.S. institutions

nearly doubled from 564,000 to 1,100,000 ("International Students | Open Doors Data," 2017).

References to international students are often included in diversity statements and strategic

planning documents. For example, international students were featured in the Xavier "Diversity

and Inclusion Strategic Plan for 2017-2022" (*The Diversity and Inclusion Strategic Plan for

2017-2022*, 2017). Saint Peter's also includes international students in their diversity prose.

> Our remarkably diverse undergraduate and graduate student body originates from 25
>
> states and from more than 35 countries around the world ("Saint Peters University - Saint
>
> Peter's University - Facts and Stats," n.d.).

Limited data is available on international student race and ethnicity, but certainly there

are white international students coming to study in the United States from Canada, Great Britain,

Ireland. This is an example of micro interest convergence wherein diversity benefits white

students from Ireland, Italy or Canada. In the United States, these students will be often be

perceived as citizens—which unburdens them from racial profiling, xenophobic bias and other

systematic injustices—but they benefit from higher education's increased focus on diversity

initiatives supporting the influx of international students.

More significantly, international students rarely receive financial aid and generally pay

higher tuition, which benefits the institution (Lewin, 2012). This is an example of interest

convergence because the institution receives the financial benefits of more tuition dollars, while

also furthering its diversity agenda. The presence of international students enables institutions to

claim they are creating a multicultural campus environment that prepares students for careers in a global economy. On institutional websites, international students are often positioned as "diverse" by the institution, which bolsters the public image of institutions seeking to attract non-white students. However, these financial gains for the institution and increased higher education access for international students could be at the expense of other groups. The increase in international students has necessitated hiring more staff focusing on international programs to aid the success of visiting and departing students. Support staff and programming strains university budgets and impacts resources available to domestic students of color studying in the United States.

Black interests on higher education websites. This analysis indicated Black interests have been backgrounded on Jesuit higher education websites, while other identities have increased visibility, access and status. National crises such as police brutality against Blacks and the incarceration of Blacks as a replacement for slavery are serious topics warranting institutional support and academic attention, but were rarely mentioned on Jesuit higher education websites. As I have demonstrated, there are at least three elements of website design used to convey meaning about a particular identity or group: prose, information architecture, and imagery. Prose dedicated to Black interests was quite limited. For example, the "Creighton Intercultural Center" within the Division of Student Life devoted 20 pages to describing the programs and services offered to students. The name of the center should not be overlooked, as it strategically uses "Intercultural Center", which has a broader scope and a less controversial history than the term "Race." Similarly, the following words and phrases did not appear anywhere on the "Creighton Intercultural Center" web pages:

- race
- people of color
- Black
- African American

In contrast, there was a top-level navigation item for "Asian Pacific Islander Initiatives." CRT requires the researcher to expose this as a subtle, yet common example of institutional racism. By controlling the diversity vocabulary, Creighton has eliminated Blacks from the "Creighton Intercultural Center" website, which is typically one of the only locations on institutional websites providing support and programming for Black students.

Despite a flurry of racist incidents such as the white supremacist rally in Charlottesville, the killing of unarmed Black men by police, and countless other incidents, content in support of Blacks on campus was sparse on Jesuit higher education websites. Georgetown University was the only Jesuit institution with substantial content discussing the lingering impact of slavery, the university's role in perpetuating slavery, and the need for reparations. While Jesuit institutions cannot respond to every injustice with a public statement, it is clear that some issues are prioritized while others are backgrounded.

While Jesuit higher education websites have not confronted societal racial injustice on their websites, Catholic theologians and scholars collaborated on a powerful statement on police reform and social justice. This 1,420-word statement was signed by 456 scholars and theologians from institutions such as Creighton, DePaul and Saint Joseph's ("Statement of Catholic Theologians on Racial Justice | Catholic Moral Theology," n.d.). The statement acknowledges ongoing racism, whites' complicity in the perpetuation of white supremacy and calls for a "radical reconsideration of policing policy in our nation" ("Statement of Catholic

Theologians on Racial Justice | Catholic Moral Theology," n.d.). These prominent scholars and theologians criticize police practices and the unjust socioeconomic system in the United States while urging Catholics to no longer tolerate these evils ("Statement of Catholic Theologians on Racial Justice | Catholic Moral Theology," n.d.). As mentioned in Chapter Two, Jesuit higher education websites are used primarily as marketing vehicles designed to attract prospective students. Jesuit higher education websites have avoided confronting these harsh realities, instead presenting idyllic images of integration that perpetuate injustice.

As discussed in Theme #2, ineffective use of imagery can result in objectification. In addition, misuse of imagery on Jesuit higher education websites is an example of interest convergence. As described in the preceding paragraphs, higher education websites rarely used prose and IA to foreground Black interests. Yet images of people of color—specifically Blacks—are very common on Jesuit higher education websites. The Le Moyne examples from Theme #2 were the most significant examples, but several other institutions, including University of Detroit Mercy, visually over-represented Blacks on campus. In an extensive study of the marketing materials of 165 institutions, researchers found that Blacks were consistently the most over-represented minority group, and diversity was essentially defined as Black (Pippert et al., 2013). An extensive analysis of website imagery exceeds the scope of this study. However, it is clear that institutions use images of Blacks as a short-hand for diversity where it suits institutional goals—making this a clear example of interest convergence. While administrators may believe that "it takes diversity to recruit diversity" (Pippert et al., 2013, p. 277), imagery depicting students of color should be conservatively and carefully managed. In Chapter Five, I will provide website imagery recommendations and offer suggestions for authentically elevating

the stories of people of color in a manner that seeks to avoid interest convergence.

Micro interest convergence. An example on the Saint Louis University exemplified a concept I refer to as micro interest convergence. The Saint Louis University "Diversity and Inclusion" page contained just six sentences, yet the University began the second paragraph with the following statement:

> We're proud to be the first historically white institution of higher education in a former
>
> slave state to formally admit African-American students.   ("Diversity and Inclusion :
>
> SLU," n.d.)

First, I will examine the qualifiers and narrow focus of this statement, then evaluate how it exemplifies interest convergence. The qualifier "historically white" institution is a modification of the term "Historically Black College and University (HBCU)." HBCU is used to identify universities designed to primarily serve Black students. White students have never been excluded and could always attend these institutions. SLU was not "historically white", it was *exclusively white* for 126 years. In addition, the reference to historically white strategically overlooks that fact that historically Black institutions capably served Black students for a century. Next, the prose utilizes the "former slave state" qualifier to avoid comparisons to non-slave states that were decades ahead of SLU's belated and feeble integration efforts. The prose notes that the institution "formally" admitted Black students, which suggests that other white, former slave state institutions may have enrolled Black students prior to SLU, but utilized informal processes.

Next, I will examine the context and details this statement to reveal how it exemplifies interest convergence. At the outset of World War II, Black students could not attend SLU due to

racial segregation, but could die for their country. Nevertheless, the university positioned the admission of Black students in 1944 as a noteworthy achievement. In modern day web design, rankings are of paramount importance. Content authors or university officials presumably compared the enrollment date of their first Black student with that of other universities first Black students in former slave states and determined that their "ranking" could be positioned as an advantage. The university focused on its achievements, not Blacks' struggle for equity, the horrific injustices of slavery, or the ensuing hundred years of post-emancipation racism. Of more import is that SLU was superior to its peers. The university is "proud" of its accomplishment—ignoring the determination, intelligence and strength of the nameless Black students who struggled for equity.

Sylvester L. Smith was the nameless Black student referenced on the SLU web page. Smith was admitted in 1944, graduated in 1947, was Missouri's first Black superintendent and served the public school system for fifty years ("State News: First black student admitted to SLU dies (8/26/05) | Southeast Missourian newspaper, Cape Girardeau, MO," n.d.). Interestingly, I learned this information from a local publication unaffiliated with the university. A search for "Sylvester L. Smith" on the SLU website returned just one result: a link to the SLU alumni magazine where Smith was mentioned in the "In Memoriam" section the year he died. There was no feature story available on the SLU website, no statue, no plaque, no building named after him. Motivated by interest convergence, Sylvester L. Smith was summoned when needed by content authors to elevate SLU's diversity profile, create a false legacy of inclusion, and combat claims of modern day racism.

Summary and implications of Theme #3. In 1978, when *Bakke* was decided, it would

have been difficult to imagine that a case so focused on Black interests would eventually aid whites. The careful use of language, limited financial resources in higher education, key policy decisions, and the irrepressible force of whiteness combined to create in a situation wherein whites can be selectively considered "diverse."

Today, diversity on Jesuit higher education websites has been co-opted by whites. The Supreme Court authorized alterations to admissions policies to support one goal: the benefits of a diverse campus for all students. The "all students" were not students of color—students of color live in a world defined by whiteness. The beneficiaries of the diverse student body Powell envisioned were—and remain—whites. Therefore, it is not unusual to see that the characteristics of diversity now include personal attributes that benefit whites.

Widening the range of recognized and supported identities to support LGBTQ, Latino/a and Undocumented students, for example, is a positive development. However, the distribution of benefits (funding, programming, status) to minoritized identities is controlled by the dominant group who strategically balance competing needs to maintain order and control. Diversity as interest convergence "casts minority groups against one another to the detriment of each" (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017, p. 82). The implication of this is that majority identities (white, identifying as male, heterosexual, Christian, able-bodied, etc.) retain control and assign benefits to minoritzed groups to further their goals. In Chapter Five, I will present a framework to aid content developers and university administrators in their quest to include all marginalized identities, while remaining cognizant of need to elevate certain identities facing more significant challenges.

Theme #4: Diversity and the Jesuit Mission

In Chapter Two, I reviewed the importance of diversity to the mission of the 500-year-old Jesuit organization. Jesuit universities serve a critical role in "advancing the intellectual understanding that enables people of diverse traditions to understand one another" (Hollenbach, 2011). Diversity is embedded in the Jesuit mission through care for the poor, a commitment to social justice and attending to the needs of immigrant populations. An important aspect of this study was evaluating diversity content across each site, then assessing to what extent it served the Jesuit mission. Diversity was unevenly presented on the 28 Jesuit higher education websites analyzed in this study. As shown in Table 10, eight higher education websites did not include references to diversity in their "Mission" section. Eleven institutions included references to diversity, but stopped short of fully integrating diversity into university mission. Nine Jesuit institutions—fewer than half—deeply embedded diversity in the mission.

Table 10

Diversity in the mission of 28 Jesuit higher education institutions

	Diversity in Mission		
Institution	Excluded	Referenced	Embedded
Boston College		x	
Canisius College	x		
College of the Holy Cross			x
Creighton University			x
Fairfield University			x
Fordham University			x
Georgetown University		x	

Gonzaga University		x	
John Carroll University		x	
Le Moyne College	x		
Loyola Marymount University		x	
Loyola University Chicago		x	
Loyola University Maryland		x	
Loyola University New Orleans	x		
Marquette University			x
Regis University	x		
Rockhurst University		x	
Saint Joseph's University		x	
Saint Louis University			x
Saint Peter's University		x	
Santa Clara University			x
Seattle University		x	
Spring Hill College	x		
University of Detroit Mercy	x		
University of San Francisco			x
University of Scranton	x		
Wheeling Jesuit University	x		
Xavier University			x
Total	8	11	9

Diversity excluded from the mission. Eight institutions did not reference diversity in the mission statement or related pages. This is surprising, given how central diversity has historically been to the Jesuit mission. Examining a few examples of Jesuit institutions that backgrounded diversity on their websites will demonstrate this trend.

Loyola University New Orleans describes the Jesuit mission as using academics to achieve "moral excellence" ("Jesuit Tradition - Loyola University New Orleans," n.d.), though there were no details provided on what moral excellence is or how it can be achieved. The LUNO page focuses the work of a Jesuit institution on personal benefits and the prose does not reference diversity. At the bottom of the page there was a bulleted list under the "Jesuit Ideals" heading shown in Figure 31. Site visitors reviewing this page may be confused by this list, as

The Jesuit Ideals

In front of Loyola University New Orleans' J. Edgar and Louise S. Monroe Library, there is a walkway, a joint gift of the classes of 2002 and 2003, which reminds all who walk campus of the Jesuit ideals of:

- Pursuit Of Excellence
- Respect For The World, Its History And Mystery
- Learning From Experience
- Contemplative Vision Formed By Hope
- Development Of Personal Potential
- Critical Thinking And Effective Communication
- Appreciation Of Things Both Great And Small
- Commitment To Service
- Special Concern For The Poor And Oppressed
- Linking Faith With Justice
- International And Global Perspective
- Discerning Mindset: Finding God In All Things

Figure 31. Jesuit Tradition page on Loyola University New Orleans website. Retrieved from: http://www.loyno.edu/jump/about/loyola-at-a-glance/jesuit-tradition.php

none of the items are explained or contain links to more information. The "Special Concern For The Poor and Oppressed" is unclear. Are the poor and oppressed a single group, or are page authors referencing people of low socioeconomic status and anyone else who is oppressed for reasons other than poverty? How is this "special concern" demonstrated or realized? I was

unable to find content on the site describing the institution's focus on the poor, so it is not clear who is oppressed and how the institution supports these individuals.

The Canisius webpages describing the mission of the university did not reference diversity or mention undocumented students, race, LGBTQ, or immigrants. The mission of Canisius is to "foster in our students a commitment to excellence, service and leadership in a global society" ("About Canisius < Canisius," n.d.). In the "About" section of the site, there was no page describing the unique aspects of the Jesuit mission and no information on diversity. On the main "About" page there was the following description of Jesuit values:

> Canisius promotes the Jesuit principles of excellence, service and leadership through a broad range of learning experiences and a distinct core curriculum that is grounded in the liberal arts.
>
> ("About Canisius | Canisius College," n.d.).

The institution foregrounded a generic notion of excellence, but failed to define what it was or how it could be achieved. Similarly, the term "service" lacks specificity and therefore prioritizes the *server* rather than the *served*. Alternatively, using a phrase such as "serving marginalized groups" could subtly alter the meaning by replacing the noun "service" with the verb "serving", which focuses the action on the person who benefits from the service act. The importance of specificity in diversity web content will be discussed in Chapter Five.

Diversity referenced in the mission. Nine institutions referenced diversity in their mission statement or supporting pages, but did not situate diversity as a focal point of the institution. For example, Regis University referenced diversity, but the language used was unclear and problematic.

Our hearts and minds are not divided; they are congruent when the whole person is

educated and engaged. This speaks to the diversity of people who go forth to set the

world on fire with the Ignatian mission all across the world.

("Key Jesuit Values | Regis University | Our Jesuit Education and Heritage," n.d.)

The statement opens with an example of what does not occur—divided hearts and

minds—when the university attends to the "whole person." The section after the semicolon

seems to reference the *cura personalis* tenet of Jesuit education, which seeks to enhance the

intellectual and spiritual attributes of students. Next, we learn that this process results in

"congruent" hearts and minds. This negative statement—stating what does not occur rather than

describing what does—takes a complex topic and makes it more complex, which would likely

create confusion among seventeen-year-old perspectives students. Next, the congruence, or

harmony of the heart and mind "speaks" to the diversity of the people. Which people are page

authors referring to? Students at the university? Perhaps "people" refers to the owners of the

abstract "hearts and minds" that are congruent. These two sentences hinder site effectiveness by

ineffectively combining many concepts, then making illogical leaps that call into question the

content author's authenticity, knowledge of Jesuit values, and understanding of the target

audience.

On the Seattle University website, diversity is referenced, but not embedded in the mission. The third item listed in the "Values" section is diversity. As indicated in Figure 32, the institution claims: "We celebrate education excellence achieved through diversity." The focus is on educational excellence, not student development or the formation of ethical human beings.
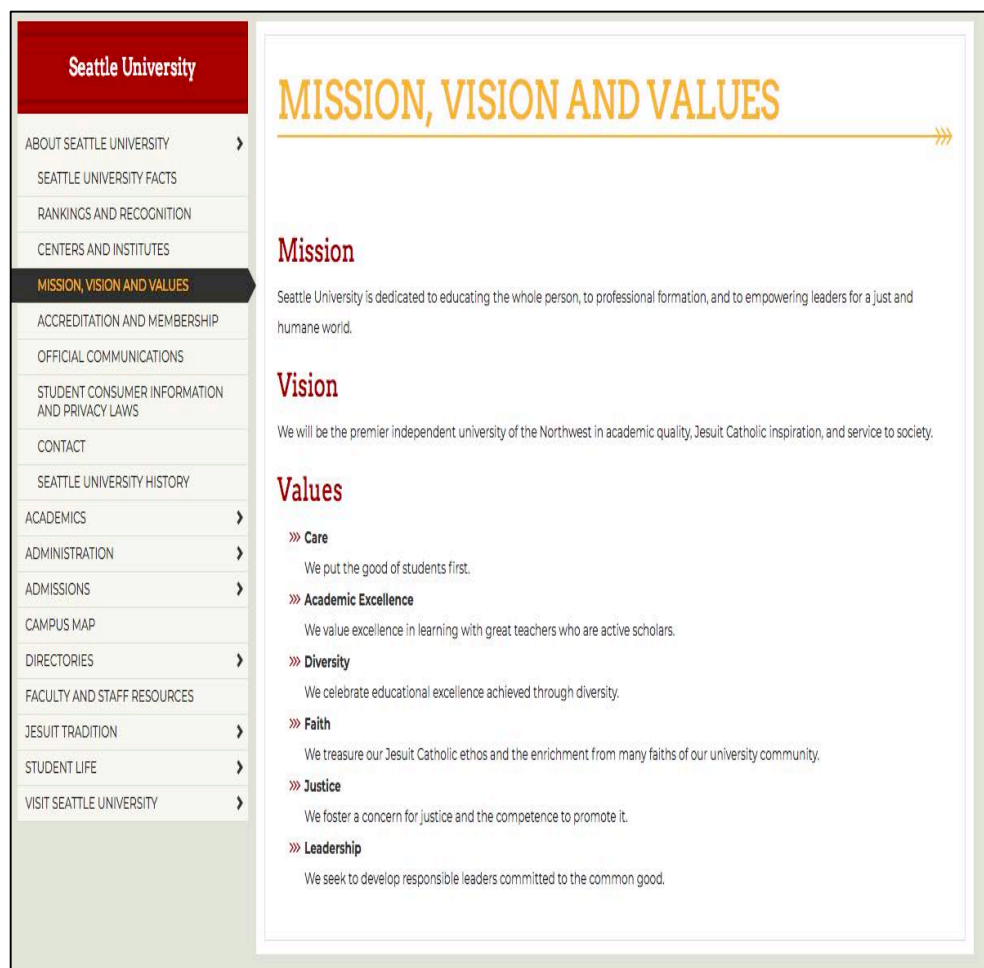
Figure 32. Mission page on Seattle University website. Retrieved from:

https://www.seattleu.edu/about/mission/

There is no link to diversity content, or details on who is included in this notion of diversity.

Simply listing diversity on a mission page may not provide sufficient context for site visitors.

Without clarity or supporting information, the content relies on catch phrases that hold little meaning. The "Jesuit Tradition" page focused on the academic and spiritual development of students, not the inclusion of a diverse community consisting of undocumented students, the poor or marginalized. By focusing on individual student needs, an opportunity to shift the focus from individual gain to inclusion is lost.

The Loyola Marymount University (LMU) mission web pages were typical of the 11 institutions that referenced diversity on their mission web pages. LMU described three key areas of focus: the encouragement of learning, educating the whole person, and a commitment to justice motivated by faith. The supporting "Mission" page contains 677 words and the term "diversity" appears exactly once.

> we invite men and women <u>diverse</u> in <u>talents</u>, <u>interests</u>, and <u>cultural backgrounds</u> to enrich our educational community and advance our mission ("Mission - Loyola Marymount University," n.d.)

The use of "invite" frames this engagement as optional and non-committal. Student diversity is not required, nor is it central to university mission. In addition, the "invited" are men and women—there is no in between. Non-gender binary people are denied this invitation because, according to the institution, they are not people. Interestingly, "talents" and "interests" precede "cultural backgrounds." LMU fails to mention race, sexual orientation, physical capabilities and religious beliefs. As discussed in Theme #3, diversity was popularized in the *Bakke* case as an institutional response to anti-black racism. Expanding diversity to include additional minoritized identities is a positive development. However, are individual talents and interests a source of bias warranting attention, care and reparations? I suggest they do not

warrant this level of attention and argue that talents and interests—which the university foregrounds—are fundamentally different characteristics than race, physical abilities, and sexual orientation. This framing of diversity provides two opportunities for whites to bring diversity to campus—through their unique talents and interests. As noted in Theme #3, diversity language now includes evolving characteristics that shift the focus from Blacks and other minoritized groups to whites. Modern issues such as racism and immigration are not referenced in the mission pages. Words such as "privilege" and "racism" were omitted in favor of "transformative justice" and "global justice." Utilizing authentic language, rather than nebulous, lofty terms, could make the majority uncomfortable, but will sharpen the focus on the marginalized and create a measure of urgency.

The LMU pages contained no major errors, but exemplified a weakened message common among Jesuit higher education websites. Ignatius believed that Jesuit education could serve the marginalized in two ways: By educating the elite who could affect change from their position in the social hierarchy and by educating the marginalized. At LMU, students are asked to "identify with those living on the margins of society" ("Mission - Loyola Marymount University," n.d.). Educating the marginalized and cherishing difference does not appear to be part of the LMU mission. Furthermore, people are complex—an amalgam of identities—and certain attributes of their personhood many be marginalized by society. These complexities were overlooked by nearly two-thirds of Jesuit institutions analyzed in this study. Next, I will examine institutions that embedded diversity in the mission.

Diversity Embedded in the Mission. Two salient examples will illuminate approaches to embedding diversity in the mission: Creighton University and the University of San Francisco.

While both Jesuit, these institutions have several significant differences. Creighton is located in Nebraska, a state that is 79% white, while California is just 39% white. Similarly, 70% of students at Creighton are white, compared to just 26% at University of San Francisco. These two institutions have different levels of success regarding diversity, yet both embedded diversity in the mission.

At Creighton, the mission statement was long and contained superfluous information about the number of colleges and a statement on why the university exists. A key sentence within the mission statement warrants examination:

> Service to others, the importance of family life, the inalienable worth of each individual and appreciation of ethnic and cultural diversity are core values of Creighton.
> ("Mission | Creighton University," n.d.)

The university reduced their core values to four items: service, family, the worth of each person, and diversity. Among institutions in this study, the themes of service and the worth of the individual were common. In fact, 26 of the 28 institutions used the term "dignity" on a prominent page on their website to describe the inherent value of each person. The reference to family life was unique to Creighton. The reference to ethnic and cultural diversity as the fourth value is significant. The "Diversity and Inclusion" subpage within the "About" section provided additional details on diversity resources, a definition of diversity, and again tied diversity to the Ignatian tradition. Creighton did not overstate diversity efforts, but grounded their work in Jesuit history while prioritizing diversity ahead of other values and concerns.

The University of San Francisco is a highly diverse campus, and the model for effective presentation of diversity web content. In Chapter Five, I will provide a more in-depth analysis of the University of San Francisco's approach to diversity content. With regard to the theme of
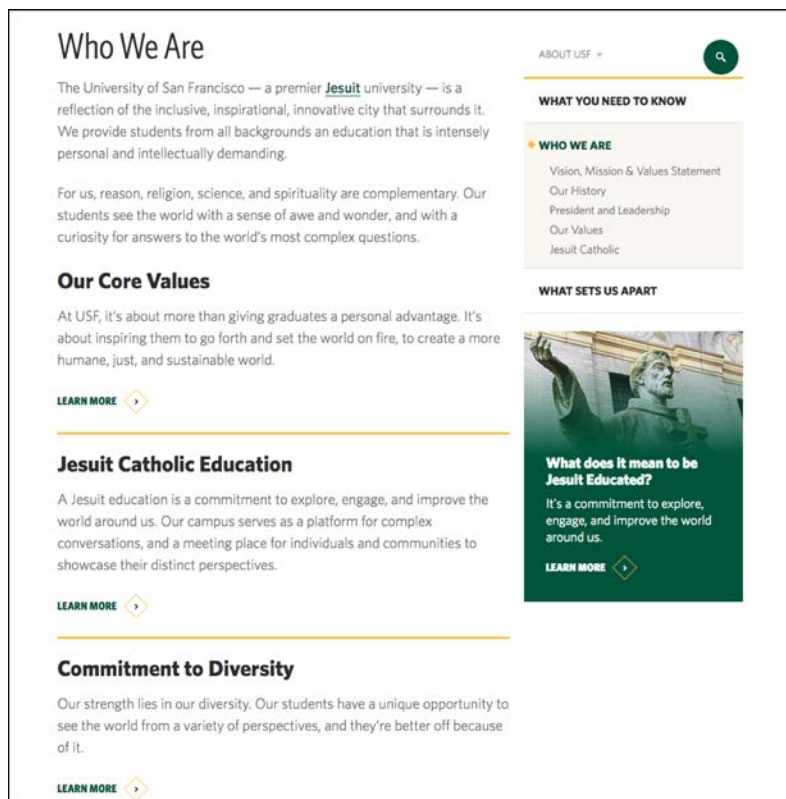
Figure 33. Who We Are page at University of San Francisco.

 Retrieved from: *https://www.usfca.edu/about-usf/who-we-are*

diversity and the Jesuit mission, the University of San Francisco took an aggressive and bold approach, not only embedding diversity within the mission, but making diversity *the mission*.

The "Who We Are" page shown in Figure 33 serves as a summary page describing the focus and mission of the institution ("Who We Are - About USF | University of San Francisco,"

n.d.). The page contains a main heading and three subsections: Our Core Values, Jesuit Catholic Education and Commitment to Diversity. Beneath each heading is a description of that aspect of the university with a link to a full page providing more detail.

The University of San Francisco simplifies the messaging and reduces the page to just two elements: Jesuit Catholic and Diversity. There are no other values, areas of focus or initiatives listed on the page. It is important to note that this page is in the "About" section, positioning it as central to the university. The "Jesuit Catholic Education" section presents the campus as a "platform" for conversation. In this way, USF positions the institution as a tool to elevate perspectives that may be overlooked. The statement does not reference Catholicism or religion, but instead focuses on perspectives, community, and unity. By using the phrase "showcase distinct perspectives", the university moves beyond inviting alternative perspectives for consideration. To "showcase" something is to promote, feature or elevate it in some way. This is a step above the common diversity descriptors "tolerance", "appreciation" and "acceptance" prevalent on many Jesuit higher education websites. At USF, the Jesuit Catholic mission ensures that difference is elevated. The "Commitment to Diversity" section contains just 31 words:

> Commitment to Diversity
>
> Our strength lies in our diversity. Our students have a unique opportunity to see the world from a variety of perspectives, and they're better off because of it.
>
> ("Who We Are - About USF | University of San Francisco," n.d.)

The use of "Commitment" in the heading provides context and power to the term "diversity." Diversity is presented as a fundamental—not supplemental—element of the

institution. USF posits that the strength of the university comes not from a variety of sources, but from a single source—this thing called diversity. In reality, that single source is composed of many people who possess countless backgrounds, religions, ethnicities, capabilities and perspectives. This approach presents diversity as a unifying force without directly using words such as "unify", "join" or "unite." The institution informs students of this "unique opportunity", effectively shifting a measure of personal responsibility to students. The campus provides each student an opportunity to engage with difference, but it is up to them to take advantage of this opportunity. The language is informal, but presents the institution as informed though the use of "they're better off for it." This presents the institution as experienced mentee. In other words, USF suggests that their approach to diversity is "the right way" and this approach will improve the cultural competence, awareness and effectiveness of its students. USF embeds diversity in the mission, using a minimalist approach that positions diversity as a strategic advantage and foundational aspect of the USF mission.

The succinct and powerful statements on the top level "Mission" page at USF only work because there are foundational pages supporting it throughout the site. A more detailed analysis of USF will be discussed in Chapter Five, but one example warrants inclusion. Within the "About" section there is a "Commitment to Diversity" page with an opening paragraph that mentions Buddhism, first generation students, veterans, international students, and contains a large callout for Undocumented students. More importantly, this page continues the messaging from the previous page, yet dives deeper into the issues. A large heading titled "Inclusive Excellence" contains the following text:

Inclusive excellence means finding common ground among diverse communities, and

then <u>moving to higher ground</u>. At USF, we celebrate an environment where every

<u>individual steps into new understanding</u> respectfully and with delight, and <u>where all are</u>

<u>better off</u> by being part of our diverse community.

The metaphor of the institution as a platform for showcasing difference is revisited

through the language choice of "moving to higher ground." Diversity is presented as a

component that elevates the entire institution. To "step into new understanding" would mean

that students are ignorant in key areas and can benefit from alternative perspectives. Inclusive

excellence shifts the focus from individual gain and maintaining the white status quo to equity,

by creating an environment where "all are better off." Restating language in the negative can

help expose the risks of alternative approaches. For example, restating the concepts from the

"Inclusive Excellence" paragraph as a negative could be interpreted as: "Remaining stuck in

white, male hegemonic norms is a barrier to excellence and unless we elevate difference, all

students (and the institution) will suffer."

The Office of Diversity Engagement & Community Outreach provides additional

background to cement the central role of diversity in the mission.

One of the office's greatest accomplishments has been to <u>connect</u> and articulate these

institutional goals <u>directly</u> to the University mission of teaching, learning and service in

the Jesuit Catholic tradition. This is an important and <u>fundamental distinction on how we</u>

<u>understand diversity, multiculturalism and pluralism</u> in the 21st century as a learning

institution.

The institution has made explicit connections between diversity and the Jesuit tradition, clarifying university mission. In fact, diversity is not one of many competing interests and does not share space with items such as sustainability, career preparation, international programs, or global engagement. Diversity is the mission, as exemplified in the callout and video shown in Figure 34. Supported by the mission statement of the university, the diversity imperative at USF

Figure 34. Mission as Diversity, Diversity as Mission callout on the University of San Francisco website. Retrieved from: https://www.usfca.edu/diversity/who-we-are

is amplified—resulting in a powerful message of inclusion not only for prospective and current students, but also for peer institutions and community members.

Summary and implications of theme #4. As discussed in Chapter Two, Jesuit institutions have a long history of providing education and care to the marginalized. The Jesuit

focus on diversity can be traced back more than 500 years. Today, institutions have competing demands and many more goals than in the early days when Ignatius established the first college at Messina, such as research, athletics, educating students to participate in a democracy, and preparing students for careers that contribute to society. Perhaps due to these competing demands, diversity was presented as a central aspect of university mission on just 9 of the 28 Jesuit higher education websites analyzed in this study. Jesuit institutions have made significant contributions to higher education and society. However, I suggest that diversity can be the engine that powers change, solves societal problems, produces the best ideas and cherishes the complexity and beauty of every human being. Perhaps more importantly, if diversity is not presented on the website as core to the mission, Jesuit institutions risk diminishing this central aspect of their identity and losing a key advantage they have cultivated for more than 500 years.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

In this chapter, I will categorize Jesuit institutions into the stages of diversity

development based on Williams (2013). I will then describe the characteristics of each stage and

then provide examples. Next, I will discuss the limitations of this research. Then I will describe

theoretical implications of this research and the implications for higher Jesuit higher education

institutions. I will conclude this chapter with recommendations for future research and

recommendations for practitioners.

Categorization of Jesuit Institutions

Summary of results. Based on this analysis, Jesuit higher education institutions were

divided into four stages of diversity development: Startup, Transitional, Mature Implementation,

and Inclusive Excellence. Among the 28 Jesuit institutions, nine were in the Startup stage, five

were Transitional, eleven were classified as Mature implementation, and three were in the

Inclusive Excellence stage.

Table 11

Jesuit Higher Education Websites assigned to Williams (2013) Stages of Diversity Development

Stage 1 Start Up	Stage 2 Transitional	Stage 3 Mature Implementation	Stage 4 Inclusive Excellence
Canisius College Le Moyne College Regis University Rockhurst University Saint Peter's College Spring Hill College University of Detroit Mercy University of Scranton Wheeling Jesuit University	College of the Holy Cross Creighton University Gonzaga University Loyola University Maryland Loyola University New Orleans	Boston College Fairfield University Georgetown University John Carroll University Loyola Marymount University Marquette University Saint Joseph's University Saint Louis University Santa Clara University Seattle University Xavier University	Fordham University Loyola University Chicago University of San Francisco
9	**5**	**11**	**3**

Startup Stage

List of Institutions.

Table 12

Institutions in Stage 1: Startup

Stage 1 Start Up
Canisius College
Le Moyne College
Regis University
Rockhurst University
Saint Peter's University
Spring Hill College
University of Detroit Mercy
University of Scranton
Wheeling Jesuit University

Characteristics of institutions. Institutions in the Startup stage exhibited a number of

issues regarding diversity content. In several cases, institutions in the Startup stage did not have

diversity content (or links to diversity content) in the "About" or "Campus Life" sections of the

site. In addition, Startup institutions demonstrated significant content gaps—instances where

content for certain identities (LGBTQ or Undocumented students, for example) was omitted

from the site. Institutions may also have been categorized in the Startup stage due to

objectification of people, overuse of images depicting students of color, or prose that was vague,

inconsistent, or exhibited phony register.

Representative Samples.

University of Scranton. The University of Scranton website exhibited inconsistent

diversity messaging, suffered from missing content, and occasionally utilized problematic

imagery and language. Diversity was deprioritized in the information architecture. For example,

the home page contained a global menu containing 52 links, but no item for diversity. The

"Office of Equity and Diversity" website was a curious mix of policy statements containing

vague references to justice. There were significant omissions—no content specifically for

LGBTQ students, individuals with disabilities, or undocumented students.

The University of Scranton site was plagued with inconsistencies. The "Diversity

Initiatives" page contained the following statement: "The University of Scranton values diversity

as a critical and integral part of its mission" ("Diversity Initiatives For Funding Requests 2016-

17 | Equity and Diversity | The University of Scranton," n.d.). However, the mission statement

of the university did not reference diversity. While it could be argued that *Cura Personalis* and

other Jesuit principles indirectly support and encourage diversity—it was not directly included in

the mission. Therefore, statements made on other pages within the website claiming that

diversity is critical to the mission lack credibility and could be considered examples of phony

register.

The use of images on the University of Scranton website raised questions. The

University of Scranton student body is 80% white and 2% Black ("College Navigator," n.d.).

Despite the lack of diversity on campus, the "Campus Life" banner image shown in Figure 35

contains a white woman embracing a Black student. As noted in Chapter Two, Wilson and

Meyer (2009) found that 78% of institutions overrepresented diversity on their websites. While

it is unreasonable to expect universities to statistically match the number of images of people of

color with student demographic data, the translation from digital presentation to campus reality

must be reasonable. It could be argued that website images containing students of color are

especially important on a campus with low diversity as it could demonstrate aspirational
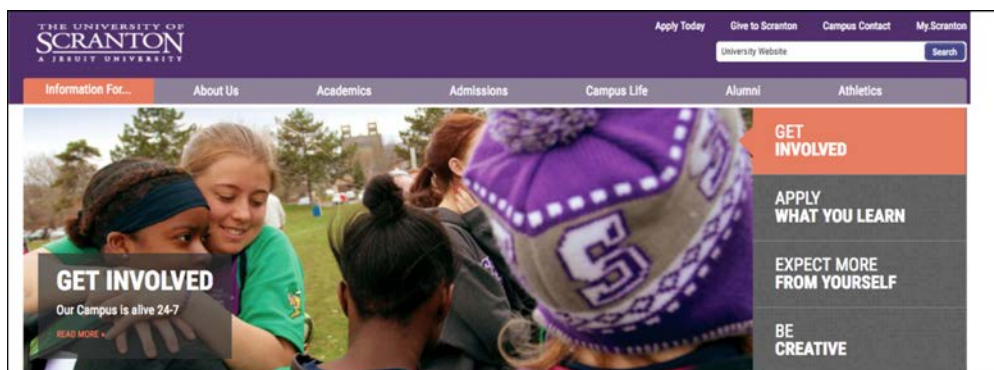

Figure 35. University of Scranton Campus Life page. Retrieved from:

http://www.scranton.edu/studentlife/index.shtml

diversity. Recommendations for practitioners concerning the use of images will be covered later

in this chapter. Furthermore, the types of images chosen and the pages on which they are used is

important. In Figure 35, the white woman giving the hug is the central actor in the image. The

Black woman receiving the hug is not completely visible—her head is covered by the page

heading. There is a second Black woman in the photograph, but her face is not visible. It could

be argued that the Black woman receiving the hug is objectified because her face is obscured and

site visitors are not provided with information providing the context or the names of individuals

pictured. The photograph is not inappropriate, but it is not particularly relevant or authentic.

The image falls into a category I refer to as "Diversity is Fun", wherein content authors choose

images of people embracing, laughing or captured in a silly pose.

The "Office of Equity and Diversity" page depicted in Figure 36 had a curious mix of content and unclear goals. The imagery suggest that diversity is something social, fun, and uplifting. However, the graphic of the scale and the large words "equity" and "diversity" bring a

Figure 36. Office of Equity and Diversity page. Retrieved from:

http://www.scranton.edu/equity-diversity/index.shtml

seriousness and social justice tone to the page that is introduced but not defined. The lower section of the page shifts to a friendly and informal tone. Two taglines present ideas that are

incongruent, unsupported, and unexplained:

> Engaged….Integrated….Global

> Working, Training, Caring for a better U!

How is a university with 80% white students integrated?   How is it global? How does the university care for students? The claims regarding "Caring for a better U!" were unsubstantiated by available content or resources. The use of the upper-case letter "U" appears to be an appeal to a younger audience that uses single letters in lieu or words when communicating via text message on a smart phone. The voice and tone of the content is both authoritative and friendly, creating an inconsistency that resulted in phony register. The page contains no references to individuals who may benefit from their services. Furthermore, the focus on individual benefits achieved from diversity could be considered an example of interest convergence.

The content suggests that diversity is an office, not a core value. At the bottom of the page there was a list of policies and federal guidelines. This office handles "issues." The use of the word "issues" is significant, indicating that diversity creates problems that must be addressed. The tone was passive, reactive and strictly procedural. An attorney heads the diversity office and this person's main role, it would appear, is defending the university when cases of discrimination arise.

Saint Peter's College. Saint Peter's College is a diverse campus that is just 16% white. The overall Saint Peter's University website demonstrated competency in three major areas of web site development: information architecture, visual design and web writing. Therefore, it was surprising that the site has significant omissions: no diversity page, no statement on DACA, no

information on financial aid for undocumented students, no reference to diversity in the mission statement, and no content on the LGBTQ page. On key pages, there were significant omissions. The "Jesuit Identity" did not contain a reference to diversity and the words "gender", "race", "undocumented", "sexuality" or "poor" did not appear ("Saint Peters University - Jesuit Identity," n.d.). The "Catholic Tradition" page contained the phrase "Appreciation of diversity" among a list of bullets, but no references to race, other religions, disability, sexuality or gender ("Saint Peters University - Jesuit Identity - Catholic Tradition," n.d.).

Despite the college's high percentage of Black and Latino/a students, there were no presidential statements denouncing racists incidents such as the one in Charlottesville or supporting DACA. Instead, the "Jesuit Identity" page contained an image of Saint Peter's President Eugene Cornacchia taking a "selfie" with a statue of Saint Peter. This playful gesture seemed out of place on a page that should strike at the heart of the university's Jesuit. Language of inclusion is omitted—replaced by an image of the president being silly. This was an example of phony register.

Transitional Stage

    List of institutions.

Table 13

Institutions in Stage 2: Transitional

Stage 2
Transitional

College of the Holy Cross
Creighton University
Gonzaga University
Loyola University Maryland
Loyola University New Orleans

Characteristics of Institutions. Institutions in the Transitional stage generally avoided the most problematic diversity content issues on their websites. These five institutions typically had a diversity landing page that offered access to human resources and student affairs diversity content. Transitional institutions targeted content at specific identities and groups, but also had significant issues—occasions where images were inauthentic, problems with voice and tone, or information architecture issues that inhibited access to key content.

Representative Samples.

Creighton University. The information architecture of the Creighton University website did not position diversity as a key element, which limited access to this important content.

Figure 37. What is a Jesuit Education? page. Retrieved from:

https://www.creighton.edu/about/what-jesuit-education

Creighton had a specific page describing the benefits and function of a Jesuit education. This could have been a place to elevate the concerns of minoritized groups. The page cited key values as "ethical living, service to others, the search for truth and a passion for justice" ("What is a Jesuit Education? | Creighton University," n.d.). The Creighton site did not contain as many images as peer sites, which increased the weight and importance of each image. As shown in Figure 37, the "What is a Jesuit Education?" page contained two images. The banner image depicted a white, older priest speaking with someone who appears to be a white female student. Lower on the page, there is an image of a white student with four young students of color. Interpreting the images on this page was straightforward: white men educate and mentor white students, who then serve students of color. This is the dominant narrative in the United States. In fact, in this study service was rarely positioned as something performed by students of color for white children or children of color. Though beyond the scope of this study, images of light-haired, fair-skinned females "serving" children of color were so common in this study that they appear to be a "visual code" for institutional definitions of service.

There are alternative narratives, which Creighton University content authors chose not to tell. CRT requires that researchers question hegemonic norms. The person providing the service has the power, benefits and privilege, and the person receiving it has been denied access to services. In this case, CRT demands that we challenge institutions to reframe service. Presenting students of color as powerful, giving and capable could empower younger students, reset the programmed script maintained by the white majority, and undermine this inaccurate and omnipresent characterization of service.

Based on a review of Creighton University website content, the "Student Experience" page shown in Figure 38 appears to be positioned as a marketing page targeted at prospective

Figure 38. Creighton University Student Experience page. Retrieved from: https://www.creighton.edu/student-experience

students. There are ten items in the left navigation, but no link to diversity content. The left navigation contained 13 items to major sections of the site, but there was no link for diversity. Within the page content, there were 17 embedded links covering everything from arts to clubs to Greek life, but no reference to multiculturalism, diversity, or inclusion. On a page designed for students, this would be a critical location to elevate the concerns of minoritzed students. In

addition to the "Student Experience" page, there was a separate "Student Life" section which appeared to be more functional and less focused on marketing to prospective students. The "Student Life" main page also omitted diversity content. While both prospective and current students can access any content on the website, the "Student Life" page appeared to be targeted to current students. There were links for student complaints, the student handbook, and safety information. While Creighton had solid diversity content in some areas of the site, that content was omitted from critical locations where it may be most needed—which hindered access and raised questions regarding the authenticity of diversity messaging.

Loyola University Maryland. Loyola University Maryland had a "Mission Statement" and "Statement of Diversity" within the ALANA Services page. The mission is to create an environment of "respect and awareness", but page authors did not provide additional details. This type of vague, soft language strips the content of urgency and value. For example, "combating ignorance" is similar to creating "awareness", yet identifies the problem as ignorance (usually on the part of whites), and subtly reduces the burden on the minoritzed to bring awareness to the oblivious and privileged students on campus.

The first sentence of the "Statement of Diversity" was: "Loyola values the benefits of diversity." Forty years after his opinion on *Bakke,* Powell's interest convergence language persists on higher education web pages. This generic statement lacks urgency and positions diversity as an add-on feature that is welcomed, yet not critical. As structured, the statement triggers questions: What benefits does Loyola value? Who is receiving these benefits? Page authors could have described diversity as a key to institutional success, a path to excellence, or an important part of the Jesuit mission focused in care for the individual. As stated, it claims to

neither care for the minoritzed or address the oppressors who promulgate the realities of systematic injustice. While this language seems innocuous, it has made the issues of bias, exclusion, racism, and subjugation so generic, ancillary, and devoid of meaning that diversity and all its implications are rendered meaningless. This use of language is at the heart of what Critical Discourse Analysis demands: exposing how language is used to propagate hegemonic norms so these norms can be altered.

As discussed in Chapter Two, Jesuit institutions' renewed focus on actively working to solve societal problems can be traced to the Second Vatican Council's 1965 document *The Church in the Modern World*. In this study, social justice was a term commonly used on Jesuit websites and often paired with diversity, as institutions attempted to demonstrate commitment to minoritized identities. The "Service & Social Justice" page shown in Figure 39 warrants examination, as the page raised a number of concerns. An icon in the upper left corner of the page shows two white hands holding a globe. There are multiple possible interpretations. Perhaps it is intended to demonstrate care for the world. However, the care is provided by whites. Through a CRT lens, this could be seen as privileged whites helping those in need just enough to "do their part" while retaining the privilege their white status affords them. The prose on the page reinforces this perspective by touting that "80 percent of students participate in community service at Loyola." The focus is not on those in need, but rather on those providing the care. Furthermore, it is apparently not relevant whether real change occurs, but simply that students participate. The headline and graphic below the introductory text positions social justice as a game. The "Ready, Set, Serve" headline contains the major structural elements of the race mantra "Ready, Set, Go." The graphic uses bright colors and fonts to draw interest to

the idea of service. The graphic suggests that service is a children's board game with rules,

winners, and losers. In the "Act" section we again see an icon of a white hand providing service.
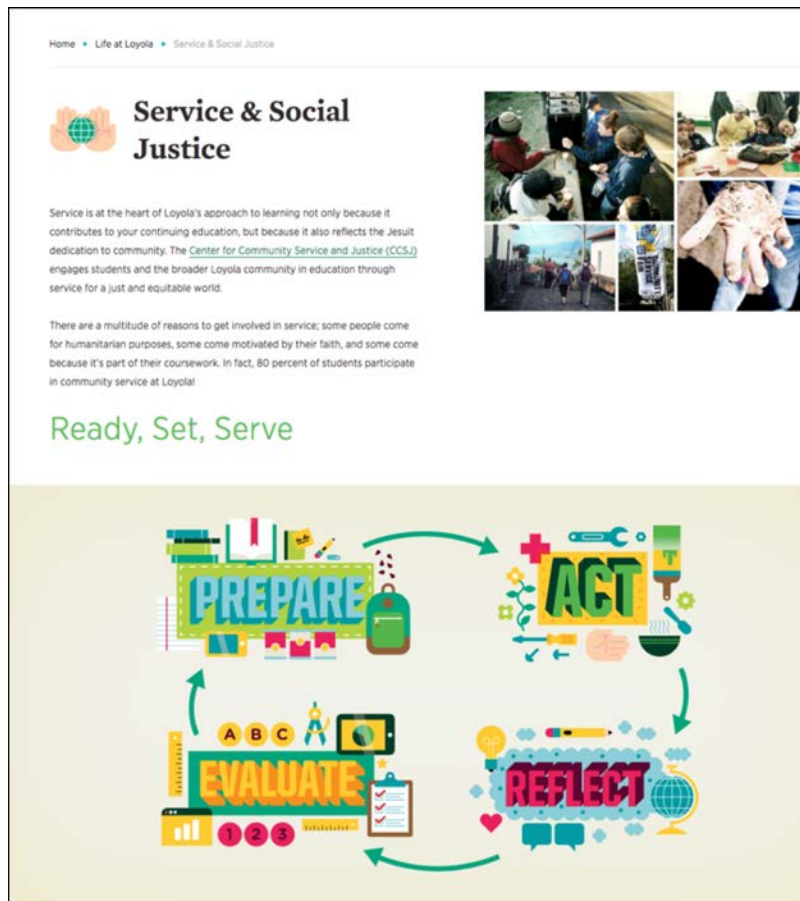
Figure 39. Service & Social Justice page. Retrieved from:

http://www.loyola.edu/admission/undergraduate/life-at-loyola/service-and-social-justice

In the upper right hand corner of the page, we also see a photograph of a white, dirty hand—

apparent evidence that whites care and get their hands muddy to help the unfortunate. Social

justice issues such as poverty, lack of access to resources, and systematic racism are horrific

crimes against humanity requiring urgent action. Clearly there are winners and losers, but the "rules" of the game are unjust. When interpreted using CRT, the white-centric imagery, playful approach, and lack of urgency on this page positons it as a small cog in the engine of systematic oppression.

Loyola University New Orleans. Institutions in the Transitional stage tended to have language that was generic and passive. For example, the landing page of the Loyola University New Orleans diversity microsite used "strive" on five occasions. In one instance, it was used in tandem with "thrive", creating an odd internal rhyme.

> We strive to foster a spirit of mutual recognition and support—to be a community in
>
> which all people can thrive. ("Diversity and Inclusion at Loyola University," n.d.)

Striving focuses the attention and the effort on the entity performing the work, which in this case is the institution. When used without supporting information, it can seem hollow and inauthentic. Issues such as racism, bias and societal inequity are massive problems, and to address them institutions must have specific goals, strong commitment, extensive funding and urgency. Using open-ended language that emphasizes the effort invested by the institution is ineffective. Strong language such as "we will" can create the level of urgency required for change. Similarly, focusing on the work that remains, rather than the accomplishments of the institution, can foreground the perspective of the oppressed.

Imagery was problematic on the Loyola University New Orleans website. The image in Figure 40 appears on the diversity microsite home page. Five individuals are pictured, three who
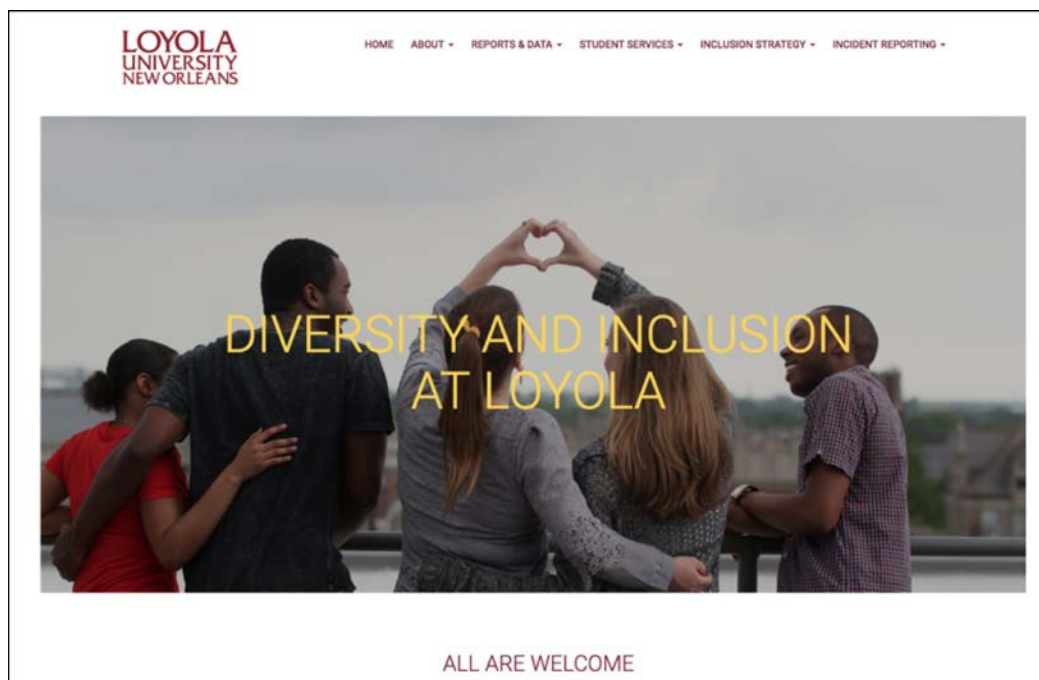
Figure 40. Loyola University New Orleans microsite home page. Retrieved from: http://diversity.loyno.edu

appear to be students of color. The two white individuals in the center are creating a heart shape with their hands. The white students at the center of the image are performing the main action, which foregrounds white interests. The black students are observers, apparently enjoying the symbolic gesture performed by the white students. It is important to note that act of making a heart shape by curling adjacent thumbs and index fingers was popularized by white singer Taylor Swift (Meltzer, 2011). In this case, we have white women apparently delivering a message of inclusion to students of color using a symbol from white popular culture. Based on the quality

and composition of this image it appears to be staged, rather than candid. Web site designers appear to be using the students as actors to convey messages such as "Everything is OK" and "White people will love you here." While acceptance of Blacks by whites, for example, is critical to inclusion, diversity content must foreground the minoritized. The experiences, symbols, priorities, and needs of students who have battled oppression must be elevated. Imagery, student profiles, or symbols acknowledging Black Lives Matter, the rights and struggles of Undocumented students, or the perspective of gender nonconforming students could validate these identities and result in a stronger diversity web presence.

Mature Implementation Stage

List of Institutions.

Table 14

Institutions in Stage 3: Mature Implementation

Stage 3 Mature Implementation
Boston College
Fairfield University
Georgetown University
John Carroll University
Loyola Marymount University
Marquette University
Saint Joseph's University
Saint Louis University
Santa Clara University
Seattle University
Xavier University

Characteristics of institutions. Eleven institutions were categorized as Mature

Implementation. These institutions generally had pages with extensive content that were targeted to a number of identities such as undocumented students, LGBTQ and students with disabilities. Each institution fell short of Inclusive Excellence, but exhibited a combination of attributes that placed it ahead of the Transitional group. Mature institutions typically included diversity content on the "About" or "Mission" page. These institutions often created a diversity landing page combining information from a number of sources within the university such as student affairs and human resources.

Representative Samples.

Fairfield University. The Fairfield University website contained a plethora of well-executed diversity content. The "Gender Inclusive Resources" page contained a list of restrooms that were not gender-specific, a description of housing options available to transgender students, and a detailed "Frequently Asked Questions" section that included definitions of key LGBTQ terms ("Gender Inclusive Resources | Fairfield University, Connecticut," n.d.).

However, Fairfield's diversity content fell short in a few key areas. The "Fairfield University Commitment" page opened with a repurposed quote from President Mark R. Nemec containing lofty phrases such as "global outlook" and "global citizens", but the statement lacked empathy, immediacy, and specificity. Undocumented students need care and support. While obtaining supportive statements from university leadership helps bring weight to web content, repurposed quotes that do not directly fit on a given page dilutes the message.

The banner image on the "Campus Diversity" page shown in Figure 41 raises important

questions. A significant part of the residential college experience is learning that occurs with
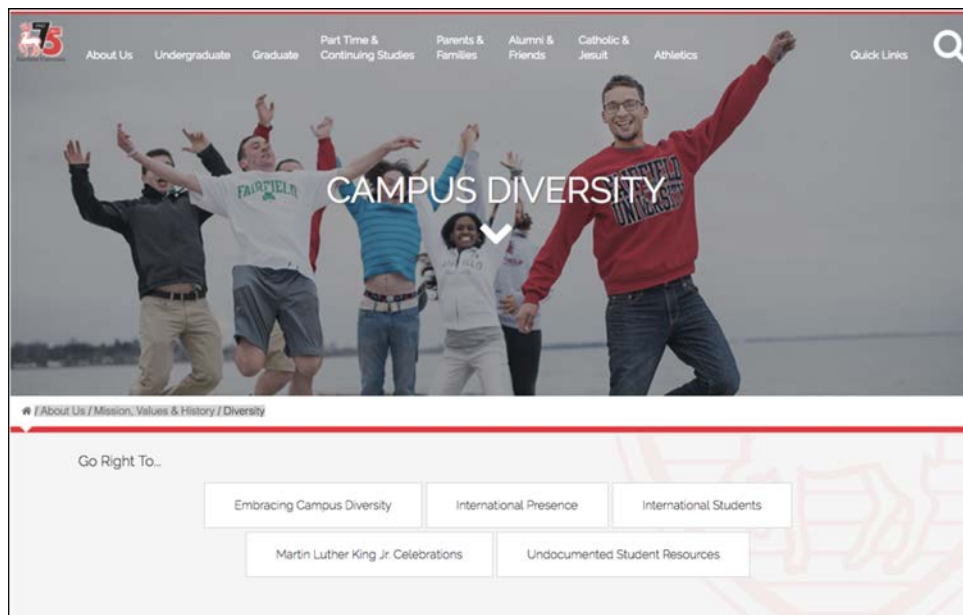
Figure 41. Fairfield University Campus Diversity page. Retrieved from:

https://www.fairfield.edu/about-fairfield/mission-values-history/diversity/

peers through student organizations and activities (Keeling, 2004). The website must contain

images of students engaging in campus activities. However, content authors must be mindful of

the breadth of personal perspectives and experiences students bring to campus. For some

students, exploring the topic of diversity could mean delving into painful experiences involving

microaggressions, gender bias, racial slurs, or historical trauma. For others (such as white

people, heterosexuals, gender-confirming, etc.) who have limited personal experience with

biases, diversity may have less urgency or significance. The image in Figure 41 is a staged

photograph depicting students jumping in the air. A few individuals in the photograph have silly poses, while others are smiling. The image contains at least one student of color and there appears to be individuals of various genders. The students appear to be enjoying themselves. This is another example of the phenomenon of "Diversity is Fun." Diversity is Fun is a co-opting of diversity by those in power and is tone-deaf to minoritzed individuals' daily struggle against oppression. Fairfield's abundance of valuable diversity content positioned the image in Figure 41 as an aberration, which enabled the institution to earn the Mature Implementation categorization despite a few missteps.

    Georgetown University. The Georgetown University website contained information specifically crafted for Undocumented students on admissions, advising, financial aid, student support and legal aid. Similarly, there was a significant amount of attention to Black students' needs and concerns. In fact, Georgetown was one of a few Jesuit institutions, along with SLU and Fairfield, that foregrounded Black students' concerns by elevating Martin Luther King, Jr. celebrations, releasing statements responding to police violence against Blacks, and denouncing white supremacist incidents ("A Statement from the President on the Charlottesville Tragedy : SLU," n.d.). Georgetown created a custom website titled "Slavery, Memory and Reconciliation." The site contains an impressive collection of information: a presidential statement acknowledging that Georgetown "denied and rejected the dignity and humanity of our fellow sisters and brother presidential statements"; an apology from Jesuit leadership for their role in slavery; the rededication of a building to honor slavery descendants, and a historical timeline documenting the intersection of slavery with the Jesuits ("Slavery, Memory, and Reconciliation," n.d.). It is an unabashed and detailed review of a dreadful historical legacy,

delivered with concern for modern day issues, and emanating with the hope of reconciliation.

While Georgetown's website excelled in a number of areas, a few key shortcomings and issues kept it from Inclusive Excellence. The messaging was inconsistent. For example, on the "Campus Resources" page for Undocumented students, content authors included the following statement:

> The Center for Multicultural Equity & Access (CMEA) serves as a home for students who have been historically denied access to Georgetown University due to their race/ethnicity ("Campus Resources | Undocumented Student Resources | Georgetown University," n.d.).

This statement, along with the extensive information on slavery demonstrated a sensitivity and awareness uncommon at Jesuit institutions. However, the "Diversity on Campus" page denies these truths with the following claim: "Since its founding in 1789, Georgetown has welcomed a diverse community of students, faculty and staff" (Georgetown University, 2016). In fact, the first Black student was not admitted to Georgetown until 1950 ("First Black Undergraduate Dies," n.d.). Content authors either did not include race in their definition of diversity when developing the above statement, or they were unaware of the facts. Though this may seem harmless, erroneous statements such as this perpetuate ignorance of historical, systematic racism and have the potential to damage minoritized individuals by denying their history and lived experience.

Inclusive Excellence

List of institutions.

Table 15

Institutions in Stage 4: Inclusive Excellence

| Stage 4 |
Inclusive Excellence
Fordham University
Loyola University Chicago
University of San Francisco

Characteristics of institutions. The three institutions in the Inclusive Excellence stage

had diversity content that powerfully demonstrated an institutional commitment to diversity.

These institutions crafted specific content for numerous identities, resulting in an extensive set of

quality pages delivering a forceful and convincing message of inclusion. The institutions in the

Inclusive Excellence stage prioritized diversity in the information architecture—creating

prominent links in major sections of the site. Diversity was closely tied to the mission. These

institutions presented diversity content in a unified manner either through a top-level landing

page or a significant group of pages in "About." Though these institutions had an institutional

diversity office and a student affairs group focusing on diversity, the site visitor was not required

to learn the university's organizational structure to find relevant content. The images on these

sites were authentic and did not objectify people.

Representative Samples.

University of San Francisco. The University of San Francisco website was in Inclusive

Excellence stage due to the depth and breadth of diversity content, the language used to describe

diversity efforts, initiatives and concerns, and the elevation of diversity to one of just two key

items central to the university mission. In addition, there were no instances of objectification or

phony register. The University of San Francisco took an aggressive and bold approach, not only

embedding diversity within the mission, but making diversity *the mission*.

Demographically, the University of San Francisco has been successful in diversifying its

campus. White students account for just 26% of undergraduates, with Asians students

numbering at 22%. Twenty percent of students identify as Latino/a, 7% identify with more than

one race, and 18% percent of students are classified as non-resident alien. A troubling metric is

the low enrollment of Black students, who account for just 3% of the undergraduate student

body. While this study was focused on the presentation of diversity on websites, contextualizing

the analysis with an awareness of USF as a diverse campus brought an authenticity, simplicity

and power to the messaging that was unique among Jesuit higher education intuitions.
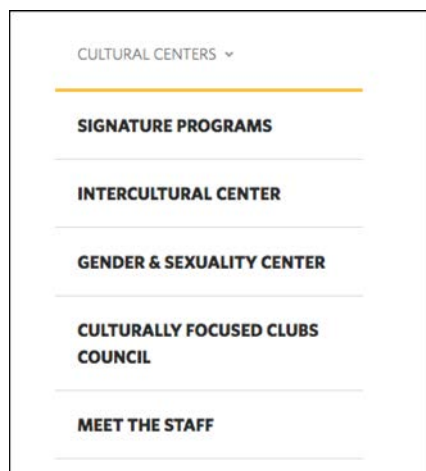
Figure 42. Menu on USF Student Life page. Retrieved from:

https://www.usfca.edu/student-life/student-activities/cultural-centers

Diversity content was readily accessible on the USF site. The home page contained four

sections: "About USF", "Academics", "Admission", "Student Life", and "San Francisco

Advantage." The main "About USF" page had a subpage called "Who We Are" that contained a

section on diversity and links to more information. A Google search and USF site search for

"LGBTQ University of San Francisco" both directed site visitors to the Gender and Sexuality

Center. Searches for "Undocumented" returned news items and a "Global Perspective" page that

contained information for Undocumented students. Searches for "Latina", "Latino", "Black" and

"Asian" referred visitors to specific academic programs at USF.

Diversity content on the USF website was abundant. The grammatical person of the

content was consistently third person. The intended audience of the content as prospective

students and current students. The voice and tone was confident, supportive and informed.

There were no notable omissions in the text. At USF, LGBTQ student needs were foregrounded

through the navigation on the "Cultural Centers" page shown in Figure 42, which had a separate

item for "Gender & Sexuality Center."

With regard to topicalization, diversity was presented as a key value at USF. Not only

was it presented on key pages, it was often one of only a few items referenced. The "Cultural

Centers" page shown in Figure 43 contained five values, the third of which was

"Intersectionality." USF was one of the only institutions to address intersectionality. It is

eloquently described as a benefit, not an issue or problem.

> Intersectionality: We understand the complexity and beauty of the multiple intersecting
>
> identities students bring into the world. Our programs encourage students to embrace
>
> their whole self ("Cultural Centers | University of San Francisco," n.d.).

The "Who We Are" page was analyzed as part of Chapter Four, but warrants mention as an example of institutions in the Inclusive Excellence stage. The main section of the page contains just 176 words and two core values: "Jesuit Catholic Education" and "Commitment to

Figure 43. USF Cultural Centers page. Retrieved from: https://www.usfca.edu/student-life/student-activities/cultural-centers

Diversity." In the opening paragraph, the text positions USF as a Jesuit institution and immediately links USF to the diversity of the community surrounding it. Among the meager 176 words, the following phrases reference diversity:

- inclusive, inspirational
- students from all backgrounds
- showcase their distinct perspectives
- our strength lies in our diversity
- see the world from a variety of perspectives

This page is a powerful statement on the values at USF. The copy is brief, scannable and memorable. Web page authors were able to distill the content to include only two core values, which brings tremendous weight to each item. In an era when site visitors spend seconds on a web page, a site visitor could visit this page, quickly scan the content and understand the essence of USF.

In the "About" section, a key subpage was the "Commitment to Diversity" page. In fact, it was the only subpage of "Our Values", which is a powerful statement on what is important to the institution. Page authors focused on the ranking of USF as one of the most diverse campuses in the country, and their student numbers support this accolade. As a child page of "About", it is directly below the "President and Leadership" page—not buried three levels down under student affairs or human resources. The page provides links to both the Intercultural Center in student affairs and the Office of Diversity Engagement and Community Outreach managed by Vice Provost Dr. Mary J. Wardell-Ghirarduzzi.

USF is one of a handful of institutions to use the term "Inclusive Excellence" as shown in

Inclusive Excellence

Inclusive excellence means finding common ground among diverse communities, and then moving to higher ground. At USF, we celebrate an environment where every individual steps into new understanding respectfully and with delight, and where all are better off by being part of our diverse community.
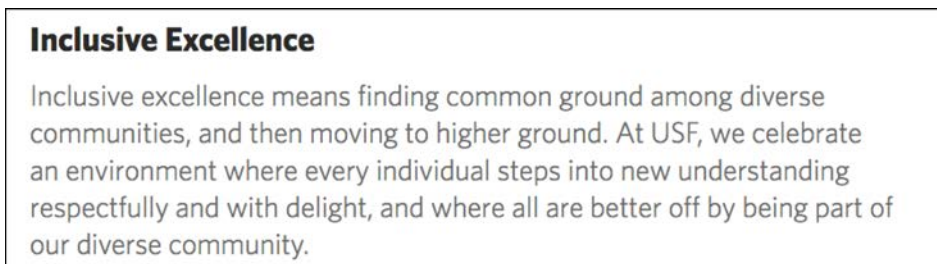
Figure 44. Inclusive Excellence page on University of San Francisco website. Retrieved from:

https://www.usfca.edu/about-usf/who-we-are/our-values/commitment-to-diversity

Figure 44. USF takes this one step further and defines it for site visitors. They contextualize this

phrase and make it unique to USF, which prevents it from wandering toward cliché. The

message is clear: community members are expected to be respectful and welcome new ways of

understanding offered by people unlike themselves. In the end, everyone will be elevated and

capable of developing shared understanding. Diversity is a key value at USF. The prose reflects

an understanding of and commitment to diversity. USF had the most thorough presentation

among institutions reviewed for this study. The language used to describe diversity, the wealth

of programs, and the presentation of diversity as one of two key values positioned the University

of San Francisco as the leader in diversity website content among all 28 Jesuit Institutions

analyzed in this study.

   Loyola University Chicago. Loyola University excelled in a number of areas, but the

institution's approach to Jesuit pedagogy was unique among institutions in this study. The

"Transformative Education in the Jesuit Tradition" page in the "Office of the President" section

documented and clarified how the institution implemented the Jesuit intellectual tradition. In

large callout text, there were three primary elements: Jesuit, Catholic, and Diverse. Faith,

knowledge, and promotion of justice form the triad of foundational elements of the Jesuit

pedagogy ("Transformative Education in the Jesuit Tradition: Office of the President: Loyola

University Chicago," n.d.). The intellectual tradition is described as both time-tested and

adaptable. While the foundational elements have remained consistent, the tradition is "dynamic"

and "evolving", informed by the world and the students and scholars who participate in this

transformation. The tradition, in order to serve the world and remain relevant, must be "adapted

to the context of today's world" ("Transformative Education in the Jesuit Tradition: Office of the

President: Loyola University Chicago," n.d.). In this way, Loyola University Chicago positions

their Jesuit higher education pedagogy as not only sensitive to and aware of the challenges of

diversity, but as a critical change-agent that "trains students for dialogue and conversation,

providing a way to tackle the root of so many crises that face humanity today… bridging the

divides of gender, race, ethnicity, and socioeconomic class" ("Transformative Education in the

Jesuit Tradition: Office of the President: Loyola University Chicago, " n.d.).

      Loyola University Chicago addressed whiteness via a program known as "Ramblers

Analyzing Whiteness." (Ramblers is the name of the university mascot.) The program seeks to

expose overt and covert racism and alter "disadvantages woven into society." A series of seven

workshops enables students to delve deep into the issue of racism. Racism is often presented as

a "Black problem" because issues are often raised by those victimized by racist systems and

actions. Conversely, the Ramblers Analyzing Whiteness program situates racism as a white

problem. According to CRT, engaging whites in a process of understanding their own bias and

privilege is a critical first step. Only after whites gain this understanding can blacks and whites

unite in solidarity to jointly take action to deconstruct systematic racism (Delgado & Stefancic,

2017). Similarly, on the residence life page, there is mention of "the realities of power,

privilege, and oppression" ("Multicultural LC: Residence Life: Loyola University Chicago,"

n.d.). Often, institutions soften the language or exclude references to whites' role in racism.

According to CRT, power, privilege, and oppression are white activities and attributes (Owen,

2007). Consistent use of key terms such as oppression, white privilege, and power validates the

experiences of students of color, helps deconstruct internalized aspects of white students'

colorblind racism, and positions racism as a complex societal problem actively perpetuated by

whites.

     Fordham University. Fordham University provided easy access to the rich diversity content present throughout the site. The diversity landing page briefly elevated key aspects of the university's diversity efforts: a diversity task force, the Office of Multicultural Affairs, and work done by the faculty senate. Fordham created a specific "Diversity Action Plan" for the university—a detailed set of actions, supported by funding, that brought credibility and depth to the diversity content on the site.

     Fordham was placed in the Inclusive Excellence stage due to the simplicity and strength of its messaging. "Diversity at Fordham" was the second item listed in "University Initiatives" on the "About" page. Diversity was listed ahead of sustainability, strategic planning, and fundraising. The diversity page listed a broad range of identities, including sexual identity, which was often backgrounded on Jesuit higher education websites. The goals at Fordham move beyond the "creating an inclusive environment" or "striving to welcome" language present on many sites. Fordham "pledges to treat and to surround every member of the campus with reverence, respect and deep affection" ("Diversity at Fordham | Fordham," n.d.). To pledge something is to formally align with a goal or objective. Reverence is a religious term, often used to describe a connection with God. The promise of "deep affection" goes far beyond the compliance and policy-focused tone of many Jesuit diversity web pages. The themes of care and love reverberate throughout the Fordham site.

Demographic Factors Impacting Diversity Website Content

     An additional research question in this study examined the relationship between

institutional characteristics (size, location, demographics) and characterizations of diversity.

This study found that all institutions in the Startup stage had fewer than 5,000 undergraduate

students. It is possible that the size of the institution has a negative impact on diversity

messaging. However, schools such as Loyola Marymount (enrollment: 6,200) attainted the

Mature Implementation stage. There were no clear trends relating quality of diversity content to

student race/ethnicity or geographic region. USF, of course, was diverse and also highly skilled

at presenting diversity web content, but there were inconsistencies among the institutions

analyzed for this study. Institutions with a diverse student body were not always effective at

communicating diversity on their websites. Further research is needed in this area.

Limitations

As mentioned in Chapter Three, there were several limitations to this study. It is

important to reiterate that this study examined one possible interpretation of the diversity content

on Jesuit higher education websites. Furthermore, there are a number of factors influencing the

production of diversity content, which I will identify in the following sections.

Impact of organizational structure and process. This study did not conduct

organizational analysis or evaluate decision-making. However, the public website is a

manifestation of those decisions. Essentially, I evaluated what happened based on organizational

structure and decision making. For example, if a university foregrounded the needs of LGBTQ

students on the website, then there is some mechanism in place that caused this to occur.

However, the impact of the organizational structure and the process used to generate diversity

web content at the 28 Jesuit institutions is unknown. This could be an interest area for future

study.

Resource limitations. This study did not account for resource limitations that could impact diversity web content efforts. Higher education institutions are consistently struggling to meet the evolving needs of students and the expectations of parents, alumni, faculty, and staff. Web and communications units could be overworked or understaffed, resulting in outdated content presented on the website. Key administrators or faculty who possess knowledge on diversity issues may lack the skills to produce web content. In practice, administrators could be very effective at supporting students, but their efforts could be misrepresented on the website due to communications and technical skill deficiencies, communication barriers, administrative politics, or resource limitations.

Content-climate mismatch. This study analyzed diversity content on Jesuit higher education websites, but stopped short of evaluating the campus climate. There could be situations where effective diversity content is not supported by programming or efforts on campus. Therefore, the presentation of diversity content could be inconsistent with the actual experiences of students and faculty on campus. Similarly, an institution with ineffective content could offer services and support that are more effective or more advanced than what is presented on the website. As I will discuss in the section on areas for future research, creating a method of matching the experiences of students with what is presented on the website would be an important contribution to research in this field.

Lack of faculty and staff engagement in the content development process. As I demonstrated in Chapter Two, higher education websites have evolved into marketing vehicles targeted at prospective students. University websites attempt to position the university in the

market, provide an overview of the institution's values, and present the compelling advantage of the school. University faculty and staff are not the primary audience. In my experience working in higher education, faculty and staff are interested in university news, but rarely visit other sections of the website. In other words, if there is an inconsistency on the website, or a program is not featured on the website, it is incumbent on the communications and technology professionals to identify this and add it to the website. This creates undue burden on technical and communications staff who must canvas the university for content to ensure nothing is overlooked. Engaging a wide range of faculty and staff in a formal website review process would ensure the website accurately represents the breadth and depth of university offerings.

Implications for Jesuit Higher Education

This study uncovered significant issues with how diversity is presented on Jesuit higher education websites. Just three of the 28 Jesuit higher education institutions achieved the Inclusive Excellence stage of diversity web content development. The 25 institutions that fell short of the highest category had a myriad of shortcomings: content messaging was inconsistent, individuals were objectified, certain identities were completely absent, and the use of imagery was inauthentic and amateurish. These missteps have significant implications.

Damage to reputation. As I discussed in Chapter Two, diversity is embedded in the Jesuit mission. It is important to note that this study did not analyze campus climate, the effectiveness of diversity programs, or the support provided to minoritzed groups, but instead focused exclusively on how diversity is characterized on the websites of the 28 Jesuit higher education institutions. If diversity is ineffectively characterized on the website—as was the case

with 25 of the 28 institutions—site visitor perceptions of the institution can be significantly

impacted. When this occurs, the quality and value of the actual programs, and the reality of

campus climate can become irrelevant. In other words, if students are objectified on the website,

or if content is inaccessible, prospective students, higher education peers, and other site visitors

will make an assessment that the institution has a hostile climate, foregrounds certain identities,

or will not provide them with sufficient support—*based exclusively on their experience on the*

website. With regard to communicating diversity on the university website, the adage holds true:

perception becomes reality. Ultimately, an institution that lacks competence in diversity

messaging may be perceived as unwelcoming, which could damage the institution's standing

among peers and alienate prospective students, parents, and alumni.

Loss of academic talent. The current political and social environment in the United

States is rife with hatred and fear, fueled by xenophobic and bigoted politicians ("There's no

hiding from Trump's bigotry - The Washington Post," n.d.). Top academic talent from

minoritized identities may be attracted to institutions that not only provide personal attention and

support, but can reignite the fight for those marginalized by society. If diversity is not

effectively characterized on the website, faculty and staff from minoritized identities could elect

to bring their talents to other institutions.

Student formation. The success of Jesuit institutions should be based on who their

students become (Kolvenback, 2000). Therefore, the primary functions of Jesuit higher

education are education and student formation (*The Jesuit, Catholic Mission of U.S. Jesuit*

Colleges and Universities, 2010). All 28 Jesuit institutions currently have educational,

formational, and spiritual programs focusing on student formation (*AJCU Mission and Identity*

Survey 2014-2015, 2015). However, the public content available on these websites focused

primarily on the act of preforming service, with relatively little content dedicated to formation

and social justice. Institutions may have chosen to emphasize service because communicating

the value and purpose of service is straightforward and the results are quantifiable.

On their websites, Jesuit institutions must clarify and strengthen the link between

diversity, student formation, and social justice. With one or two exceptions, Jesuit higher

education websites left the causes of societal injustice unexamined. Websites routinely

presented service as something done by whites for people of color, with little focus on the

processes and systems that have created systems of inequity based on group membership. Jesuit

institutions should modify the curriculum to include more in-depth analyses of race and gender,

while providing more academic opportunities for whites to recognize their privileged status

(Fletcher, 2013). In addition, student programming, such as "Ramblers Analyzing Whiteness" at

Loyola University Chicago, required white students to confront their biases and the racial

structures that are often invisible to the dominant class.

A critical aspect of student formation should be deconstructing hegemonic norms and

learning how law, policy, and systematic bias have created systems of inequity which minoritize

identities and result in an uneven distribution of resources. Students must engage in a process of

self-examination so they can evaluate their role in societal injustice. After becoming aware of

their own biases and privilege, students will be better positioned to alter societal structures and

confront real-world problems. Change often requires some level of conflict. In order to meet

student formation objectives, Jesuit institutions must inspire students to "get into some sort of

serious conflict with those who have power in the world" (Banchoff, 2016, p. 252).

The ethics and impact of misrepresentation. As documented in this study, some institutions selected imagery for top level pages that could have the impact of exaggerating the number of students of color on campus. While selection of imagery is more art than science, institutions collecting students of color for staged shots to be featured on key pages is inauthentic and possibly unethical. Overuse of images of students of color may have been done to recruit more students of color. While this goal is laudable, the methods must be transparent. For example, institutions could reign in use of images of students of color, while supplementing content with aspirational language directly addressing the needs and concerns of these students. This could help recruit desirable students from minoritized backgrounds, while maintaining institutional integrity. In the recommendations for practice section, I will discuss how to balance authentic and aspirational diversity, but institutions must be mindful of the implications of placing images of students of color on top level pages of the website. Students develop diversity expectations based on their website experience. When they arrive on campus, students could encounter a different reality (mostly white students, for example), which could lead to issues. Examining the mismatch between the campus culture expectations students develop based on their pre-enrollment website experience and the reality students encounter when they visit campus or enroll at an institution would be an important follow up study.

Theoretical Implications

This study utilized a model of content analysis, based on CDA and utilizing aspects of Fairclough (1993) and McGregor (2014). The adaptations utilized in this study could inform models of Critical Discourse Analysis, which have focused primarily on traditional

communication vehicles such as print, film and dialogue. Formalizing a theoretical model for digital media such as websites, email communications, and social media tools such as Twitter and Instagram could modernize this powerful framework and broaden reach and impact. In politics, Twitter has taken on an increasingly important role. Theoretical models must be adapted to enable researchers to interpret communication—and attempts to subjugate and objectify via language—so these tactics can be exposed and resisted.

Recommendations for Future Research

Impact of organizational structure on institutional characterizations of diversity. This study placed institutions in one of four stages of diversity development based on a model created by Williams (2013). Future research could investigate whether there were organizational characteristics that either helped or hindered quality diversity messaging efforts. Would we find that institutions in the Startup stage had organizational issues (lack of communication, separation of functional units, limited resources, etc.) that resulted in ineffective diversity content?

Student perceptions of diversity on Jesuit higher education websites. This study focused on the websites as a communication vehicle presenting diversity content to the world. However, this research did not evaluate how those messages were received and processed by prospective and current students. In other words, what perceptions would students have of the content on Jesuit higher education websites? What content do students find appealing? Prior to enrolling at an institution, how do students determine if an institution is inclusive? These critical questions should be investigated in a future study.

Recommendations for Practitioners

Developing effective diversity content is complex: the content must authentically represent the campus, support student needs, enable institutions to demonstrate progress, and provide opportunities for students to envision themselves at the institution. In the following sections, I present ideas on how to conceptualize diversity content in order to ensure it supports minoritized identities while meeting institutional goals.

A model of diversity web content. I have developed a Model of Diversity Web Content, shown in Figure 45, which provides guidance for practitioners. Diversity content possesses a number of attributes: location, status, voice, volume and specificity. Each of these

Attributes

Separation	←— Content Location —→	Integration
Subjugated	←— Content Status —→	Elevated
Phony Register	←— Content Voice —→	Authentic
Surface	←— Content Volume —→	Deep, Rich
Generalized	←— Content Specificity —→	Individualized

Characterization of Diversity

White-centric	←————————→	Multicultural
Exclusion		Inclusion
Reinforce Hegemony		Undermine Hegemony
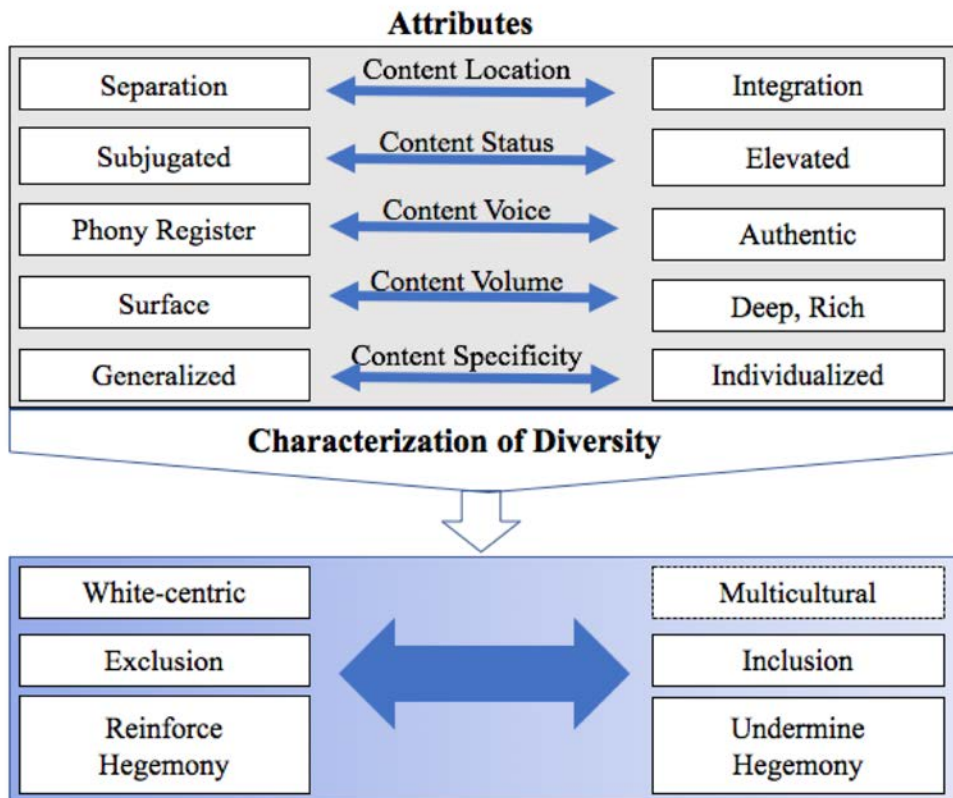
Figure 45. Model of Diversity Web Content

attributes when implemented on web pages can act as an inclusive or exclusive agent. In other words, these content attributes can either subjugate or elevate minoritzed identities based on how they are implemented. The implementation of these attributes is variable and can be conceptualized as existing along a spectrum. For example, the *content location* can be well integrated across the site or completely separated. Similarly, the *content status* refers to the hierarchical location of the diversity content. On sites that had elements available within the global menu on the home page, this could be characterized as elevated, where in some cases the content was omitted from a menu or placed at the bottom of the list—effectively subjugating that content. *Content voice* and tone should be in line institutional mission, sensitive to campus climate and aware of the plight of minoritized identities. Authentic and phony register represent the opposite end points of this spectrum. Institutions should consider using terms such as "systematic oppression" and "privilege" to increase authenticity. Without foundational terms reminding site visitors of the historical issues and core challenges, diversity web content risks becoming soft, diluted and white-focused. *Content volume* assesses how much diversity content there is on the site. A collection of useful pages for Undocumented students increases focus on that group and serves as an inclusive agent more than a single paragraph on a general diversity page with links to external information. Finally, *content specificity* requires page authors to directly address the needs and concerns of specific groups. Defining terms such as multiculturalism or inclusive excellence on the website educates site visitors and provides critical details. Effective implementations of content specificity should solve real problems such as changing your name after gender reassignment procedure or locating inclusive restrooms. As an inclusive agent, specificity may be the most powerful, as it avoids the catch-phrases and clichés,

demonstrates practical understanding and provides valuable support to people in need. If executed properly, diversity content will achieve three key goals: cherishing the complexity of identity, redefining majority-controlled notions of "normal" and elevating the experiential knowledge and stories of minoritized people.

   Storytelling. Valuing the experiential knowledge of people of color is a key aspect of overcoming structural racism (McCoy & Rodricks, 2015). Jesuit higher education websites often foregrounded the institutional goals and perspectives, which can present an unbalanced view of campus climate. Content authors and senior administrators should consider elevating the lived experiences of minoritized identities via storytelling. Developing a counter narrative to the dominant voices on campus can provide opportunities to deconstruct systematic bias. These stories can also educate white and majority students by simplifying and personalizing difficult concepts. For example, microaggressions are complex social interactions poorly understood and often disregarded by whites. However, if a Black female student described a series of specific experiences in stores—including details of how she must be mindful of having her hands be in plain view for fear of being accused of shoplifting—then described how this made her feel, white students may gain understanding. Counter storytelling can help whites see their racism, bias and privilege in new ways.

   Counter narratives can be presented using a blog format, a public monologue in a coffee shop or theatre, short video clips on social media or as a call out box on a web page with a few sentences and a quote. Promoting these stories can elevate some unflattering aspects of campus life that may make administrators uncomfortable. Ultimately, these stories can powerfully expose the issues and concerns of minoritized students, validate the experiences of non-majority

groups, combat white ignorance, and provide a more authentic representation of campus climate.

The constitution, size, and force of diversity. The Jesuit institutions studied characterized diversity as consisting of a number of characteristics. University administrators and content authors should evaluate who is included, the relative weight of included identities, the size of the diversity enterprise, and the force with which the diversity message is presented. I refer to these properties as the constitution, size, and force of diversity content.

The constitution of diversity. The constitution of diversity presents an alternative to diversity models using pie charts to visually assign weight to identities. Constitution in this context is understood as the characteristics that constitute diversity—what does diversity consist
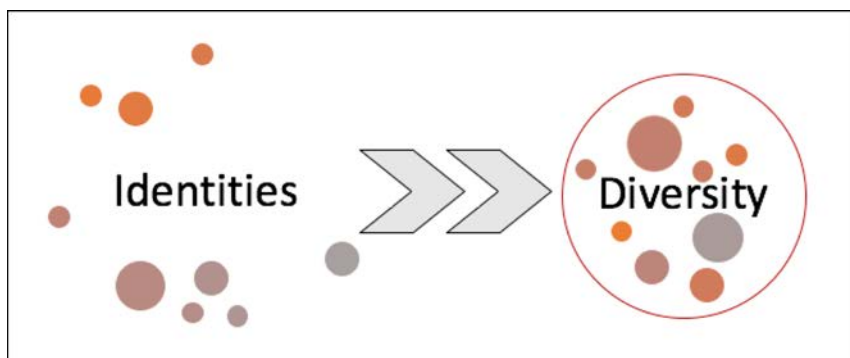
Figure 46. The constitution of diversity.

of? First, it must be noted that people are a complex mix of identities that the dominating group attempts to fragment, order, and homogenize (Lugones, 1994). While it is impossible to visually represent individual identity, content authors need a slightly more nuanced model to help support their goal of "embracing a nonfragmented multiplicity" (Lugones, 1994, p. 475). In broad terms, without being formulaic, administrators should consider specific cases—for example, how age compares to ethnicity. I suggest that potential bias based on ethnicity is several times more

significant than bias based on age. Why is this relevant? Because as the number of attributes that are considered "diverse" has expanded, diversity has become diluted—losing its urgency and offering less support to those most in need. I argue that the diversity attributes of "talents" and "race" require dramatically different levels of institutional commitment. This is conceptualized by the size of the shaded dots in Figure 46 where each dot represents an identity such as gender orientation, disability status, race, talents, age or sexual orientation. Institutions could use this concept to develop a basic model of diversity constitution that assigns larger dots to core identities and smaller dots to identities or characteristics that should be acknowledged, but require less immediacy, attention, care, and resources.

   The size and force of diversity. How big is the circle of inclusion? How does the institution support diversity? How are resources allocated among identities under the "diversity" umbrella? Evaluating funding and distribution of resources was beyond the scope of this study.
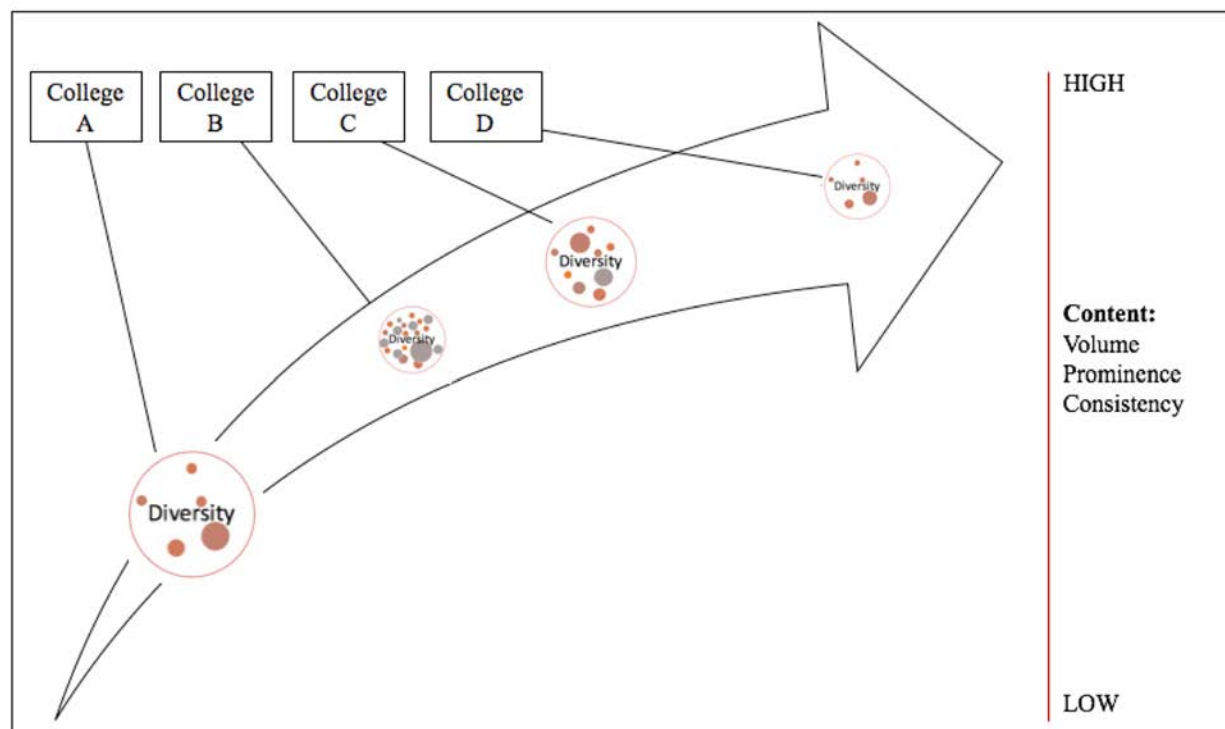
Figure 47. The size and force of diversity content.

But I would suggest that institutions use this concept to consider how diversity is funded, how it is supported and how it is promoted. This can be conceptualized as the *size of diversity*. In addition to examining who is included, I argue we must examine the strength and prominence of the messaging, which I refer to as the *force of diversity*. As depicted in Figure 47 these two aspects can be conceptualized as the Size and Force of Diversity. Some examples will illuminate this model. Each circle contains the identities from Figure 46. For institution A, the circle is large so diversity enjoys prominent stature at the institution, but the identities included are limited—some groups have been excluded. There is a fair limited about of diversity content and it is not prominently featured on the website, resulting in a *force of diversity* on the lower end of the scale. For institution D, the circle is small, so diversity may not be a priority for the institution. However, content authors had elevated diversity status with counter narratives, key placement of diversity content in the IA, and a significant number of pages. The size and force of institution D's diversity content is therefore higher on the scale.

Balancing authentic and aspirational diversity. It is imperative that content authors and senior administrators carefully select and periodically review website images. As documented in this study, many institutions had a disproportionate number of images containing students of color on their websites. How can institutions effectively represent campus demographics, while providing opportunities for students of color to envision themselves at an institution?

Personas, user stories, and analytics. Web content strategists should develop personas to inform the process of developing website content. A persona is a fictitious amalgamation of a group of website visitors with similar needs. For example, content authors may develop a

persona called "Helen" who is a stereotypical parent of a prospective student. Helen will have specific questions and content needs which will differ from those of her 17-year-old prospective student daughter. For each persona, there may be a number of user stories crafted that bring life to the person and enrich content creation. For Helen, she may want to understand how her daughter will fit in and may have a number of questions: What support is provided during the first month? Are the residence halls safe? Is counseling available? After developing a half dozen personas and user stories for these personas, content strategists can view the website through the lens of these personas, then re-evaluate the website experience.

Using tools like Google Analytics, web professionals determine the most common paths site visitors use to traverse the website. For example, a typical user journey for a prospective student on a higher education website could be:

1. "Admissions" page (which answers the question "Can I get in?")
2. "Academics" page (which answers the question "Do they have my program?")
3. "Student Life" page (which answers the question "Will I fit in?")
4. "Financial Aid" page (which answers the question "Can I afford it?")

After understanding highly trafficked user journey, content authors can strategically develop content for key pages. For example, on the "Financial Aid" page highlighting an Undocumented student who attends the university on a scholarship could be useful, compelling, and authentic. By contrast, if we are at an institution that is 80% white and know that site visitors will most often visit these four pages, then placing images of students of color on all four of these top-level pages could be considered inauthentic.

Focus groups and committees. The web team should not have exclusive control or

responsibility for diversity web content. Content authors should convene individuals from across

campus to review diversity content. Students of color may identify content problems invisible to

whites. There will likely be cultural cues, contextual elements, and subtleties that require the

perspective of a multitude of people. Forming a diversity web content committee could also help

avoid errors associated with objectification. Ultimately, an inclusive process will elevate the

concerns of minoritzed groups, create collaboration between departments and facilitate shared

ownership of critical diversity website content.

Table 16

Diversity website content questions for practitioners

Questions for Practitioners
Do we have diversity as a link in the "About" or "Campus Life" section of the website?
If I reviewed the images on the top 10 pages of our website, would I see an authentic representation of race and ethnicity on campus?
What is the history of my institution with regard to racism, bias, and the subjugation of certain identities?
Is there a certain group at my institution that has endured more injustice than other groups?
Are there recent international, nation or local events (racism, bigotry) that should influence our presentation of diversity content?
Is there a particular group on campus that currently feels unwelcomed or unsupported?
Are there personal stories we can tell on the website that elevate the concerns of a minoritzed group?
Are there events we can promote on the website to foreground certain identities or awareness?
How can we acknowledge our institution's weaknesses (groups that are not well attended to, etc.) on the website?
Does my institution have diversity goals? Are these goals currently on website?

Additional recommendations.

Mission and strategic plan. Universities are increasingly developing strategic plans.

Development of strategic plans follows a defined process, involves significant outreach to

faculty, staff, students, and alumni and develops a blueprint for future university growth. Items

in the strategic plan are prioritized by senior leadership. Specific diversity initiatives should be

central elements in the strategic plan and appropriate diversity language should be embedded in the university mission statement.

      Prioritizing black student, staff, and faculty initiatives. When universities consider creating diversity content, the racist origins of the United States should not be overlooked. Of the institutions analyzed, only John Carroll University and Georgetown presented significant information acknowledging the horrific legacy of slavery. While the likelihood of formal financial reparations from the federal government to slaves is slim, elevating past mistakes legitimizes the concerns of minoritzed groups, foregrounds the victims and validates the historical impact of racism. Page authors should be mindful of the unique struggle of Blacks in the United States, and develop content celebrating the achievements of Black students, staff, and faculty. For example, content authors could identify the first Black student and first Black faculty member at their institution and create a web page documenting this. Creating content for Blacks can help counteract the white co-opting of diversity, increases the "content volume" supporting this group and foregrounds the needs of Black students.

      Implementing disruptive IA tactics. While content authors must conform to an organizing principle, web designers can disrupt the information architecture by strategically using color, animations, and typography to highlight key initiatives. Web designers can create larger headings for items to convey importance and use color to draw attention to items. Use of imagery and interactive animations can draw site visitors to key content, regardless of where it is in the hierarchy. For example, content authors could create a callout box on the university home page that draws attention to diversity concerns and provides an additional entry point for site visitors. The "Mission as Diversity" callout used by USF and described in the Appendix is an

example of this approach.

Gender graphics. The gender binary has been challenged by researchers for many years (Fausto-Sterling, 2012). Gender is a complex topic and also an area where certain academic research does not align with Catholic doctrine. Institutions should avoid using traditional gender graphics containing pink figures with dresses for females and blue figures for males. Providing links on the website to academic research presenting alternative notions of gender could help elevate the concerns of gender non-conforming students.

Confronting modern issues. For the early Jesuits, "social needs of the day ranked among [their] deepest concerns" (Bangert, S.J., 1986, p. 513). While marketing is a major function of a website, I argue that in order to fulfill their social justice mission, Jesuit higher institutions must also use their websites to actively acknowledge and confront societal injustice. Institutions presented social justice as a combination of academic course work and service trips. I suggest that the website can be used as a powerful platform to educate and inform the world about the university's stance on social justice issues. Recently, some institutions have added a social justice or diversity component to their curriculum because scholars have recognized that in academic coursework, neutrality on important issues supports the status quo (Fletcher, 2013). The same is true of the public website. If institutions are neutral on issues of injustice, hegemonic norms and harmful policies will persist.

Institutions could begin by posting statements on current issues and promote seminars addressing race, privilege, and bias. Websites that present campuses as idyllic havens distanced from societal problems risk becoming insular, inauthentic, counterproductive or elitist. Could foregrounding issues such as racism on the website harm recruitment efforts? Certainly, some

students may be repulsed by the university's engagement with these concerns. But students who wish to escape the world's problems while in college will not be prepared to help solve the world's problems when they graduate. Students can still enjoy their college experience while using their talents to address the "messy valley of human challenges" (Hollenbach, 2011, p. 349).

Final Thoughts

This study focused on how diversity was characterized on Jesuit higher education websites. By nature, a qualitative study requires interpretation of vast amounts of data, then applies existing theoretical models to this data in order to identify themes. While my interpretation of this data is based on existing theoretical models supported by a robust process, I acknowledge there are alternative interpretations of the content. The goal of this research was to elevate the concerns of minoritized groups in order to provoke a thoughtful discussion of website content management. These discussions and their ensuing decisions should be guided by an understanding of how race, privilege, bias, and societal injustice shape our understanding of what we understand to be "normal."

The analysis of these sites should help illuminate common oversights, issues, and problems with how diversity is characterized. This research should bring new meaning, focus, and a renewed urgency to the deep structural inequities that exist in higher education in the United States. Each time a content author objectifies a person (whether knowingly or unknowingly), harm is done—to individuals and to our system of democracy. Thoughtful content editors and website designers can significantly impact the experiences of minoritized individuals by elevating their concerns and normalizing alternative viewpoints, language, and

stories.

APPENDIX A: JESUIT HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS

Boston College

    Overview. Boston College is a private, non-profit institution with 9,900 undergraduate

students, 54% of whom are female. Latino/a students are the largest non-white group,

accounting for 10% of the student population. As shown in *Figure 48*, Asian students make up

9% of the student body, with Blacks numbering at 4%. Students classified as non-resident alien

account for 8% of the student body, which is high among Jesuit institutions.
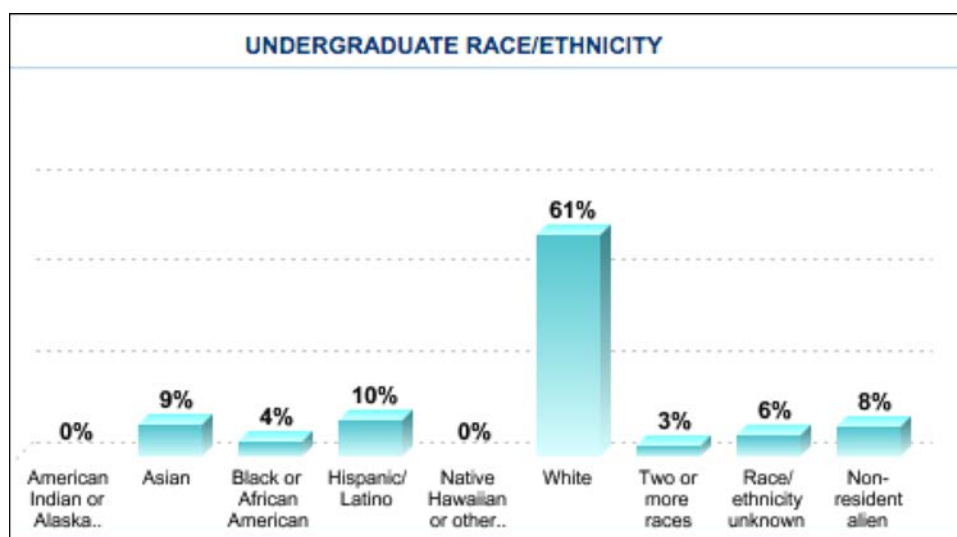
Figure 48. Student Race/Ethnicity at Boston College (National Center for Education Statistics, 2017).

    Content access. A search for "Boston College diversity" returned a number of relevant

results. The first result was for the Institutional Research site and took me to a page that

contained data on undergraduate enrollment by race and ethnicity. Other relevant results

included a link to the "Office for Institutional Diversity" website and a link to a landing page in

the "Campus Life" section of the site. A search for "Undocumented" on the Boston College website produced a PDF document that outlined a number of ways undocumented students can get support. Within the site hierarchy, diversity content was readily accessible. The website contained six major sections and "Diversity" was the first item listed under "Campus Life."

Content analysis. The "Notable Alumni" page contained a list of 48 people—approximately 10 were people of color. Of the 48 profiles, 19 (or 40%) appeared to be female. With a student body that is more than 50% female, this number accurately represented the student body at the university. Over time, we would expect the number of female profiles to exceed male profiles.

Several institutions provided descriptions of diversity, but few defined "Inclusion." The "Diversity and Inclusion Statement" on the Office of Institutional Diversity website at Boston College was one of the most thorough and thoughtful statements among institutions analyzed. The language positioned the university as educator and guide—instructing site visitors on how they should conceptualize diversity and inclusion.

The "Dimensions of Diversity" wheel shown in *Figure 49* warrants discussion. It provides a simple, visual presentation of the range of human differences. While page authors note that their definition of diversity is intentionally broad, it raises questions about how to attend to these differences. For example, the wheel depicts an inner circle of seven primary dimensions that are equal in size. While certainly not intended to be taken literally, comparisons are inevitable. For example, Race and Age are very different aspects of diversity. If there is bias based on age, it is by nature temporary for an individual. The social construct of race does not allow for a person's race to change over time. Furthermore, it would be difficult to argue that

age bias is as damaging as racism. The conquest of Native Americans and anti-black racism are

two founding crimes of the United States. Anti-black racism has been a powerful force for more

than three centuries (Anderson, 2016). Simple graphics can oversimplify complex issues and

deprioritize race. I suggest that this representation backgrounds positions race in a manner that

could be damaging to people of color.

The diversity landing page warrants discussion. (As leader of the website redesign

project at Boston College, I was involved in the development of this page prior to initiating this

Figure 49. Diversity wheel from the Boston College website. Retrieved from:

http://www.bc.edu/offices/diversity/statement-on-diversity-and-inclusion3.html

study). The diversity landing page at Boston College contained a wide bresadth of diversity content including news, profiles, academic information and events. The page contained a brief statement about diversity, indicating that was based on the Jesuit tradition that "respects all cultures and faith traditions" ("Diversity - Campus Life - Boston College," n.d.). In addition, there was a statement from the university president in support of a diversity and inclusion event held at the university. The identities included on the page were Blacks, Latino/a, First Generation students, students with disabilities, LGBTQ students, veterans and Asian students.

How was diversity characterized? Diversity at Boston College was broad and included 16 characteristics. Simplifying a complex topic into a simple and colorful graphic may have implications. On the positive side, the graphic was approachable and relatable. If the goal was to educate, it provided quick access for whites interested in exploring diversity basics. However, in its simplicity, it had the potential to combine characteristics that are immutable with those that are temporal. Whether intentionally or not, the graphic conflated slavery and dyslexia and growing old. It combined the needs and "challenges" of a new college graduate who is lower on the income scale, with a first-generation student who is a non-native English speaker. Similarly, race is perhaps the most central problem in the United States. Simplified graphics can deprioritize Black concerns. The diversity landing page was thorough, well-written and informative. Boston College is in the Mature Implementation stage of diversity development.

Canisius College

Overview. Canisius College is 4-year private non-profit institution offering associate's, bachelor's and master's degrees. The college is located in the urban setting of Buffalo, New

York and the undergraduate student population is 3,734. At Canisius, 70% of the students identify as white. As shown in Figure 50, the next largest group is Black or African American which comprises 8% of the student body. The retention rate at Canisius is a lofty 83% (National Center for Education Statistics, 2016).

       Content access. A Google search for "Canisius College diversity" yielded only one result for a Canisius College webpage, which was titled "Diversity Clubs." Within the Canisius website, a search for "Diversity" listed that same page as the primary result. A site search for
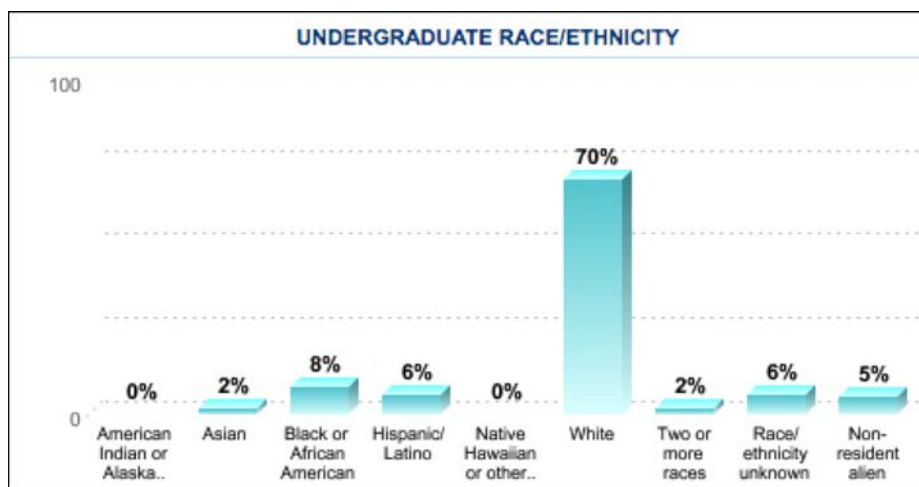
Figure 50. Student Race/Ethnicity at Canisius College (National Center for Education Statistics, 2017).

"LGBTQ" yielded 4 pages relating to a speaker series, one for a film screening, but no page results indicating there was a main "LGBTQ" page. On the home page, there was no link for diversity. The home page contained a global menu that listed 42 items. The "Student Experience" menu contained entries for "Faith and Service" and "Title IX Coordinator." In the "Admissions" menu, there was an item for only one specific group: Veterans. The "About

Canisius" menu contained an item labeled "Mission, Vision, and Strategic Plan." There was no link for "Jesuit" and, in fact, the word "Jesuit" does not appear on their home page, or an any of the top-level menus.

   Content analysis. There was very little diversity content on the Canisius College website. The grammatical person of the content was inconsistent. As shown in Figure 51, the home page used the slogan "You Can Discover the Wide World and Yourself." The use of second-person singular could be an attempt to personalize the message and create a connection with prospective students. While the phrase "You Can" is positive and hopeful, the second part

Figure 51. Canisius University home page. Retrieved from: https://www.canisius.edu/

of the phrase could be interpreted in a number of ways. The "Wide World" is an uncommon
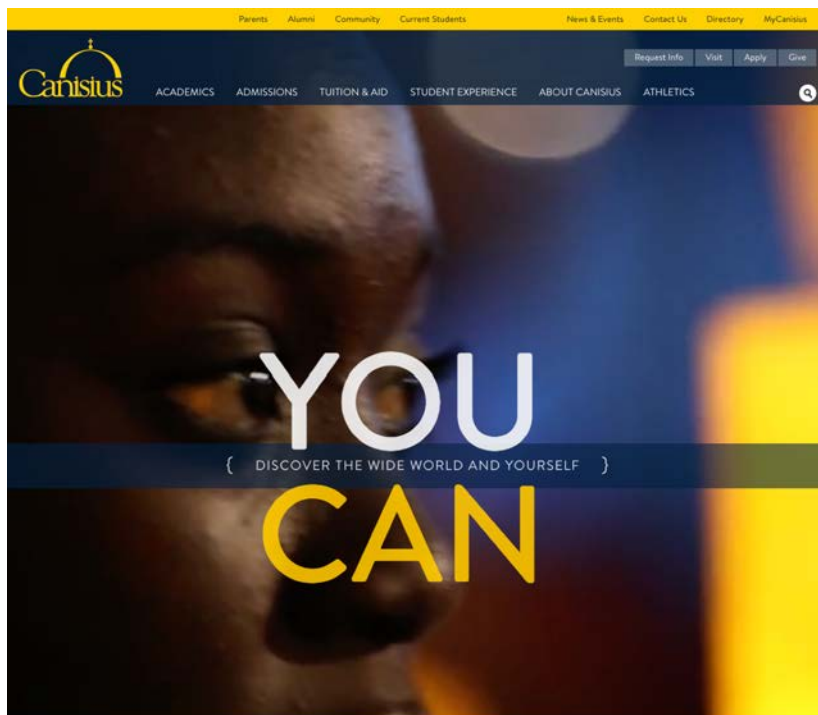
pairing of words. Something "discovered" is typically unexpected; it may have been found by

chance. The pairing of discover and "wide world" has the feel of children's literature. It is more

likely that students discover a hidden talent, or a new interest. It is unclear how students would

discover themselves at the college. In this way, the main tagline is inconsistent and seems

inauthentic.

One of the main features on the home page, shown in Figure 51, was a short video clip of

a Black person holding a candle. It is unclear who the person is or the specific action they are

performing. In recent years, police officers in the United States have killed countless unarmed

Black people. These tragedies are often followed by candlelight vigils initiated by Black college

students. Is the video clip on the Canisius home page from one such vigil? At a school with just

8% black students, it seems odd to feature this image on the home page. It also does not relate to

the tagline on the page. In this way, this page exemplifies phony register. The person on the

home page is also objectified. The shot is so tight that all we can see is his or her Blackness.

There is no caption, no context, nothing to provide meaning. The person is an ornament on the

web page—used for dramatic effect or to add visual interest to the website.

The intended audience and objectives of the content on most pages was prospective

students. The voice and tone of the content was generally formal. The college has power; the

student was without power. Omissions in the text were numerous. Primarily, there was very

little mention of the Jesuit values. On the home page, the word "Jesuit" did not appear. The site

did not contain a single page of content focused for LGBTQ students. In fact, a search for

"LGTBQ" on the site returned only five results, which were a mix of events and academic course

information.

The needs of white students were consistently foregrounded. Among minoritized identities, the only group that had a dedicated page was Undocumented students. This page consisted of a news article in which the president of Canisius made a statement responding to the repeal of the DACA program.

Assessing topicalization begins with the hierarchy of information presented on the website. Diversity topics were excluded from the information architecture of the home page. There were six main menus containing 42 links, but there was not a single reference to diversity. Omitting diversity from the navigation and the home page indicated that diversity is not a priority at Canisius.

How was diversity characterized? Diversity was characterized as a set of student organizations relating to the interests of non-majority students. The site used the term "Clubs" rather than the more modern terminology "Student Organizations." Diversity was not included in the mission, nor was it referenced in the strategic plan. The needs of Undocumented students, LGBTQ students, and first generation students were not addressed. With regard to Williams' (2013) Stages of Diversity Development, Canisius is in the Startup stage.

College of the Holy Cross

Overview. The College of the Holy Cross is a private non-profit, 4-year institution in Worcester, Massachusetts with an enrollment of 2,720 students (National Center for Education Statistics, 2016). The college is 69% white and 51% female. The next largest group is Latino/a with 10%.

Content access. Diversity content was prominently featured on the Holy Cross website. The "Campus Life" menu contained 13 items. "Diversity and Inclusion" was the fourth item listed. Holy Cross had a prominent and thorough landing page that accounted for cultural groups, disability, LGBTQ and first generation students. Google searches for the diversity terms directed users to the main diversity page. Similarly, a site search returned the main diversity landing pages as the top result.

Content analysis. The diversity and inclusion section of the Holy Cross website was extensive and contained a variety of content. Similar to many institutions, Holy Cross had two
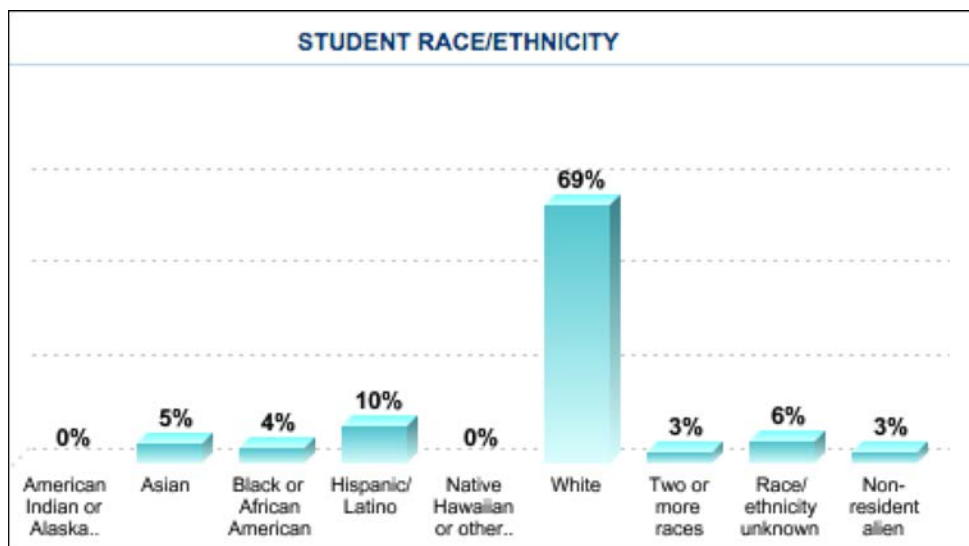

Figure 52. College of the Holy Cross Student Race/Ethnicity. National Center for Education Statistics, 2017.

separate offices. The Office of Diversity and Inclusion focused on faculty and staff and was part of human resources, while the Office of Multicultural Education focused on student programming and support. Both offices were included on the page, creating a more unified

approach to diversity. The opening statement on the page positioned the university an authority. The college "champions diversity" and the approach includes "every aspect" the community. Furthermore, we are told that the college knows "the best way to understand the world."

The diversity page also included a message from President Boroughs, S.J., a list of affinity groups, a list of more than twenty courses focusing on minoritized groups, and a specific statement regarding admissions:

> We are committed to increasing the racial, religious, cultural, socioeconomic, LGBTQ, ability/disability, and geographic diversity of the student body to be representative of the national population, while also seeking students who are open to issues of diversity. ("Diversity and Inclusion | College of the Holy Cross," n.d.)

The first part of the admissions statement identifies who is included. While the list includes many identities, it excludes gender and veterans. Women comprise 51% of the student body at Holy Cross, so this may not be seen as a group needing special attention (National Center for Education Statistics, 2016). However, omitting gender from a diversity statement could alienate gender non-conforming students. The final part of the statement warrants closer examination. The college seeks "students who are open to issues of diversity." The language indicates that power rests with majority students (white, heterosexual, male, Christian). The majority students can apparently choose to be open or to not be open. The use of "open" in this context means welcoming, accepting or supporting. It is unclear how page authors define "issues of diversity." An issue is a problem, challenge or barrier. This terminology removes any personal aspect from the people referenced in the first line of the statement—the people become "issues." The statement begins with a "commitment", but in the end, institutional actors only

seem interested in majority students "open" to the notion of accepting the minoritized. This inconsistency is an example of phony register—where incongruous expressions create a mismatch that renders the page inauthentic.

A few images on the Holy Cross site raised questions of authenticity. On the main admissions page, there was only one image containing people. CRT requires the researcher to consider whether these students are being used as props for the office of admissions. This image
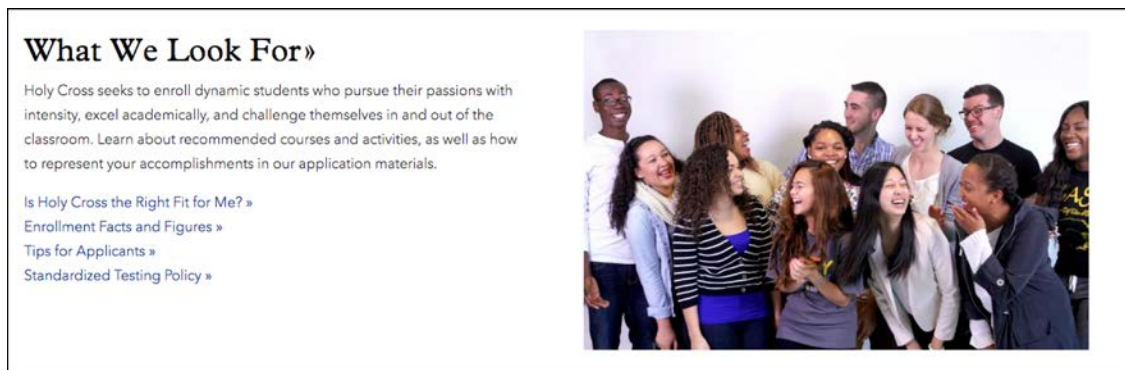
Figure 53. Holy Cross Admission and Aid page. Retrieved from:

https://www.holycross.edu/admissions-aid

shown in Figure 53 contains 12 individuals, more than half of whom appear to be students of color. This is inconsistent with the demographics of the institution, which has only 31% students of color. In addition, the photograph appears to be staged. The students are loosely arranged in three rows. The student on the far left is not engaged with the others, yet he is smiling and has an upturned palm. Some students are laughing, two appear to be sharing a secret, and a few people appear uncertain where to look. This image is a solid example of phony register.

How was diversity characterized? Holy Cross characterized diversity as consisting of

gender, race, religion, sexual orientation, socioeconomic status and gender identity. There were

a number of pages dedicated to LGBTQ students and a statement from the college president.

Diversity messaging was tightly linked with the Jesuit mission and prominently featured on the

navigation which indicates it is an institutional priority. However, there were several instances

where the messaging and photographs lacked authenticity. Holy Cross falls into the Transitional

stage of the diversity rubric used in this analysis.

Creighton University

      Overview. Creighton University is a private non-profit institution located in Omaha

Nebraska. As shown in Figure 54, Creighton's student body of 4,200 is 70% white and 9%

identify as Asian. Black students constitute just 2% of the student body, so among 4,200
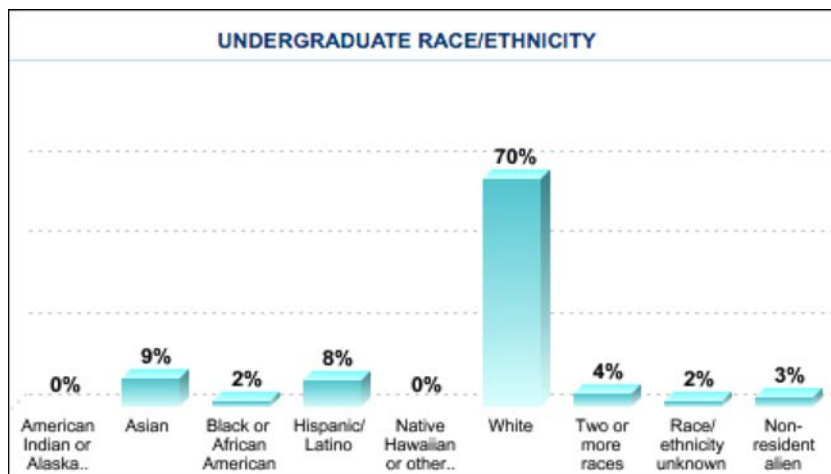
students there are just 84 black students.

Figure 54. Creighton University Student Race/Ethnicity. National Center for Education

Statistics, 2017.

Content access. Diversity content was not available on the home page. The home page menu consisted of six items, which did not have a submenu enabling access to child pages. The "About" section had a "Diversity and Inclusion" page which was listed ninth out of ten items. A search for diversity content provided access to the "Diversity and Inclusion" page in "About." Site searches and Google searches for "Latino", "Latina", "Undocumented" and "LGBTQ" yielded no content on the Creighton website.

Content analysis. The grammatical person utilized on the main diversity page was third person. Second person singular (you) was used on the "Campus Life" and "The Creighton Experience" pages. The intended audience for these pages was prospective students and the voice shifted between authoritative and familiar. The Creighton diversity pages also explicitly listed the characteristics included in their notion of diversity: age, culture, faith, ethnicity, immigrant status, race, gender, sexual orientation, language, physical appearance, physical ability, and social class. The list was among the more inclusive encountered in this study. However, with the exception of the diversity statement, LGBTQ, Latino/a and Undocumented students were not referenced on the site, which raised the question of authenticity and university commitment.

Asian student needs were foregrounded, as evidenced on the navigation on the "Cultural Center" website, which listed specific initiatives for only one group "Asian Pacific Islanders." LGBTQ, Black, Undocumented and Latino/a student needs were backgrounded. There were no events or information for these groups. The LGBTQ content was not part of the main Creighton website, but instead was part of a separate student organization website.

On the main "Diversity and Inclusion" page in the "About" section, Creighton explicitly

placed diversity in a Jesuit context with the following headline: "Committed to Diversity and Inclusion in the Jesuit Tradition" ("Diversity and Inclusion | Creighton University," n.d.). This positioned the university as a place that has always understood the value of diversity. The supporting text included the phrase "fostering an inclusive, compassionate, and respectful environment" ("Diversity and Inclusion | Creighton University," n.d.). The content referenced powerful concepts such as institutional racism and privilege, challenging community members to reflect on these destructive forces. On the "Mission" page, diversity messaging is more narrowly defined as focused on ethnic and cultural differences, but the text stresses the "inalienable worth of each individual" ("Mission | Creighton University," n.d.). Finally, Creighton had a page devoted to the Jesuits' interactions with Native peoples.

How was diversity characterized? Creighton characterized diversity as central to the mission and embedded in the rich Jesuit tradition. The main diversity content was strongly worded and authoritative. However, there was insufficient supporting content to determine if minoritized identities were truly valued or included. While there was a presidential statement on DACA, there were no resources for, or references to, Undocumented students and no indication that they would be welcomed and supported at Creighton. Similarly, Latino/a students constitute 8% of the student body, but were rarely mentioned on the website. The Creighton approach placed diversity at the center of the institution and included languages as part of the mission. But the institution appeared to stop short of full inclusion, and in fact some groups (LGBTQ, Latino/a, Undocumented) were completely omitted from the website. Creighton is in the Transitional stage of diversity development.

Fairfield University

    Overview. Fairfield University is a private non-profit institution with an undergraduate enrollment of 4,032 students, 76% of whom identify as white. Latino/a students account for 8% of undergraduate students. There are just 80 black students at Fairfield, or approximately 20 in each graduating class. Sixty-one percent of the student body identify as female.

    Content access. Fairfield diversity content was available as the top result on Google. The first result directed users to main diversity page under "Mission, Values & History" and the second page was focused on student diversity programming. On the home page, among the 56
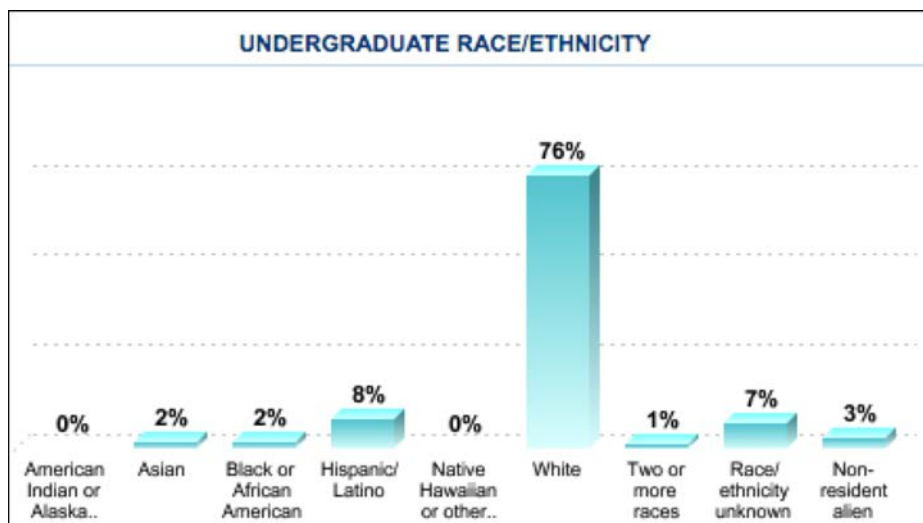

Figure 55. Fairfield University Student Race/Ethnicity. National Center for Education Statistics, 2017.

menu items spread across 8 main categories, there was no diversity link. Diversity was present in the "Mission" section and in "Student Life."

    Content analysis. The grammatical person of the Fairfield University diversity content

was generally first-person plural. On the "Mission" page, "we" is used repeatedly.

> At Fairfield, <u>we</u> believe that no matter what's going on in the world, more unites us than divides us. When <u>we</u> respect and value each other, <u>we</u> find the common good rooted in us all, and <u>we</u> work together to bring out each other's potential.

The university uses first person plural to demonstrate authority over students: "We've been graduating adept, accomplished students since being founded by the Society of Jesus (the Jesuits) over 75 years ago." It could be argued that students have earned ownership of their academic achievements—they do they work and graduate. But when the university states "we've been graduating" it places the university in a position of power, and the students can be reduced to passive actors lacking agency.

The intended audience of the content was prospective students. The page goals appeared to be presenting Fairfield diversity efforts in a positive light. The voice and tone of the content was welcoming and supportive. Omissions in the text included content directed at Latino/s students. Undocumented student needs were foregrounded in several ways. On the "Campus Diversity" page, there was a large button for "Undocumented Student Resources." The website provided scholarship information for Undocumented students, definitions and legal information on DACA, and counseling support for students impacted by the psychological impact of legislative changes ("Undocumented Student Resources," n.d.). Interestingly for a Jesuit, institution, there was a focus on "Gender Inclusive Resources." In fact, LGBTQ needs received more attention on the website than Black, Latino/a, or students with disabilities.

Diversity was important on Fairfield's website, as evidenced by the placement of quality content in the mission section of the website. Furthermore, diversity was one of six goals

included in the strategic plan. The topicalization of diversity as one of 5 items in the "Mission" section of the site reiterated its significance. Similar to other institutions, Fairfield also stressed diversity in the student life section and established a separate office of "Student Diversity and Multicultural Affairs" to further this goal.

There was a measure of inauthenticity on the Fairfield site. The faculty is 88% white, yet the institution highlighted the work they have done since 2003 to increase representation of faculty of color. Furthermore, the large images across major sections of the site included 5 pictures of people. Of these images 2 featured Black students. With a Black student population of just 2%, presenting 2 images of Black students seems inauthentic. This may not reach the level of phony register, but it undermined the messaging and raised questions about institutional commitment to diversity.

How was diversity characterized? At Fairfield, diversity was characterized differently across the website. In the "Mission" section, diversity included "social, economic, racial, cultural, national and religious" aspects. Sexuality, disability, and gender were not referenced. On the "Student Diversity and Multicultural Affairs" page, a full 15 characteristics were used to describe diversity: race, gender, age, physical ability, marital status, veteran status, education, sexual orientation, lifestyle, national original, religious or political affiliation, departmental or organizational culture and employee status ("Student Diversity | Fairfield University, Connecticut," n.d.). A few items, such as marital status and lifestyle were unique to Fairfield and not well defined. The list was extensive, but inconsistency across the site, and the sheer number of items made it feel more like a laundry list and less like a documentation of cared-for groups on campus. Fairfield is in the Mature Implementation stage of diversity development.

Fordham University

Overview. Fordham University is a private non-profit 4-year institution in an urban setting with an enrollment of 9,200 undergraduate students. As shown in Figure 56, Fordham is 59% white and 57% women. Latino/a students make up 14% of the student body, with Asians at 10% and Blacks at 4%.

Content access. Diversity content was readily accessible. The navigation was well structured and facilitated access to diversity content. The "Diversity at Fordham" page was available in the "About" section of the site and in the "Student Life" section the fourth item was "Multicultural Affairs." Google and site searches for "LGBTQ", "Undocumented" returned top results with specific content directed at these individuals.
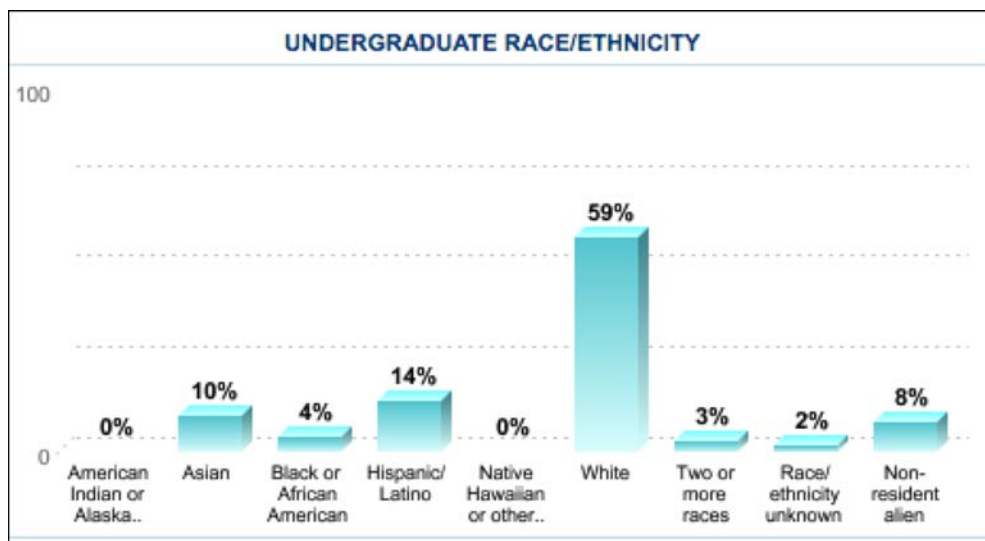
Figure 56. Fordham University Student Race/Ethnicity. National Center for Education Statistics, 2017.

Content analysis. The grammatical person of the content was typically first person singular. The intended audience was current and prospective students. The voice and tone of the content was warm and engaging. While the word "Diversity" did not appear on the mission page, the university used strong and inclusive language in the upper third of the statement to embed diversity and inclusion in the mission.

In order to prepare citizens for an increasingly multicultural and multinational society, Fordham seeks to develop in its students an understanding of and reverence for cultures and ways of life other than their own ("Mission Statement," n.d.).

Fordham had numerous pages targeted at specific individual student needs. There was a broad definition of diversity, and no groups appeared to be omitted. The language balances
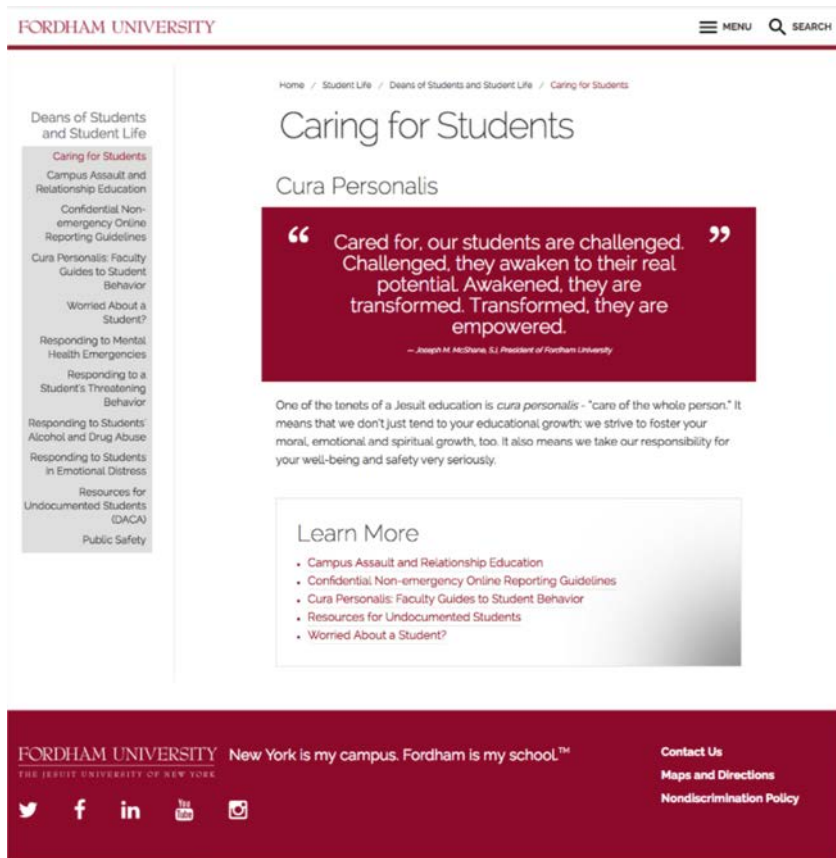
Figure 57. Fordham University Caring for Students Page. Retrieved from: https://www.fordham.edu/info/23846/caring_for_students

power between students and the university. For example, the Diversity Action Plan document positioned the students as empowered and knowledgeable advocates for change who must be heard (Mcshane, 2016). The president acknowledged that past actions had been insufficient and committees addressing issues of diversity have not produced concrete action plans.

The language on the site was inclusive and consistent. For example, rather than present

an organizational chart of student services, there was a page titled "Caring for Students", which

is shown in Figure 57. The structure and tone of the web pages simplified the messaging,

presented content from a student perspective, and tied services to the Jesuit mission.

On the home page, there were news items directly relating to racism and issues facing

minoritzed students. The university had a formal statement on the white supremacism violence

in Charlottesville and a large feature on a new book from Fordham University Press titled

"Undocumented in College." Fordham addressed various group needs in a balanced manner, but

Undocumented students were foregrounded in a few instances. The university vowed to

"activate and aggressively engage federal policymakers" ("Resources for Undocumented

Students (DACA)," n.d.) in an effort to reverse the DACA ruling. The page also provided legal

resources, statements of support and university services such as counseling and campus ministry.

The Fordham website had a "Diversity Action Plan" which was a ten page document

posted in November of 2016 containing specifics on how Fordham will expand outreach to

students of color, recruit a Chief Diversity Officer and actively engage student to "hear their

concerns, fears, wants, and needs—and take them seriously" (Mcshane, 2016).

How was diversity characterized? Diversity was central to the mission at Fordham

University. The mission statement had strong and direct diversity verbiage and carried this

messaging across pages focusing on academics, student services and admissions. The university

positioned itself as learning from students, and admitted past failures in efforts to create a

welcoming and equitable environment. This was unique among institution reviewed for this

study. The Fordham strategic plan was a strong statement on Fordham's commitment to

diversity. Strategic plans are a universities statement of what it values—and where limited

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financial resources will be directed. The diversity-related action items such as hiring more

faculty and supporting students detailed in the strategic plan illuminated Fordham's commitment

to make substantive changes.

Georgetown University

    Overview. Georgetown University is a private non-profit four-year institution located in

Washington, DC with an undergraduate enrollment of 7,400. Fifty-six percent of students are
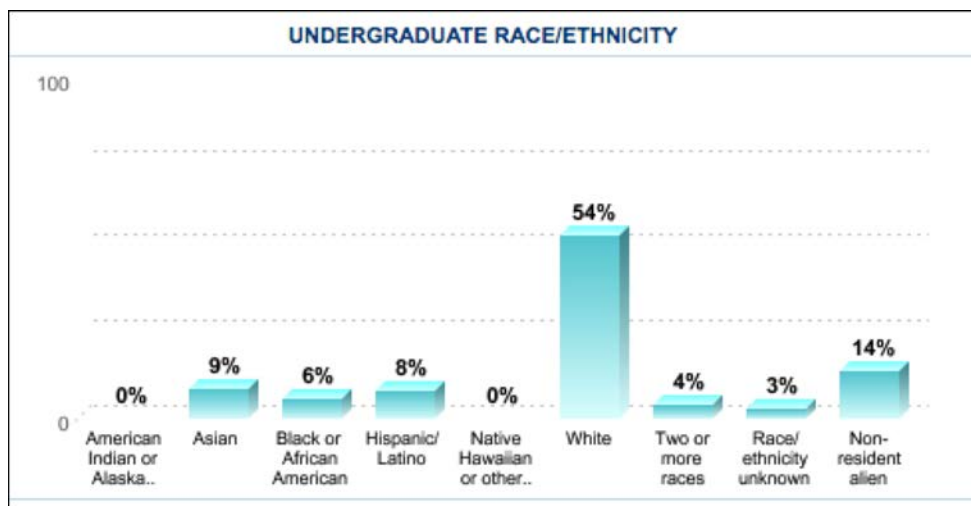

Figure 58. Georgetown University Undergraduate Student Race/Ethnicity. National
Center for Education Statistics, 2017.

female and 54% are white. The highest population of non-white students is Non-resident alien.

Asian, Black and Latino/a students account for 9%, 6% and 8% of the population, respectively.

Content access. The main diversity page was available from the home page. As shown in Figure 59, the "Campus Life" section is listed "Diversity on Campus" fifth on a list 12 items. Google searches for "Undocumented", "LGBTQ", "Latina" and "Asian" produced results directly related to services and initiatives offered by Georgetown.
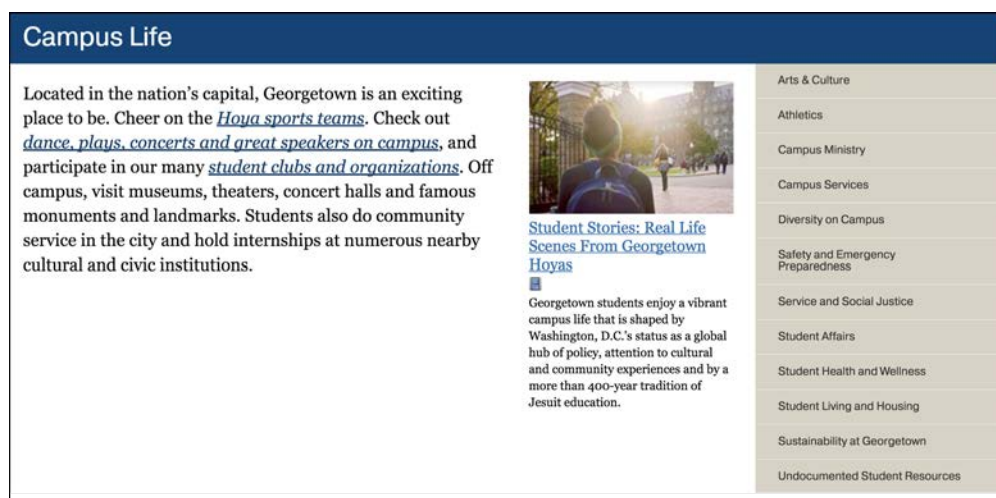
Figure 59. Campus Life section of the Georgetown University home page. Retrieved from: https://www.georgetown.edu/

Content analysis. The grammatical person varied based on the location of the page. On the "Diversity on Campus" page within "Campus Life", the grammatical person was first-person plural. On the admissions pages, the university used third-person on a number of occasions when explaining their need-blind financial aid policy. Georgetown did not use second-person singular on the site like many of their peers.

The intended audience of the pages was prospective students. The goal of the diversity page seemed to be positioning Georgetown as a supportive and knowledgeable guide on a range

of issues and concerns. The tone of the writing was authoritative and fact-based. The needs of

Undocumented students are foregrounded, as evidenced by an extensive section focused on the

financial, social and academic needs of Undocumented students.

In the identity and mission statement, Georgetown goes a step further than claiming

inclusion of diverse groups, but instead positions Jesuit values as a unifying force: "These values

are at the core of Georgetown's identity, binding members of the community across diverse

backgrounds, faiths, cultures and traditions" ("Jesuit & Catholic Identity | Georgetown

University," n.d.).

Figure 60. Slavery, Memory, and Reconciliation home page. Retrieved from:

http://slavery.georgetown.edu/

Georgetown has played a unique role in addressing the damage caused by America's

racist origins via the Working Group on Slavery, Memory, and Reconciliation ("Racial Justice:

A Georgetown Response, Continuing the Conversation | President John J. DeGioia |

Georgetown University," n.d.). As shown in Figure 60, the university created an extensive

microsite devoted to slavery. Georgetown president John H. DeGioia played a leadership role among universities by acknowledging the ongoing consequences of slavery and the role of Georgetown in propagating this evil. This issue could have been ignored, or addressed with a few scholarships to black students. Instead, DeGioia acknowledged that Jesuits had slaves. In an age when racism is ever-present but largely invisible, these words are powerful. DeGioia recognizes that the reconciliation process is incomplete and more work remains to enable the university to be truly equitable and just.

Georgetown had extensive content devoted to individual identities. There were significant resources for LGBTQ students. Georgetown uses the more progressive and gender-neutral "Latinx" throughout the site. The university developed a Latin American Initiative involving 12 faculty and 10 students which seeks to address three major issues impact Latin American countries: Economic Growth, Governance and Law and Social and Cultural Inclusion.

How was diversity characterized? On the Georgetown website, diversity focused on Latino/a, Native American, Asian Pacific, and LGBTQ identities. There was significant content dedicated to Undocumented students. Similar to other institutions, Georgetown had two separate diversity areas mirroring administrative departments in Student Affairs and Human Resources. The Student Affairs pages did not contain a link to the extensive content in Human Resources, which covered areas such as sexual assault and bias reporting. Georgetown is in the Mature Implementation stage of diversity development.

Gonzaga University

Overview. Gonzaga University is a 4-year non-profit institution located in Spokane,

Washington. The undergraduate enrollment at Gonzaga is 5,200 and the student body is 71%

white. Latino/a students make up 10% of students, with the next largest group identifying with

two or more races. As shown in Figure 61, Black students account for just 1% of enrollment, so

there would be approximately 52 Black students in the entire undergraduate population.
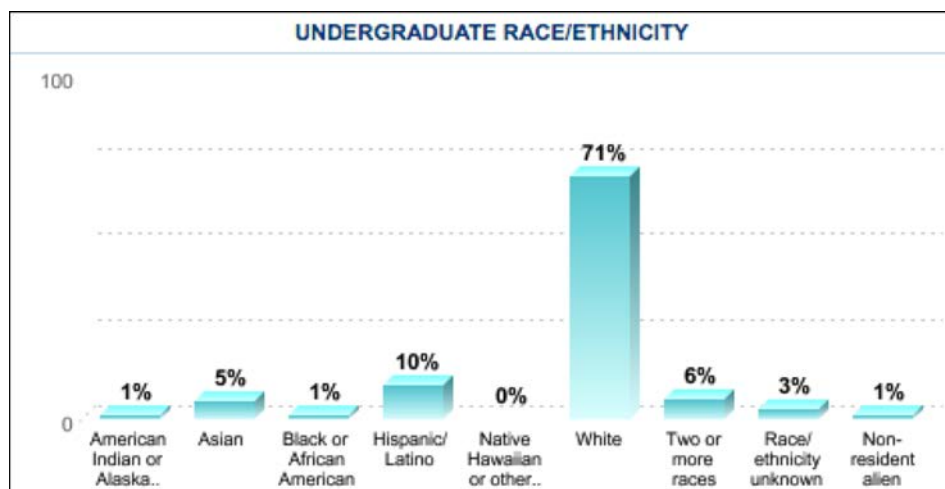
Figure 61. Gonzaga University Undergraduate Student Race/Ethnicity. National

Center for Education Statistics, 2017.

Content access. On the Gonzaga University website, diversity content was difficult to

locate. As shown in Figure 62, the home page contained 6 major categories and 36 total links,

but no item for diversity. There was a "Quick Links" menu item at the top of the page

containing a diversity menu item, but clicking on the link resulted in a "Page not found" error

message.

Figure 62. Gonzaga University Website Navigation. Retrieved from: www.gonzaga.edu

Content analysis. The content on the Gonzaga University website was inconsistent. There were pockets of content that appeared to be thoughtfully created for specific identities. For example, the LGBTQ content contained a listing of individuals and their preferred pronouns—rare on Jesuit institutional websites. In other places, content was omitted or missed the mark. Content for Latino/a students was sparse. This was surprising considering that the student body consists of 10% Latino/a students. Within the Diversity, Inclusion, and Cultural Engagement center there was a single page focused on Latino/a concerns and it listed a single publication and a list of external resources. Similarly, resources for first generation students were limited. BRIDGE is an orientation program designed for first generation and students of color which "allows students to develop and grow into holistic versions of themselves, while creating their own community" ("BRIDGE - Gonzaga University," n.d.). The language here is vague and lofty, and perhaps over-ambitious for a 4-day program. The program costs $70, which may be an additional expense some students are not able to pay. While the text mentions that scholarships are available, it does not provide information on how students can apply.

The grammatical person in the mission statement was third person, while in the Student

Development section first-person plural was utilized. The university refers to student-focused

initiatives that seek to "challenge systems of privilege and oppression" ("Diversity, Inclusion,

and Cultural Engagement (DICE) - Gonzaga University," n.d.). This language is powerful and

could help deconstruct systematic racism, but it was buried deep in the site and not supported

with additional information or resources.

   The intended audience of the pages was students and the assumed goals were to promote

the university as an inclusive and welcoming environment. The voice and tone of the content

was formal and authoritative as evidenced by phrases such as "Gonzaga cultivates in its

students" and "the Gonzaga experience fosters a mature commitment to dignity of the human

person" ("Mission Statement and Statement of Affirmation - Gonzaga University," n.d.). The

university addressed a number of groups, but seemed to overlook the needs of Black students.

Undocumented and Latino/s student needs were foregrounded, specifically on the "Admissions"

page, which had specific pages targeted at these groups. The site also offered Spanish, which

was an effective method of engaging prospective Latino/a students and their parents. Based on

the content, the university was situated in a place of power—students were subservient and

benefited from university wisdom and services. The tone and style of the prose was authentic

and the images seemed to represent student demographics. With regard to topicalization,

Gonzaga placed emphasis on Undocumented students and Latino/s students.

   How was diversity characterized? Diversity messaging was inconsistent. The site did

not have a consistent voice and tone when speaking about support for minoritzed groups. On

occasion the language positioned the university as fostering and supportive, but not leading

change. LGBTQ content contained information on use of pronouns as well as gender neutral

restroom locations. While diversity was mentioned in the mission statement, it was listed along

with several other items without being directly linked to core Jesuit values. Finally, the

navigation of the site backgrounded diversity and made content difficult to locate. Gonzaga is in

the Transitional stage of diversity development.

John Carroll University

     Overview. John Carroll University is a private non-profit institution located in

University Heights, Ohio. As shown in Figure 63, the university has 3,000 undergraduate

students and is 51% male and 83% white. Among minority groups, 5% of the students identify

as Black, 4% as Latino/a, and 2% as Asian.

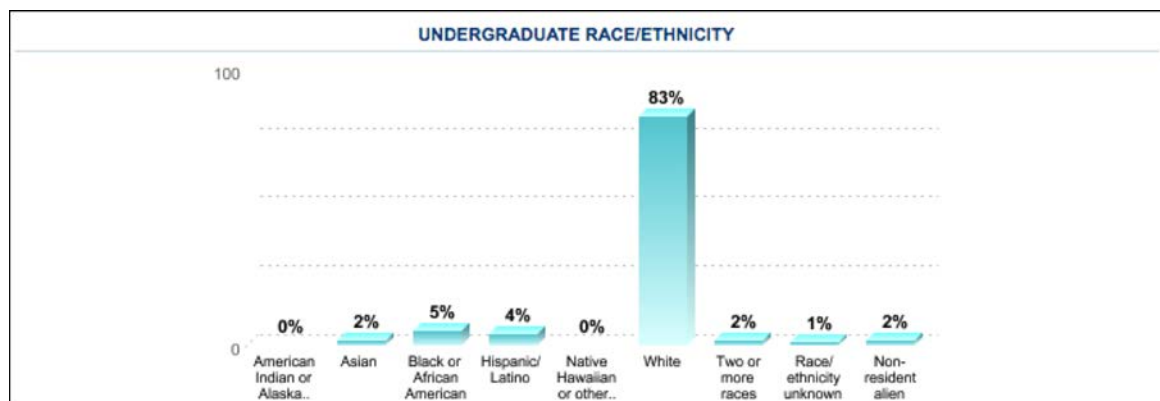*Figure 63*. John Carroll University Undergraduate Student Race/Ethnicity. National Center

for Education Statistics, 2017.

     Content access. On the John Carroll website, diversity content was not readily available.

There was no link on the home page or in the "About" section. In the "Student Life" section

there was a "Student Diversity" link listed eighth out of fourteen links. The "Student Diversity"

link led to the Center for Student Diversity & Inclusion organization, which consisted of a director, an administrative assistant and 9 student assistants. The "University Mission and Identity" page within the "About" section did not contain any references to diversity.

Google and site searches for "Diversity" directed site visitors to the "Office for Institutional Diversity and Inclusion" page. It is important to note that this page was not accessible from the home page. This exemplified a common problem in higher education websites: the separation of human resources and student affairs content. Units often had separate diversity initiatives, programs and staff. This can create confusion among site visitors, hinder access to resources and cause inconsistencies in messaging.

Content analysis. The prose throughout the site was written in third person. On the "Center for Student Diversity & Inclusion" page, the writing utilized agentless passive when describing how services were provided. The universities' actions were foregrounded when describing how "the center nurtures a sense of belonging for students from diverse backgrounds" ("About the Center – Center for Student Diversity & Inclusion," n.d.). The intended audience varied: on the pages within the Center for Student Diversity & Inclusion, the target audience was students, but on the "Office for Institutional Diversity and Inclusion" the page authors focused attention on recruitment of professional staff. The voice and tone of the content was professional and formal. As shown in Figure 64, John Carroll had a section for "Gender Inclusive Restrooms" which foregrounded LGBTQ concerns and was uncommon on Jesuit higher education website.

Figure 64. Gender Inclusive Restrooms page. Retrieved from:

http://sites.jcu.edu/safezone/pages/terminology/gender-neutral-restrooms/

Within the "About" section there was a "Slavery Working Group" page, which acknowledged John Carroll was a slave owner ("Slavery Working Group – University Mission and Identity," n.d.). The university was quick to mention that the "Unlike Georgetown, we are not directly implicated in the practice of chattel slavery" ("Slavery Working Group – University Mission and Identity," n.d.). This deflection of responsibility lessened the impact of the content. The fact remains: John Carroll University is named after a slave owner. The university did not discuss whether it is appropriate to rename the university—it simply uses technical, legal language to note the institution was not "directly implicated." Further undermining the effectiveness of this section of the site, the two subpages in "Slavery Working Group" section (Events and Resources) contained no content.

The Office for Institutional Diversity and Inclusion was identified as a campus-wide organization charged with attracting a diversity student body and inspiring students "to excel in learning, leadership and service" ("Our Mission and Vision – Office for Institutional Diversity and Inclusion," n.d.). However, there was no information about this group on the admissions or student affairs sections.

Diversity was not referenced in the mission statement or anywhere in the "About" section of the site. The diversity web page stated that "establishing a diverse and inclusive culture is a priority in the highest office at John Carroll University" ("About Diversity at JCU – Office for Institutional Diversity and Inclusion," n.d.). The president's quote begins with the following statement: "I affirm John Carroll's commitment to policies" ("About Diversity at JCU – Office for Institutional Diversity and Inclusion," n.d.). The use of "affirm" is technical and often used in a legal context. The president could have affirmed a commitment to students of color, or students facing bias but instead promises he will follow policies. CRT argues that for minoritized students, policies been inadequate and ineffective at addressing systematic racism and bias

The "Vision, Mission, Core Values & Strategic Initiatives" page within the "Office of the President" website contained additional diversity content. The page listed 8 core values, one of which was to create "an inclusive community" ("Vision, Mission, Core Values & Strategic Initiatives – Office of the President," n.d.), but there was a focus on points of view and not cultural, racial or other difference. The first strategic initiative was to "create a diverse community" ("Vision, Mission, Core Values & Strategic Initiatives – Office of the President," n.d.) but there was no indication of what that means or who would be included.

Omissions in the text included Undocumented students and first generation students. The needs of LGBTQ individuals were foregrounded with specific content targeted to these individuals. Undocumented, Black and Latino/a student concerns were backgrounded throughout the site. There was no content in the admissions site mentioning these groups. The priorities of the institution appeared to be academic excellence.

How was diversity characterized? Diversity was inconsistently presented across the John Carroll website was inconsistent. There were four different platforms used to communicate diversity messaging: the president's office, the "About" section, the human resources diversity group and the student affairs diversity group. Diversity was not directly embedded in the mission, which caused some of the other statements across the site to fall flat. The president positioned diversity as a strategic priority, but it was not directly integrated into the mission and not a key item of focus on the website. John Carroll had some effective content such as the gender inclusive bathrooms, a rich set of events on campus, and a number of well-developed programs. John Carroll University is in the Mature Implementation stage of diversity development.

Le Moyne College

Overview. Le Moyne College is a private non-profit institution in Syracuse, New York with an undergraduate enrollment of 2,900. As shown in Figure 65, the college is 61% female and 39% male, while 77% of students are white. Black students constitute 6% of the student population, with Latino/a students accounting for 5%.

Content access. Diversity content was not readily available on the Le Moyne website.

Searches for "Diversity" using Google and the Le Moyne site search produced limited results.

The top result from Google was a link to the "About" page. No Google results directed users to

a diversity page focused on student needs or an overall institutional diversity. Searches for

"Undocumented" returned results for the main "Admission" page, but no content for

Undocumented students was available on that page. A search for "LGBTQ" returned a statement

from the college president on the 2016 Orlando nightclub shooting.

Diversity content was not available on the home page or via the main navigation. An

entire menu was devoted to "Values", with 5 items and 11 additional sub items, but there was no

content that referenced diversity or led site visitors to diversity content.
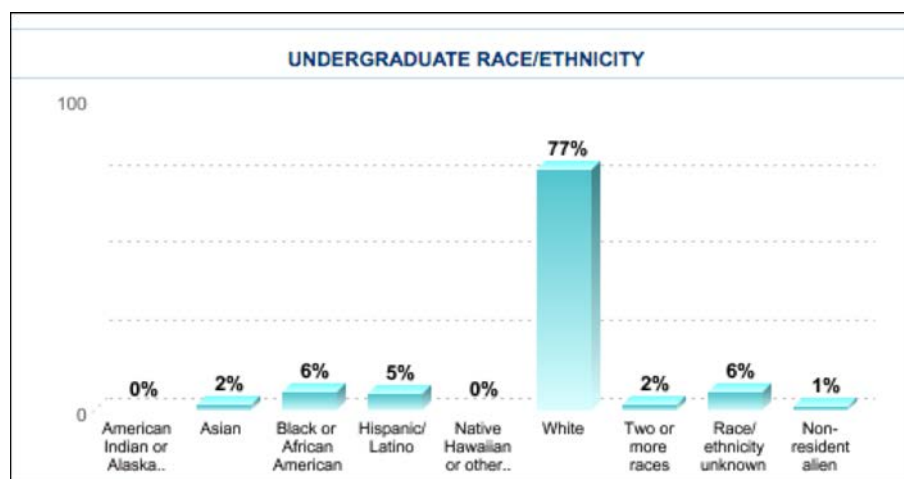

Figure 65. Le Moyne College Undergraduate Student Race/Ethnicity. National Center for

Education Statistics, 2017.

Content analysis. The mission statement begins with "Le Moyne College is a diverse

learning community" ("About Le Moyne College | Jesuit Education | Syracuse, NY," n.d.) but

further details are not provided. The demographics do not support Le Moyne's diversity claims.

The intended audience for these pages was prospective students. The grammatical person of the content was third person and the voice and tone was authoritative. On the main page for the Office of Inclusion, Diversity & Equity, site visitors are informed that "Le Moyne is proud of its commitment to diversity and inclusion" ("Inclusion, Diversity & Equity | Le Moyne College | Syracuse, NY," n.d.). The subtext here is that if Le Moyne is proud of it, then the institution must be doing a fine job and we—the site visitors—should acknowledge the work the college has done.

On the Office of Inclusion, Diversity & Equity web pages, the first "Student Learning Income" of the office is "Diversity: Students will possess the skills to be able to have positive interactions with people from a variety of different backgrounds" ("Inclusion, Diversity & Equity | Le Moyne College | Syracuse, NY," n.d.). This statement foregrounds white students' experiences. As the student body at Le Moyne is 80% white, students of color must interact with majority white students every day, in every aspect of their lives. Students of color are well-versed at "interacting with people from a variety of backgrounds." This is an example of Powell's diversity compromise which cites the benefits of a diverse campus as a compelling state interest. Which students obtain the most benefits? Majority white students. In a white world, the diversity office at a college is typically one of the few places of refuge for students of color.

The language on the diversity page at Le Moyne positions even this office as white-centric. The content on other pages used a similar tone—focused on institutional achievements, not student needs.   The assumed power relations placed the university in control, and white student needs were prioritized. There were significant omissions in the content of the Le Moyne college website. There is no page focused on LGBT students, nothing for Undocumented

students and no focus on Latino/a students.

Le Moyne had an AHANA program which offered scholarships and support to minoritized students. Standardized tests, most notably the SAT, favor white cultural norms and learning styles (Gunier, 2015). Le Moyne does not required students to submit SAT scores for admission, but "students must submit SAT scores if they wish to be considered for the AHANA Program" ("Selection to the AHANA Program at Le Moyne College," n.d.). In order to apply for scholarship funding students of color are evaluated based on a test favoring the white majority. This is a powerful statement by the college. The college appears to welcome and support students of color, but when finances are involved, these students will be evaluated based on white cultural norms.

The Le Moyne site was notable for the use of images. The Le Moyne student population consists of 6% black students or approximately 174 students of 2,900. However, their pages contain a far higher percentage of black students. The "Student Life" section on the Le Moyne site consisted of 13 pages, 9 of which prominently featured black students. In the admissions section, as site visitors dive into the content, they were consistently presented with black students. A common path within the Admissions site would be to visit the university hoe page, then the main admissions page. Students would likely learn about requirements of undergraduate admissions before proceeding to a page where they could register for a visit. Using this content progression students would be presented with four consecutive images prominently featuring black students. With a black student population of 6%, the presentation of black students on these pages risks presenting the institution as more diverse than the numbers indicate.

The composition of the images also warrants discussion. On the "Broadcasting & Student

Figure 66. Le Moyne Broadcasting and Student Media page. Retrieved from:

https://www.lemoyne.edu/Student-Life/Getting-Involved/Broadcasting-Student-Media

Media", shown in Figure 66, there are three photographs. The top image presents a student of

color behind the camera. Below, there are 3 white students engaging in dialogue in a recording

studio. To the right of this image is an image of a black student. The imagery presents the white

students as vibrant and engaged and the two students of color as isolated and disconnected. We

cannot see the student's face in the top image. The student referred to as "Jay" is depicted in a photograph that is warped and out of focus. This unfortunate presentation serves to reinforce students of color as backgrounded, isolated, not included. While this page could be interpreted in many ways, there is a collection of missteps across the site that work together to foreground the interests of white students.
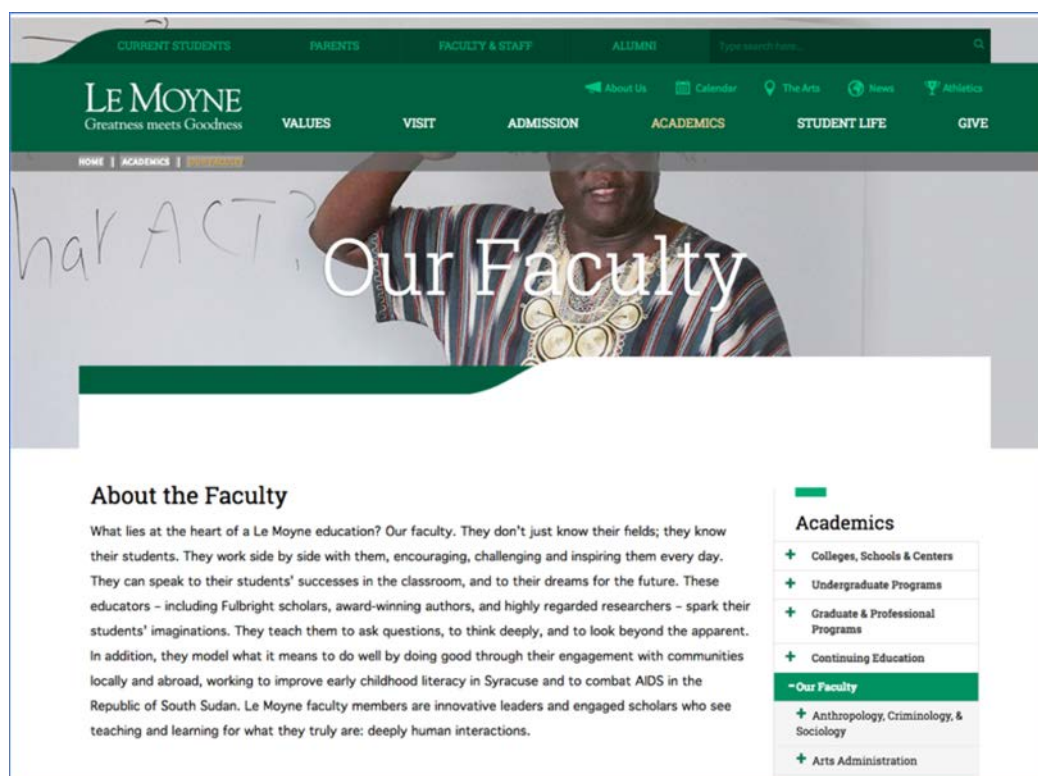
Figure 67. Le Moyne College faculty page. Retrieved from:

http://www.lemoyne.edu/Academics/Our-Faculty

The main faculty page shown in Figure 67 contains an image of a black person, presumably male, dressed in a colorful shirt. The page was viewed on the most common screen resolution currently used is currently 1366x768. At this resolution, the person's head is

obscured. The results were similar for each of the top major screen sizes. This could be interpreted as objectifying the person pictured. There is no caption, so we do not know his name or position, we only know that he is black. At Le Moyne, only 3% of faculty are black ("Race, Ethnicity, and Gender of Full-Time Faculty at More Than 3,700 Institutions - The Chronicle of Higher Education," n.d.). Chapter Five contains additional Le Moyne screen shots and analysis which were not duplicated in this section.

How was diversity characterized? At Le Moyne diversity is characterized in an inconsistent manner. The numbers did not indicate that Le Moyne was a diverse institution. However, they consistently presented students of color in all major sections of the site. Diversity was not central to the mission at Le Moyne. It was not included in the strategic vision for the college, featured on the main page, or discussed in any detail. There was a single office focusing on both student and institutional diversity. Unlike many of their Jesuit peers, there was little focus on Undocumented students or Latino/a concerns. Le Moyne is in the Startup stage of diversity development.

Loyola Marymount University

Overview. Loyola Marymount University is a private non-profit institution located in Los Angeles, California. The student population consists of 6,200 undergraduates, 56% who identify as female. As shown in Figure 68, the student body is just 44% white, with 21% identifying as Latino/a. Eleven percent of the students are Asian, 10% non-resident alien, 8% identify with two or more races and 6% of students are Black. Loyola Marymount had the lowest percentage of white students among Jesuit peers and the highest percentage of non-

resident alien students and multiracial students.
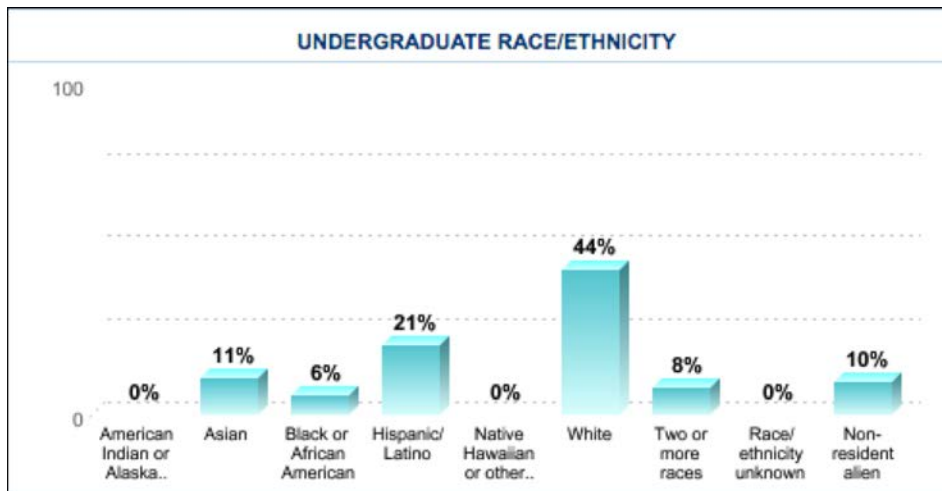
Figure 68. Loyola Marymount University Undergraduate Student Race/Ethnicity. National

Center for Education Statistics, 2017.

Content access. Search for "Diversity" resulted in several prominent pages on the

Loyola Marymount University website, including pages titled "Diversity and Multiculturalism",

"Facts and Figures" and the "Office of Intercultural Affairs." Searches on the site for "LGBTQ"

presented a few pages on Latino/a groups.

Content analysis. The content of the Loyola Marymount University website was written

in the third person. The intended audience of the pages was prospective students. The university

claims that students "emerge from the bluff as fully realized individuals, leaders of tomorrow,

eager to engage their community and the world, in an effort to make it a better place for all"

("Jesuit Identity - Loyola Marymount University," n.d.).   The use of "fully realized individuals"

is lofty and vague. What does this mean and how does the university achieve this? That is

unclear. In the opening paragraph, the university remarks on the "intellectual prowess" ("Jesuit Identity - Loyola Marymount University," n.d.) of the Jesuits with positions the university as all-knowing and powerful. Students are presented as agentless subjects awaiting formation.

Figure 69. Global Imagination page menu. Retrieved from:

http://admission.lmu.edu/discover/academics/globalimagination/

The "Student Life" section makes an interesting statement on inclusion. There is a subsection for "Inclusion", rare among Jesuit websites. As shown in Figure 69, the navigation clearly indicates who is included: African American, Asian Pacific Islanders and Latina/a students each have a section ("Inclusion - Loyola Marymount University," n.d.). A seemingly innocuous element such as this has the potential to exclude. The inclusion identifies religion, ideas, ethnicity, perspectives, and talents as the areas of diversity. Gender identity and disability

are omitted from the text.

Though the university is only 44% white, 81% of the president's cabinet was white. The only people of color were the Vice President for Intercultural Affairs Abbie Robinson-Armstrong and Provost Thomas Poon ("Executive Leadership - Loyola Marymount University," n.d.). The "Ethnic and Intercultural Services" section of the site had extensive content for a number of groups: Asian Pacific, Black, Chicano Latino, Jewish, LGBT and Muslim. Under the student affairs organizational structure, each of the eight groups had a full-time staff member identified as a director. This was unique among Jesuit institutions, many who have a single director focused on multicultural affairs and additional support provided by graduate students. In addition, the focus on Jewish and Muslim student needs was unique among Jesuit institutions and represented a positive development in the characterization of diversity.

How was diversity characterized? At Loyola Marymount, Diversity is important to "enrich our educational community and advance our mission" ("Mission - Loyola Marymount University," n.d.). The language focuses on university goals, not student needs. The sentiments are in line with the educational benefits of a diverse student body cited by Powell's diversity rationale.

Diversity was referenced in the mission, but not emphasized. The location of the school and the demographics suggested more content may be needed for Undocumented students, multicultural students and Latino/s students. Based on their student demographics, they should be in the Inclusive Excellence category. The university had success in attracting and retaining a diverse student body. The language should be carefully examined throughout the site. A more extensive collection of resources relating to academics, social justice and local initiatives would

boost the institution to the Inclusive Excellence stage. Loyola Marymount University had many positive aspects to their presentation of diversity content and are categorized in the Mature Implementation stage.

Loyola University Chicago

    Overview. Loyola University Chicago is a four year non-profit institutions with an undergraduate enrollment of 11,100. Females make up 66% of the student population. The percentage of Latino is 15%, behind only University of San Francisco for highest among Jesuit institutions. Asian students account for 12% of the population.
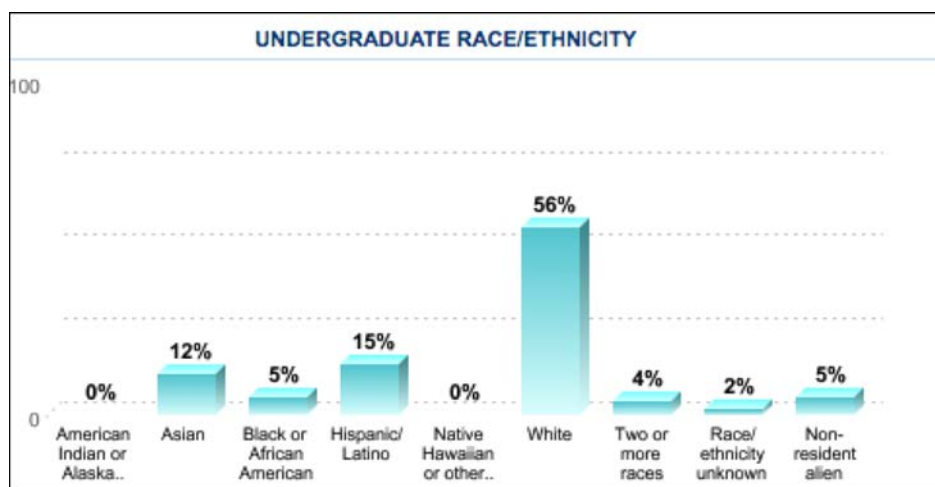

Figure 70. Loyola University Chicago Student Race/Ethnicity. National Center for Education Statistics, 2017.

    Content access. Accessing diversity content at Loyola University Chicago was streamlined. Google and site searches for "Diversity", "LGBTQ" and "Undocumented" all presented site visitors with targeted pages within the Loyola University Chicago website

providing rich content for these groups. Within the "Campus Life" section of the website, there

was a "Student Diversity" section which directed site visitors to the "Student Diversity &

Multicultural Affairs" group within the Student Development office.

      Content analysis. Loyola University Chicago had rich diversity content across the site,

including the mission, strategic plan, academics and student affairs. Resources LGBTQ,

Undocumented and Latino students were extensive. The LGBTQ content had detailed

information on name changing, a listing of unisex bathrooms and an extensive set of programs

and initiatives ("LGBTQIA Initiatives: Student Diversity & Multicultural Affairs: Loyola

University Chicago," n.d.).

      The grammatical person was a mix first person plural and third person. The intended

audience was current and prospective students. The voice and tone of the content was direct and

aspirational. The Student Diversity & Multicultural Affairs group "strives to be the preeminent

Ignatian model of social justice education and multicultural student success" ("Mission &

Vision: Student Diversity & Multicultural Affairs: Loyola University Chicago," n.d.). On

the main mission page for the university, the language was straightforward and realistic.   After

listing eight aspects of their mission, the university indicates that "None of these characteristics

is unique to Loyola University Chicago" ("Mission & Identity: Loyola University Chicago,"

n.d.), but the integration of these elements is what LUC claims is unique. The mission directly

outlined a number of values, then portrayed its role as a unifying force integrating disparate

elements. The "Diversity and Inclusion" website had an extensive page aimed at naming social

identifiers and described key terms such as assimilation, pluralism and multiculturalism ("Key

Terms About Cultural Competency: Diversity and Inclusion: Loyola University Chicago," n.d.).

Loyola's diversity prose presented power relations between students and the university as balanced —rare among Jesuit institutions in this study. The university focused on student needs, and specifically on empowering student success through dialogue. The needs of Undocumented students were foregrounded on the "Diversity and Inclusion at Loyola" website, as indicated by a top-level navigation item. This focus is consistent with the Jesuit mission.   With regard to topicalization, diversity was a key priority for the university as evidenced by the focus on access in the strategic plan pages, and the extensive resources available within the student affairs website.

The mission statement eloquently positions the Jesuit tradition as a unifying force, "adapted to the content of today's world" ("Transformative Education in the Jesuit Tradition: Office of the President: Loyola University Chicago," n.d.). The text warns of the perils of ethnocentrism and states that the dialogue and conversation of the Jesuit pedagogy can "bridge divides of gender, race, ethnicity, and socioeconomic class" ("Transformative Education in the Jesuit Tradition: Office of the President: Loyola University Chicago," n.d.). While religion, disability and gender identity are not included in this list, there are references to these aspects of identity throughout the site. For example, in the diversity statement, the university cites differences in "age, ability, color, creed, cultural background, ethnicity, gender identity or expression, national origin, race, religious affiliation or spiritual affinity, sexual orientation, socioeconomic class, or veteran status" as valued identities ("Diversity Statement: Residence Life: Loyola University Chicago," n.d.).

How was diversity characterized? At Loyola University Chicago, diversity was characterized as central to the mission. The first initiative and action item in the strategic plan

focused on serving underrepresented students. Financial investment is a key indicator of authenticity. The university pledged more than $20 million and recently opened Arrupe College, which focuses on two-year degrees for underrepresented students and first generation college students ("Mission Statement: Arrupe: Loyola University Chicago," n.d.). Arrupe students graduate with no debt and can transfer in to Loyola University Chicago if they meet minimum GPA requirements. LUC content was inclusive and addressed the needs of LGBTQ, undocumented, Blacks, Latino/a and Asian students with custom content and resources. Loyola University Chicago is in the Inclusive Excellence stage.

Loyola University Maryland

Overview. Loyola University Maryland is a private non-profit institution consisting of 4,100 undergraduate students, 77% of who are white. Latino/a students account for 10% of the
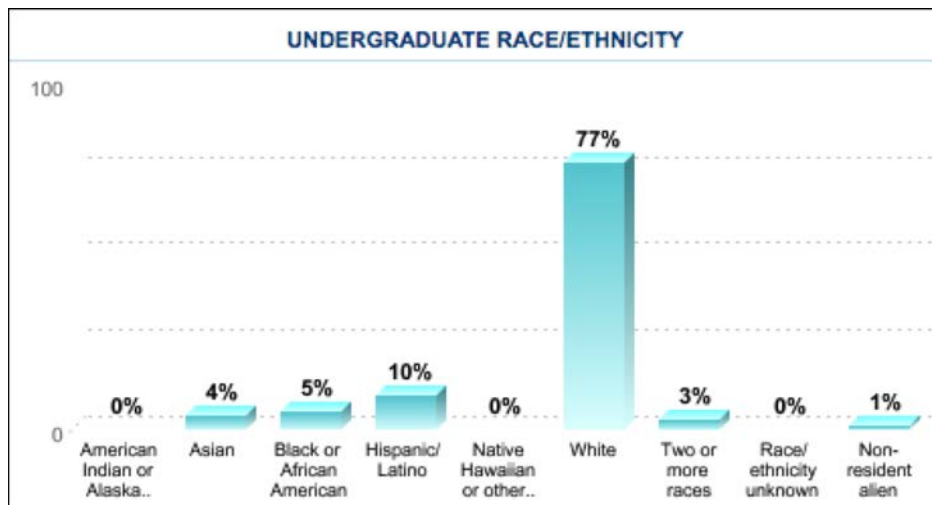

Figure 71. Loyola University Maryland Student Race/Ethnicity. National Center for Education Statistics, 2017.

student population, with Blacks coming in at 5%. Fifty-seven percent of Loyola Maryland students identify as female, with 43% identifying as male.

Content access. A Google search for "diversity" directed me to a "Diversity and Inclusion" page within the "Faculty Development and Diversity" section of the website. On the Loyola University Maryland site, searching for "Diversity" returned two results for the "Diversity Core Requirement", followed by a page the "Faculty Development and Diversity" page identified by Google as the top result. Within the site hierarchy, diversity content was difficult to find. The main menu consisted of 26 items, but diversity was not included among them. The mission statement accessible from the home page, but did not reference diversity or include a link.

Content analysis. The intended audience for the content as prospective students and the assumed goals were to present Loyola University Maryland as an engaging institution. The tone is friendly and warm. The main admission page positions the university as an authority:

Loyola University Maryland is defined by its mission to actively transform you to learn, lead and serve in today's diverse and ever-changing world.

("Undergraduate Studies - Campus Life, Academics - Loyola University Maryland," n.d.)

The university positions itself as a powerful agent of transformation. It is unclear what role the student plays in this process. The word "diverse" is used to describe the world, not the campus.

Diversity was framed within the context of a Jesuit education. The university outlines "Ignatian Citizenship" as the top strategic priority ("Priorities - Office of the President - Loyola University Maryland," n.d.). In this way, the university is characterized as an authority on the

issues of diversity. By embedding it in the Jesuit mission, it presented diversity as an area of

expertise. The overall goal appeared to be fostering citizenship locally and globally, with

diversity one aspect of this.

Figure 72. Loyola University Maryland Undocumented Student Resources page.

Retrieved from: http://www.loyola.edu/department/international-student-

services/resources/undocumented-student-resources

At Loyola University Maryland diversity efforts appeared focused on Undocumented

students and LGBTQ students. As shown in Figure 72, extensive resources were available to

Undocumented students. Faculty and staff were encouraged to support Undocumented students

and the university went so far as to provide specific tactics community members can use to

properly engage with these students. With regard to LGBTQ students, there was also

information that seeks to educate—an extensive list of LGBTQ terms made this language

mainstream and served to validate terms like "Intersex" and "Queer." The university provided

detailed information on name change procedures for transitioning students ("Name Change

Process: Student Diversity & Multicultural Affairs: Loyola University Chicago," n.d.).

The "Service & Social Justice" page shown in Figure 73 is problematic. Social justice

has been part of higher education vernacular for many years. The heading "Ready, Set, Serve" is

Figure 73. Service & Social Justice page. Retrieved from:

http://www.loyola.edu/admission/undergraduate/life-at-loyola/service-and-social-justice

in large, green font, and below there is a colorful graphic with the words "Prepare, Act, Evaluate, and Reflect" ("Service and Social Justice - Campus Life - Loyola University Maryland," n.d.). A few aspects of the page warrant discussion. There is a small image of two hands, holding a globe. The hands are white. What does this image signify? Some possible interpretations based on this imagery:

- White people conduct service to help non-white people
- White people hold the world in their hands
- White people have power
- White people are powerful

Was this an innocent decision by a graphic designer? Could this have been caused by limitations in available clip art? Regardless, this page reinforces messaging about whiteness as normal and other races as not normal (Owen, 2007).

The graphic in Figure 73 is colorful and intricate, containing images of books, paperclips, a steaming bowl, a pencil and many other items. The image is fun and reminded me of a game, children's book, or humorous birthday card. Social justice and Service are necessary because of systematic racism, inequity and failed policies. These colorful, playful images are inconsistent with the serious nature of the societal problems represented on the page. Is the playful tone to encourage students to participate? Is it to simplify a complex topic? That is unclear. Whatever the intent, this page does not effectively present the idea of social justice.

How was diversity characterized? Diversity was presented as core to the mission, but this was inconsistently supported throughout the site. The university strategic plan listed diversity as a top priority. However, it was under the umbrella of "Ignatian Citizenship", which appeared to be primarily focused on service and global engagement. The specific plans related

to diversity included two items: establishing a senior leadership position and creating a

president's advisory council ("Strategic Plan - Loyola University Maryland," n.d.). While there

was a significant amount of effective content, a few issues and inconsistencies impacted overall

diversity messaging. The Loyola University Maryland site is in the Transitional stage.

Loyola University New Orleans

      Overview. Loyola University New Orleans (LUNO) is a private non-profit institution

with 2.500 undergraduate students. Sixty-one percent of students are female. Seventeen percent
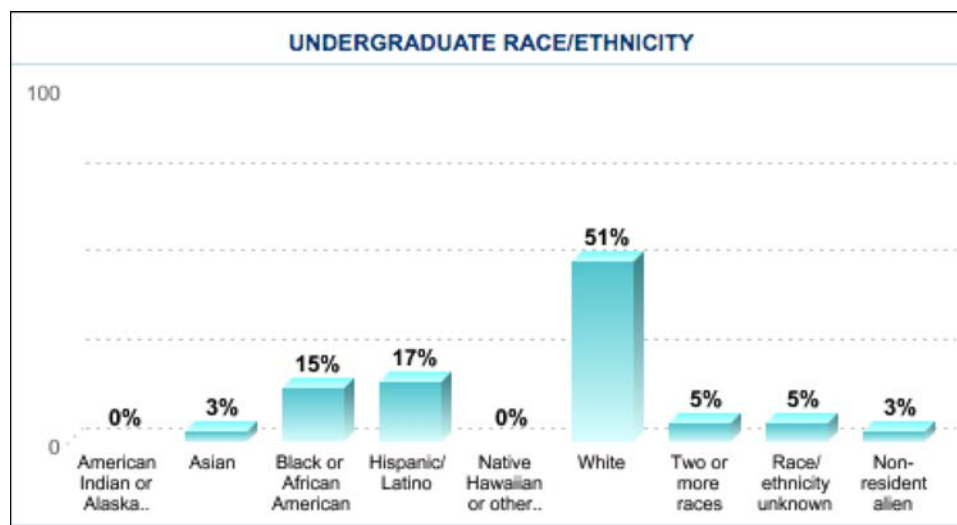
Figure 74. Loyola University New Orleans Student Race/Ethnicity. National Center

for Education Statistics, 2017.

of students identify as Latina/a, the highest percentage among non-white groups. Fifteen percent

of students are Black and 5% identify with two or more races. Just over half of the student body

is white.

Content access.   On the LUNO home page was were six major sections. On many

higher education websites, the top level sections contain key content to provide insight into that

area. For example, an "Campus Life" top level page would highlight a few key areas such as

student organizations, support resources and residence life options. The LUMO site provides a
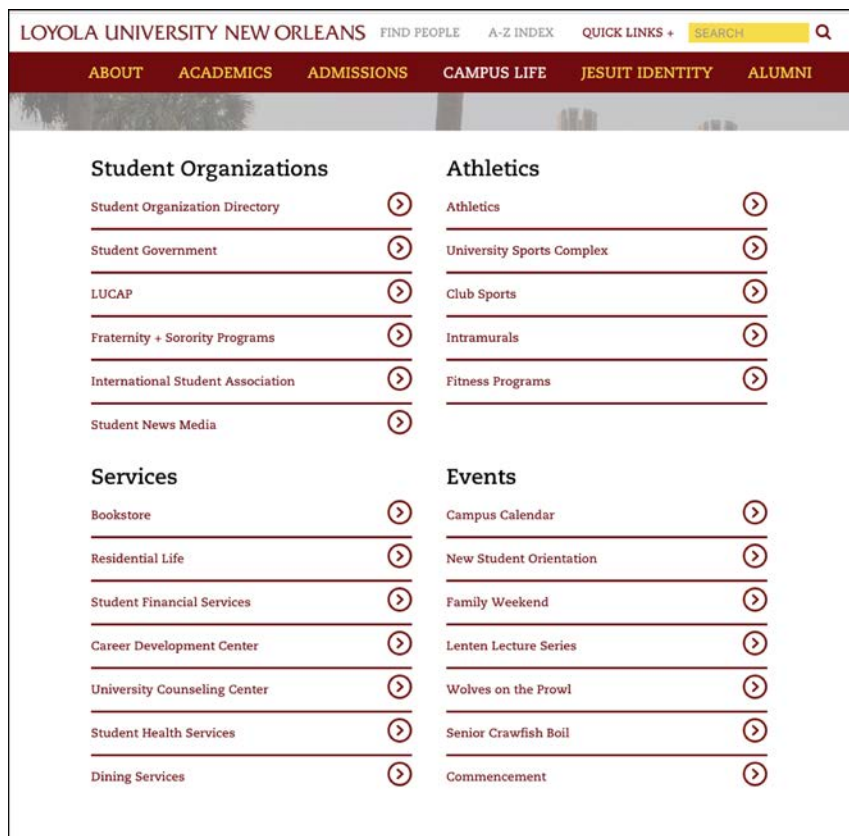
Figure 75. Loyola University New Orleans Campus Life page. Retrieved from:

http://www.loyno.edu/campuslife.php

brief paragraph of text, then a link for links for additional resources. The strategy, it seems,

would be to use these top-level pages as a way to collect links and pass site visitors to the content

they are seeking. Given this approach—which is essentially just a list of links— it is surprising

that among these top-level sections, there is no diversity information. The "Campus Life"

section in Figure 75 contains 25 links but no information on diversity.

A google search for "Diversity Loyola University New Orleans" resulted in a site

devoted exclusively to diversity at the institution, which I will examine in the content analysis

section. A site search for "diversity" produced two results featuring committees, an item from

admissions and the diversity subsite. The diversity subsite was the most extensive resource and

was listed fourth, a possible indication of some limitations of the web environment or a lack of

expertise in search technologies.

The information architecture of the LUNO web environment warrants mention. There

appeared to be several distinct websites at Loyola which created a disjointed user experience,

which is exacerbated when trying to located diversity content. The main LUNO website had a

"Campus Life" section, as mentioned above. In addition, there was a separate "Admissions"

website which a "Student Life" section containing a page for "Diversity."   The "Diversity and

Inclusion at Loyola" website contained a "Student Services" section with a collection of

diversity resources. Each of the three sites had a different design and there was no cross-linking

between sites.

Content analysis. The "Diversity and Inclusion at Loyola" site contained extensive

information on diversity. The home page contains a direct statement linking diversity to the

mission: "At the heart of Loyola's mission as a Jesuit institution is our commitment to being a

place where all students, staff, faculty, and guests feel welcome, inspired, and supported"

("Diversity and Inclusion at Loyola University," n.d.).   The site contained a statement from the

present, an inclusion strategy, incident reporting information, student resources and data on

enrollment.

A few images warrant examination. The image on the home page of the diversity site

depicts shown in Figure 76 contains 5 people who appear to be undergraduate students. Three

appear to be Black and the other two are white. White interests are foregrounded in this image.
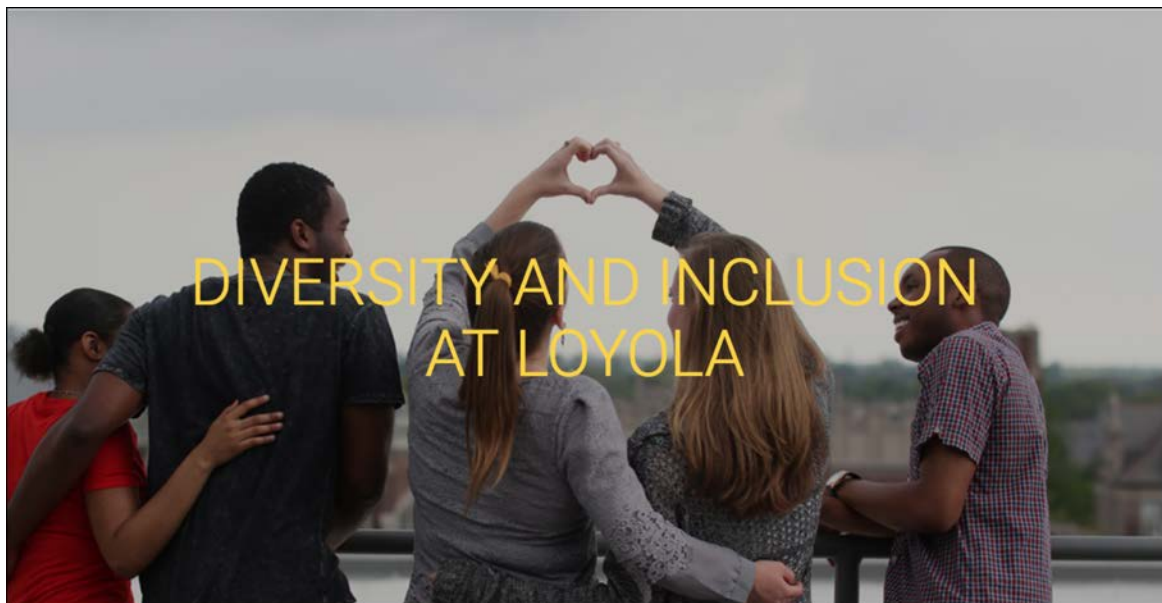
Figure 76. Loyola University New Orleans diversity site. Retrieved from:

http://diversity.loyno.edu

At the center of the image are two white women with their hands connected in a shape

resembling a heart. In recent years the act of forming a heart with opposing fingers and thumbs

was popularized by white pop singer Taylor Swift (Meltzer, 2011). Utilizing this symbol seems

to convey that everything is fine, there are no issues, and we can all get along. The white women

are delivering this message, with the three Black students looking on. Based on the quality and

composition of this image, it appears to be staged, rather than candid. This would seem to be an attempt by website designers or administrators to use students as actors in conveying that "Everything is OK" and "White people will love you here." Coupled with content on the page relating to student demands, this image is an example of phony register.

The "Student Life" page within the Undergraduate Admissions website contained a headline "Be part of the 'Pack'" ("Student Life| Undergraduate Admissions | Loyola University New Orleans," n.d.). The grammatical person of the content on this page was first person plural and the tone was informal and friendly. The language contained two references that were cause for concern. There is a headline that read: "Be Part of the 'Pack." CRT requires the researcher to consider that this could be interpreted as subtly favoring assimilation. Further down the page, there is a paragraph with a "Diversity" heading that reads: "Loyola, just like New Orleans, is a melting pot of different races, ethnicities, classes, and religions and we're proud to be ranked as one of the most diverse universities in the U.S." ("Student Life| Undergraduate Admissions | Loyola University New Orleans," n.d.). The term "melting pot" is rooted in an approach that favors assimilation (Steinberg, 2014). In short, it posits that people must give up some aspects of their culture and identity to be part of the dominant, white-focused culture.

The intended audience of the diversity content in the LUNO website was primarily prospective students and undergraduate students. There were omissions in the text—Undocumented students were excluded. The "Jesuit Tradition" page contained no reference to diversity or Undocumented students, which was a significant statement by the university ("Jesuit Tradition - Loyola University New Orleans," n.d.). The assumed power relations positioned administrators in control and students as subservient. Topicalization assessment revealed that

the Jesuit identity was important to the institution, evidenced by the top-level navigation item on the home page.

How was diversity characterized? Diversity was characterized as an important concept for students, but it not tightly integrated with university mission. Diversity clearly had some value to the institution based on the existence of a separate site, but the purpose of the site appeared to be responding to the demands of Black students. The diversity site was separated— with no links to the main site or the separate admissions site. The statement from the president and the strategic actions added value, but the approach was not integrated throughout the site. Undocumented students were virtually ignored on the sites. Finally, the imagery and melting pot missteps indicated that more work remains at LUNO in this area. Loyola University New Orleans in the Transitional stage.

Marquette University

Overview. Marquette University is a private non-profit institution in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. There are 8,200 undergraduate students at Marquette, 54% of whom identify as female. The largest non-white population is Latino/a students which constitution 11% of the population, with Asian students accounting for 6%. As shown in Figure 77, 4% percent of the students are classified as Non-resident alien, while 71% are white.

Content access. The home page of the Marquette site had seven main navigation items. In the "About" section there was a link for "Diversity at Marquette" which brought visitors to a
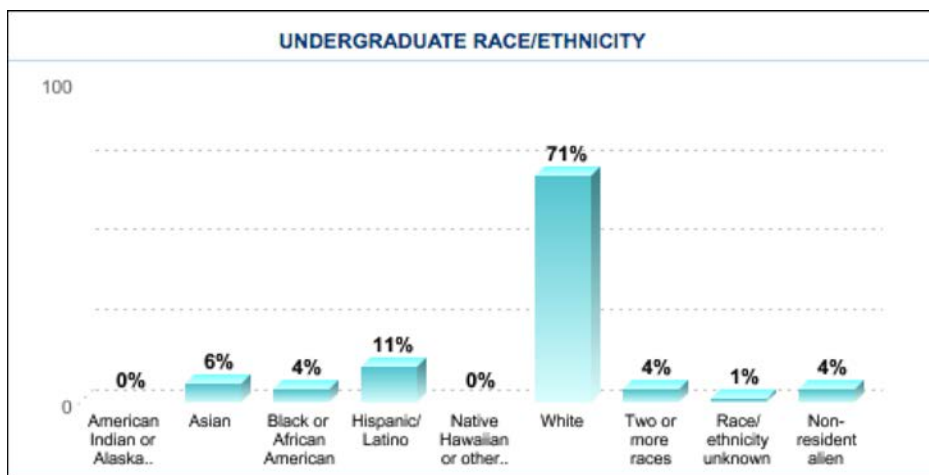
Figure 77. Marquette University Undergraduate Student Race/Ethnicity. National Center for Education Statistics, 2017.

separate diversity site. In fact, this link was listed third out of six items, before the "Our Mission" and "Our History" links. Google search and site search both effectively routed site visitors to the appropriate diversity content. LGBTQ content was also readily available via Google and site searches, bring site visitors to a key page within student affairs.

Content analysis The Diversity and Inclusion website at Marquette contained a significant amount of content. Jacqueline Black, the Associate Director of Hispanic Initiatives within the Office of Diversity and Inclusion at Marquette had a profile page documenting her qualifications ("Marquette hires Associate Director for Hispanic Initiatives, Jacqueline ('Jacki') Black," n.d.). Black's assignments included increasing "Hispanic student enrollment by more

than 15 percentage points over the next 10 years" ("Marquette hires Associate Director for

Hispanic Initiatives, Jacqueline ('Jacki') Black," n.d.).

Marquette's goal is to acquire the designation as Hispanic Serving Institution (HSI),

which would make Marquette eligible for some portion of the nearly $100 million allocated by

the U.S. Department of Education for HSI grants ("Funding Status -- Title V Developing

Hispanic-Serving Institutions Program," 2016). While it is important that Marquette is

transparent in this goal, this may be an example of interest convergence. One interpretation

would be that the focus on Latino/a students is economically-motivated—a method of increasing

enrollment and securing funds required to keep the institution viable. Documents in the strategic

plan lend support to this possibility. The plan lists eight strategic goals, five of which require

significant financial investments. In fact, the plan calls for investments of $100 million to

support the initiatives ("The M12 Initiatives // Beyond Boundaries // Marquette University,"

n.d.).

The "Our Mission" page contained seven references to diversity and inclusion. Diversity

concepts were included in three of the four points (Excellence, Faith and Leadership). The

university made a unique claim that "Catholicism at its best seeks to be inclusive" ("Our Mission

// About Marquette // Marquette University," n.d.). In addition, the university positioned itself as

a learner that benefitted from the diversity of other faiths. This tight and repetitive integration of

diversity concepts within the mission was unique among Jesuit institutions.

Marquette had a sizeable amount of content dedicated to Undocumented students, which

was easily located via Google and site search. This content was located with the "Diversity and

Inclusion" section of the site. Within the "Admissions" section, there appeared to be a

disproportionate number of images depicting Black students. The main "Admissions" page, "Apply Today", "Majors and Minors" and "Visit" all contained images of Black students, yet these students constitute only 4% of the student population. The website images did not provide a balanced view of campus. Very few Latino/a students were featured on the site. There was a link in the "Admissions" section in Spanish that sent visitors to a document providing information in Spanish on admissions procedures.

The grammatical person was consistently first-person plural, positioning the university as in control. The intended audience of these pages was prospective students and undergraduate students. The objectives appeared to be to provide information on the university's commitment to Latino/a initiatives and present diversity as central to the mission. Latino/a students were foregrounded in the content and through the hiring of an Associate Director who supports these students. The voice and tone of the content was authoritative, but welcoming. As noted, in the mission, the university mentioned how everyone benefits from a diversity of faith perspectives. This openness to other faiths was mentioned in a few peer sites. The needs of Latino/a and Undocumented students were foregrounded through additional content and pursuit of HSI status. The images on the admissions site were inconsistent with demographics and institutional focus, resulting in phony register. With regard to topicalization, the needs of Undocumented students were prioritized. LGBTQ students and Black student needs were not presented as key priorities.

Marquette used a subtle qualifier in two locations on the site that could be interpreted as a welcoming gesture. The "About" page within the Diversity and Inclusion website noted that "Precisely because Catholicism at its best seeks to be inclusive, we are open to all who share our missing and seek the truth about God and the world" ("Our Mission // About Marquette //

Marquette University," n.d.). The phrase "at its best" acknowledges that Catholicism has had peaks and valleys in its long history—and there have been moments when it has not been "at its best" and has excluded or persecuted certain groups. This is a powerful concession and positions Catholicism as flexible and aspirational—not immutable and stagnant.

One final element warrants mention. Marquette was one of the only institutions studied with any content for Native Americans. The university hosted Dr. Maria Yellow Horse Brave Heart who presented on Historical Trauma and Unresolved Grief ("Dr. Maria Yellow Horse Brave Heart: Historical Trauma and Unresolved Grief Among Native Peoples - 11/22/2017 - Marquette University," n.d.). Native Americans were silenced on nearly all Jesuit higher education websites.

How was diversity characterized? On the Marquette website, Diversity was characterized as central to the mission. The diversity website was a robust collection of information for Undocumented students and LGBTQ students. The language on key pages on the Marquette website struck an effective balance between authoritative and welcoming. Marquette's goal to be an HIS is bold and aggressive. While it could be an example of interest-convergence, it will be critical to evaluate Latino/s student success and graduation rates. The strategic plan contained extensive information on diversity and listed "A Culture of Inclusion" as the third of six goals. Marquette was transparent in their current lack of diversity—data on faculty and student diversity is readily available to site visitors and was well organized. Marquette is in the Mature Implementation stage.

Regis University

  Overview. Regis University is a private non-profit institution in Denver, Colorado with

4,100 undergraduate students, 60% of whom are female. Forty-two percent of undergraduates

attend Regis part time. This is among the lowest in the Jesuit peer group—for example,
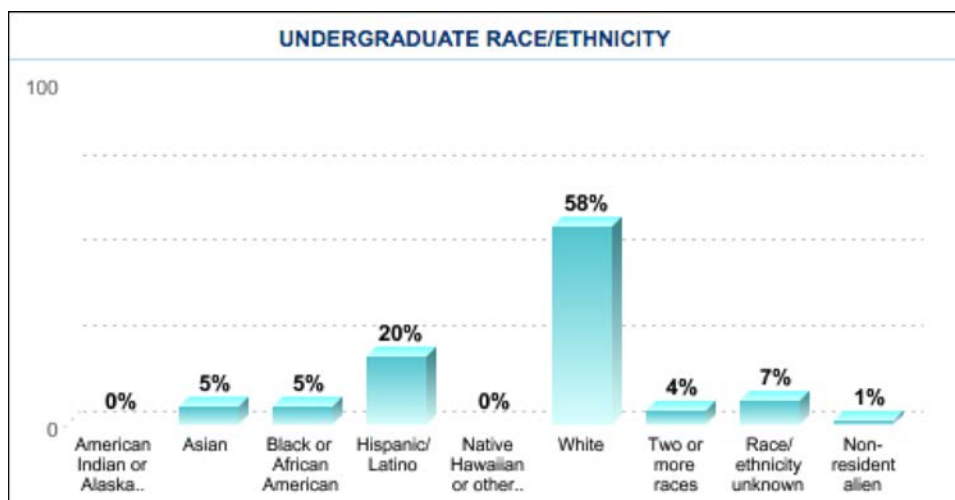
Figure 78. Regis University Undergraduate Student Race/Ethnicity. National Center for

 Education Statistics, 2017.

Georgetown undergraduate part-time students constitute just 5% of the student body. The

prevalence of part-time students at Regis has implications for student affairs professionals

seeking to assess and improve campus climate. As shown in Figure 78, Latino/a students

account for 20% of the student body, the highest group among non-whites. Black, Asian and

multiracial students each constitute approximately 5% of the population. White students

accounting for 58% of the student body.

Content access. Diversity content was not readily available on the Regis website. The home page had five major items in the menu, with 76 sub items—but did not link to diversity information. In the "Life at Regis" section, there were links for "Sustainability" and "Arts & Culture" but no reference to diversity.

The Regis University website had information architecture and usability shortcomings that impacted access to diversity content. The site consistently presented lists of links that provided little direction to the site visitor. The Office of Diversity, Equity and Inclusive

Figure 79. Gender & Sexuality Alliance page. Retrieved from:

http://www.regis.edu/RC/Campus-Life/Student-Activities/Clubs-and-Organizations/Affinity-Groups/Gay-Straight-Alliance.aspx

Excellence was listed three levels down on the site—beneath "About" and "Offices & Services." This structure grouped many offices together and produced situations when the left navigation

contained in excess of 40 items, which could overwhelm site visitors.

Google searches for "Diversity" directed visitors to the Office of Diversity, Equity and Inclusive Excellence.   As shown in Figure 79, a Google Search and site search for "LGBTQ Regis University" directed me to an empty page.

Content analysis. The grammatical person of the content shifted between first person plural and third person. On the "Our Jesuit Tradition and Heritage" page, authors utilized third person.   For example, "Jesuits are known for not being afraid to question and challenging the status quo" ("About Our Jesuit, Catholic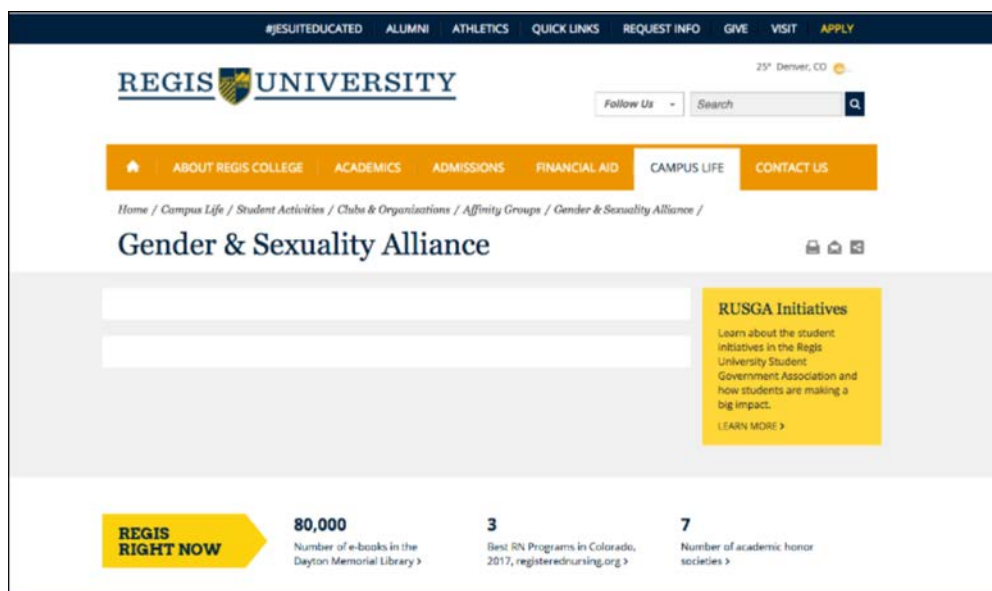 Education - Regis University in Denver," n.d.). In the same paragraph, authors shift to use first person plural: "We position our students to think critically about the world and their role in it" ("About Our Jesuit, Catholic Education - Regis University in Denver," n.d.). This was a common approach among Jesuit institutions, where page authors leverage the history and authority of the establishment, but then personalized it to provide relevance and immediacy to current student needs. The intended audience for the pages was prospective students and current students. However, in the case of Undocumented students, the content was focused exclusively on prospective students. The only information available for Undocumented students was in the "Admissions" section.

The voice and tone of the content was authoritative and formal. There was one exception to this, on the "Organizations & Programs" page within the diversity section of the site. The headline states that "Regis University has something for everyone" and lists six organizations ("Community Diversity Programs at Regis University," n.d.). According to the description, the Black Student Alliance "seeks to provide a safe and family oriented group for all of those open to diversity" ("Community Diversity Programs at Regis University," n.d.). The text suggests

that diversity is optional and that some community members may not be open to diversity. Institutions should demand an acceptance of diversity. By legitimizing the perspective of those not open to diversity, the language undermines the importance of diversity initiatives.

There were significant omissions in the content. LGBTQ needs were virtually ignored. On the Regis website, there was no statement about LGBTQ concerns, only a link to a club that had an external Facebook page. As noted, a search for "LGBTQ" returned no results on the Regis University website. In addition, there was very little content on Undocumented students, which is inconsistent with the Jesuit mission. Diversity was omitted from the strategic plan. Foregrounding of First Generation students occurred on the diversity website via a separate tab containing a few paragraphs about scholarship information. Throughout the Regis pages, power rested with the university. There were no instances where the university professed lack of knowledge, or hinted that they were also developing knowledge in this area. Instead, the power of Jesuit history was invoked to bring authority to the content. At Regis, there was no one aspect of diversity that appeared to take precedence. Each area was afforded minimal attention.

The "Diversity at Regis" page states that "Respecting our human differences, whether they are physical or philosophical, is what diversity is all about" ("Diversity Mission & Education at Regis University," n.d.). The use of the phrase "is what diversity is all about" positions the university as the expert and the student as uninformed. This phrase also has a playful tone that seems to miss the mark. The university further clarifies its position by noting that Regis "embraces diversity of thoughts and ideas ("Diversity Mission & Education at Regis University," n.d.). It is important to note that Regis narrowly defines diversity by only including physical attributes and ideas—omitting traits such as socioeconomic status, gender

identity and ethnicity that do not fall into one of these two categories. These three omitted

personal characteristics are not always physical, nor are they ideas or beliefs—they are

immutable aspects of a person's identity. In denying these characteristics of personhood, the

content "others" large segments of the population.

As shown in Figure 80, the diversity page heading is presented in multiple languages. It

is unclear what function this serves. Is it to make individuals speaking those languages feel

Figure 80. Diversity at Regis page. Retrieved from: http://www.regis.edu/About-Regis-

University/University-Offices-and-Services/Diversity/Diversity-at-Regis.aspx

welcome? Is one word of a person's language four levels down on a website likely to make that person feel welcomed? There were no other instances where page content was translated to multiple languages. The language translations served no function—they were merely visual decoration. This could be viewed as a form of objectification, wherein aspects of a culture are used for the benefit of the dominant group.

The president's message characterized diversity as consisting of race, gender, ethnicity, religion and sexual orientation ("A Message of Diversity from the Regis University President," n.d.). The president positions diversity as a core Jesuit value that provides the university with a strategic advantage because "excellence and quality are not limited to a single race, gender, ethnic group, religion or sexual orientation" ("A Message of Diversity from the Regis University President," n.d.).   The president's statement omitted disability as an aspect of diversity. Finally, the impact of this message was weakened by its location—five levels down in the site.

How was diversity characterized? Diversity on the Regis University website was inconsistently characterized. The president of the university included race, gender, ethnicity, religion and sexual orientation as elements of diversity. Omitted groups were individuals with disabilities, first generation students, Undocumented students and individuals identifying with neither the male or female gender. The diversity office at Regis had a different characterization that reduced diversity to physical and philosophical dimensions. As noted, the site had significant issues with content organization, troubling content gaps (LGBTQ and Undocumented students). Regis University is in the Startup stage of diversity development.

Rockhurst University

 Overview. Rockhurst University is a private non-profit institution located in Kansas City, Missouri. The student body consists of 8% Latino/a, 5% Black, and 3% Asian students. Whites account for 71% of the undergraduate population. Thirty-one percent of undergraduates attend Rockhurst on a part time basis, which is high among Jesuit institutions.

 Content access. Locating diversity content was difficult on the Rockhurst website. A Google search of "diversity Rockhurst University" returned a single page in the "About" section. As shown in Figure 82, searches for "LGBTQ" and "Latina" returned no results. The Rockhurst
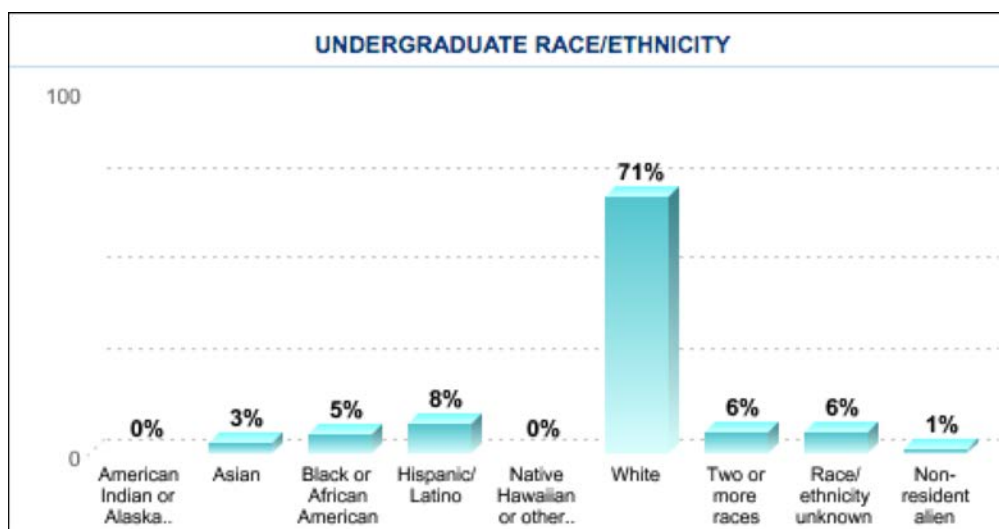
Figure 81. Rockhurst University Undergraduate Student Race/Ethnicity. National

 Center for Education Statistics, 2017.

site contained a main menu with the following sections: About, Academics, Admissions, Alumni, Athletics, and Campus Life. There was no diversity page listed in the "About" or

"Campus Life" sections of the site.

Content analysis. The carousel of images on the home page contained seven images. Of these seven images, five contained images of people in social situations (talking, embracing or engaging in some way). There were no people of color among these five images. People of color were pictured in a large group of people participating in an athletic event. In addition, one image contained a collage of alumni headshots—two of the eight were people of color. Analyzing these images collectively presented people of color as not socially engaged. Images depicting personal interaction only contained white people. People of color were only included in collages and in photos of athletic activities.
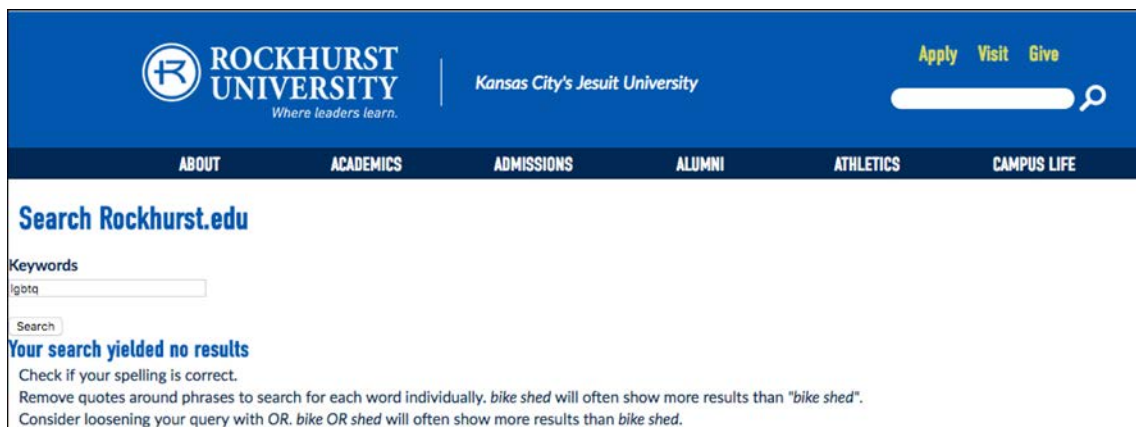
Figure 82. Rockhurst University Search page results for "LGBTQ." Retrieved from: ww2.rockhurst.edu/search_pages/lgbtq

In the "Admissions" section, there were three images on the page—all of which featured people of color. The large image at the top of the page featured a black woman, while the lower

images contained two women of color. The student population of Rockhurst is 5% black and 71% white. Featuring two black women on the main admission page was not representative of the environment at Rockhurst. Finally, the student life page featured a large photo of two women of color participating in an athletic event. Content authors should be mindful that images depicting people of color exclusively as athletes, dancers, or performers can reinforce harmful stereotypes.

The "Diversity" page in the "About" section defines diversity as "race, gender identity, socioeconomic status, sexual orientation, religion, physical abilities and qualities, age, viewpoints, perspectives and learning styles" ("Diversity | Rockhurst University," n.d.). On the "Mission" page, the word diversity did not appear, and there was no reference to Undocumented students or people with low SES ("Jesuit Mission, the Heart of RU | Rockhurst University," n.d.). The grammatical person of the prose was third person and the voice and tone of the diversity content was formal and authoritative. The intended audience was current and prospective students. LGBTQ, undocumented students, Latino/a students and first generation students were omitted from the copy. Therefore, the needs of white students were foregrounded.

How was diversity characterized? Diversity was characterized as consisting of race, gender identity, socioeconomic status, sexual orientation, religion, physical abilities and qualities, age, viewpoints, perspectives and learning styles. The diversity content on the Rockhurst University site was limited to a single page. While the diversity page referenced the Jesuit mission, on the mission page diversity was not referenced. Page authors worked to include "men and women for others" and social justice in the diversity content, but it was not supported in other areas of the site. Rockhurst University exemplified an approach to diversity

that consists of a written statement that did not appear to be supported by resources such as administrative staff, events, or services for students. In this way, the characterization of diversity serves as a laundry list of identities—not a careful consideration of individual needs. Rockhurst university is in the Startup stage of diversity development.

Saint Joseph's University

Overview. Saint Joseph's University is a private non-profit institution located in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Saint Joseph's undergraduate population consists of 6% Black and 6% Latino/a students. Just 3% of students identify as Asian, while 78% are white. Fifty-five percent of students are female.

Figure 83. Saint Joseph's University Student Race/Ethnicity. National Center for Education Statistics, 2016.

Content access. A Google search for "Diversity at Saint Joseph's University" directed visitors to a "Inclusion and Diversity at SJU" site containing approximately 20 pages of diversity

content. Searches for "Saint Joseph's University Undocumented" returned no results in Google or on the Saint Joseph's University website search. LGBTQ content was available on both Google and Saint Joseph's University website search, including an undergraduate student blog and information on LGBTQ support and events.

The website information architecture provided access to diversity content in two prominent locations, in the "About SJU" and "Campus Life" sections of the site. Both links directed students to the separate diversity website.

Content analysis. The "Inclusion and Diversity at SJU" website was written in the third person and the target audience was prospective and current students. The voice and tone of the content was authoritative and formal. There was no content for Undocumented students and few references to socioeconomic status. The assumed power relations were balanced between the university and students through counter storytelling described below.

The needs of LGBTQ students were foregrounded though "The Alliance", which is an initiative focused on creating "an environment where homophobia and hatred are replaced by mutual understanding and respect, acceptance and inclusiveness" ("The Alliance - Inclusion and Diversity at SJU," n.d.). The Alliance pages contained a list names of administrators on campus who pledged support to the LGBTQ community. The public aspect of listing names on a website (rather than using generically stating that "we" support our students) could positively impact campus culture by creating a feeling of solidarity among community members. Undocumented students were also foregrounded—with a page that listed provided legal resources, Q&A and statements from senior leadership on DACA.

On the student organizations page, Latino/a, Black, Caribbean, and Asian groups were

featured with a photo, description and contact information ("Student Inclusion and Diversity

Organizations - Inclusion and Diversity at SJU," n.d.). As shown in Figure 84, lower on the page
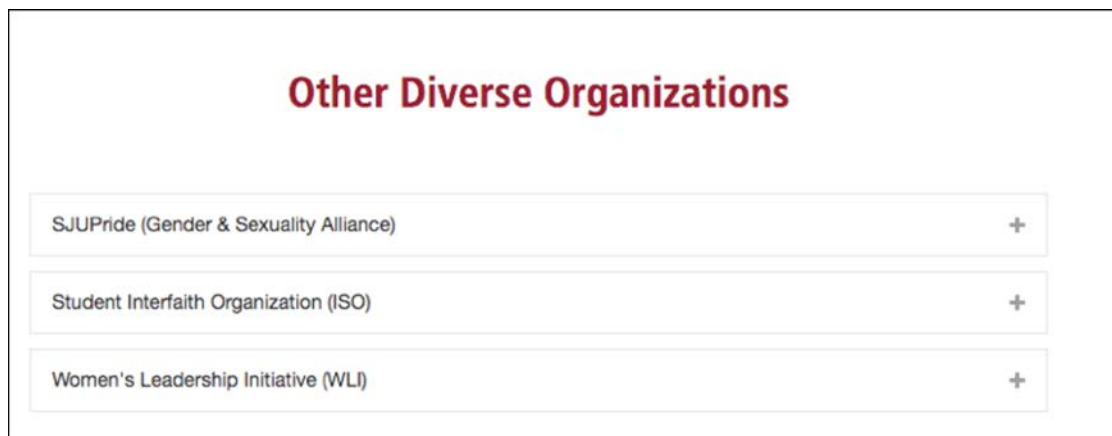
Figure 84. Saint Joseph's University Student Inclusion and Diversity Organizations

page. Retrieved from: https://sites.sju.edu/oid/student-organizations/

there was a heading "Other Diversity Organizations." The treatment of the content on this page

was unfortunate and could be considered a blind spot. Page authors perhaps did not realize that

creating callout sections for eight groups, then shifting to a less pronounced treatment lower on

the page can send a message to website visitors. The three groups lower on the page have

literally been "Othered."

One significant content issue was the lack of diversity events. The main page on the

diversity website allocated a prominent region on the page for events, yet this space was blank.

There did not seem to be significant programming celebrating or supporting of non-majority

individuals, which could send a message to certain groups that they are not welcomed.

The "L.I.N.E.S." (Leaning into New Experiences) web page within the diversity website

features a video of a student production in which individuals perform monologues describing personal experiences dealing with exclusion, racism and oppression ("L.I.N.E.S. - Inclusion and Diversity at SJU," n.d.). In this way, the website provided a powerful space for counter storytelling, a critical aspect of overcoming hegemonic norms.

How was diversity characterized? Diversity was presented as central to the mission of Saint Joseph's University. There were a number of key initiatives such as a president's council, a vice provost for diversity and a focus on support for undocumented students. There were a few instances where content authors may have inadvertently marginalized certain groups. The separate diversity website had significant content, but the lack of events undermined the power of this site. If there is no funding for events and support, is it really a priority? For a Jesuit institution, addressing issues of transgender student identity through the mapping of gender-neutral restrooms was a small but significant show of support. Finally, the president of the university made a number of public statements in recent months in support of DACA and condemning the racist acts of white supremacists in Charlottesville. Saint Joseph's University is in the Mature Implementation stage.

Saint Louis University

Overview. Saint Louis University is a private non-profit institution with an enrollment of 11,800 students. Fifty-nine percent of students are female and 41% are male. The largest non-white group is students identifying as Asian, who constitute 7% of the student body. Black students account for 6% of undergraduates, while 4% of students identify as Latino/a. Seventy-three percent of undergraduates are white. At Saint Louis University 43% of

undergraduate students attend part time, which is among the highest in the peer group of Jesuit

institutions.

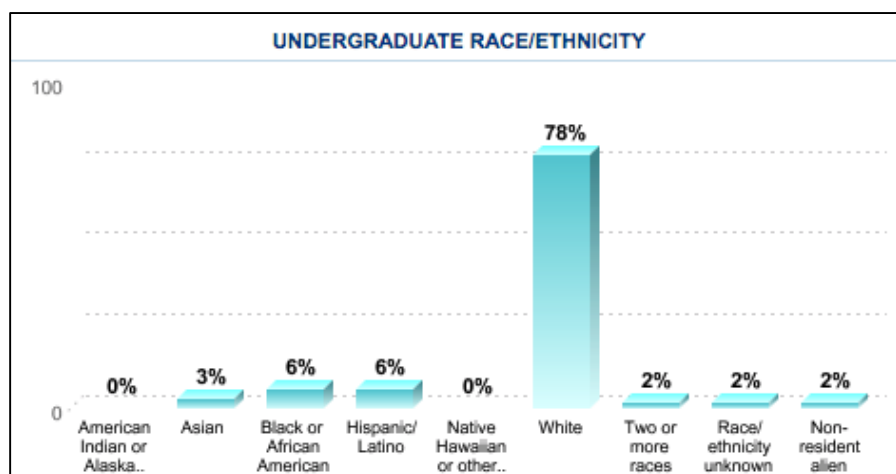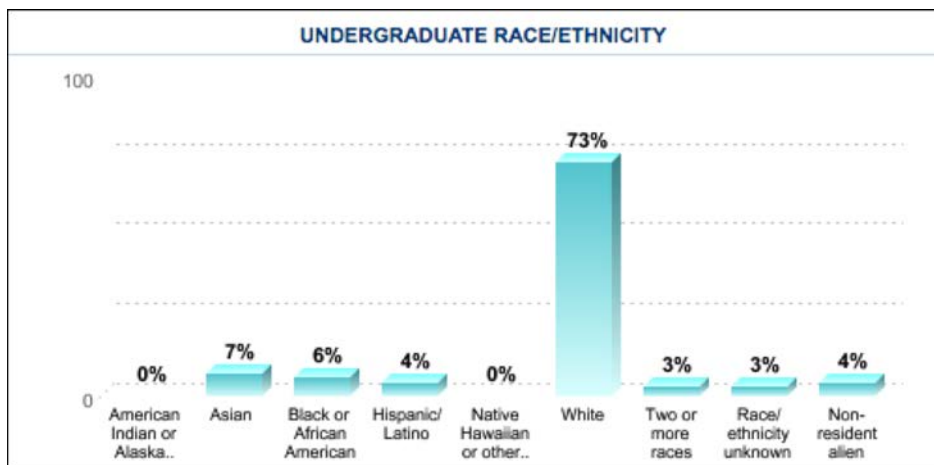*Figure 85.* Saint Louis University Student Race/Ethnicity. National Center for Education

Statistics, 2017.

Content access.   Diversity content was readily accessible on the Saint Louis University

website (SLU). In the "Catholic, Jesuit Identity" there was an item "Diversity and Inclusion"

which contained significant resources. Similarly, searches on the SLU site and using Google

for "LGBTQ Saint Louis University" produced results that directed site visitors to key content.

The information architecture of the SLU website prioritized diversity content. As shown

in Figure 86, the "About" section contains an item labeled "Jesuit, Catholic Identity." Within

this section, Diversity and Inclusion was a key sub item. In this way, site authors sent an explicit
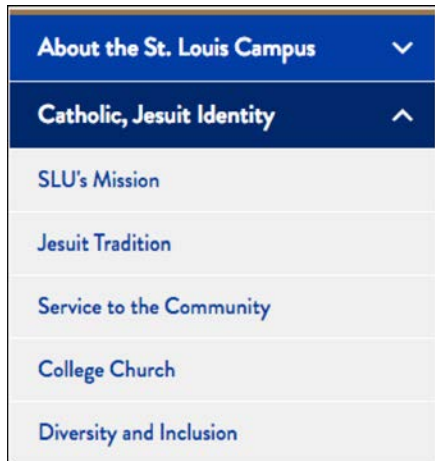
Figure 86. Menu on SLU About page. Retrieved from: https://www.slu.edu/about/index.php

message that diversity is a key aspect of the Jesuit mission. Diversity was not simply words on a

page, but a component of the mission "rooted in Ignatian spirituality" ("Diversity and Inclusion :

SLU," n.d.). In addition, SLU site editors included content focused on students in the "Life at

SLU" section of the site. The "Cross Cultural Center" page contained information on student

organizations, staff and events.

Content analysis. The voice and tone was congratulatory and self-affirming. SLU noted

that they were proud of their past accomplishments related to diversity and planned to be a

national model for diversity and inclusion ("Diversity and Inclusion : SLU," n.d.).

The content on the "Diversity and Inclusion at SLU" page positioned diversity as a racial

issue impacting Black students. After a brief introductory paragraph, page authors documented the university's role in admitting African-American students, its part in inviting Martin Luther King, Jr. to campus and the results of a 2014 protest by Black students that resulted in a 13-ponit agreement between students and administrators.

The intended audience was prospective and current undergraduate students. The page goals appeared to be explaining the resources available to students and convincing students that the university is addressing their concerns. As noted, there were several instances where the university highlighted their accomplishments and referred to decades-old events to support their claims of inclusion.

The grammatical person was first person plural as noted by the use of phrases such as "we feel a particular concern for the most vulnerable members of our society" ("Resources for DACA/Undocumented Students : SLU," n.d.). The needs of undocumented students were foregrounded. In the "Diversity" section, there were five navigation links, but only the "DACA resources" item was targeted to a specific group and contained statements of support, campus resources and legal guidance. There were no significant omissions in the text. The assumed power relations placed administrators in control, based on the tone of the language. However, in a response to the Clock Tower Accords, a senior administrator noted that racial injustice may not be eliminated in his lifetime. This both an acknowledgement of the fallibility of administrative policies and an acknowledgment of the magnitude of this crisis. With regard to topicalization, SLU valued Undocumented students, Black students and LGBTQ students—their needs were prioritized. Diversity was embedded in the mission and carried through the site in areas relevant to both administrators and students.

SLU had a unique "Oath of Inclusion" which warrants examination. The page described diversity as "race, ethnicity, sex, age, ability, faith, orientation, gender, class and ideology" ("Oath of Inclusion : SLU," n.d.). Does "orientation" refer to "sexual orientation"? This is unclear. In addition, the oath promised to work for social justice, accept the dignity of all people and enrich the culture. The oath was presented in Arabic, Mandarin, German, Italian, Polish and Spanish. Interestingly, French was not included. It would be interesting to determine if students were involved in the creation of this oath.

How was diversity characterized? Diversity at SLU was embedded in the mission. Diversity was a key section on the "About" page and the language on that page firmly linked diversity to the Ignatian tradition. Diversity is evolving—as evidenced by the message posted on the website responding to the student demands for equity (known as the Clock Tower Accords). The university had an extensive set of student organizations, including several unique to SLU such as: Saudi Arabian Students Association, SLU Solidarity with Palestine, Indian Student Association and Hindu Students Community. SLU had a fair amount of diversity content, but in a few cases, there was a brief paragraph of text and no link to additional information. This aspect of the site prevented Saint Louis University from attain the highest stage of diversity development. Saint Louis University is in in the Mature Implementation stage.

Saint Peter's University

Overview. Saint Peter's University is Jersey City, New Jersey is a private, non-profit institution with 2,700 undergraduates. Sixty four percent of students are female and 89% attend full time. As shown in Figure 87, the student population consists of 40% Latino/a students, the

highest percentage among Jesuit Institutions. Black students account for 22% of the population,

with Asian students numbering at 7%. White make up 16% of the undergraduate student body.
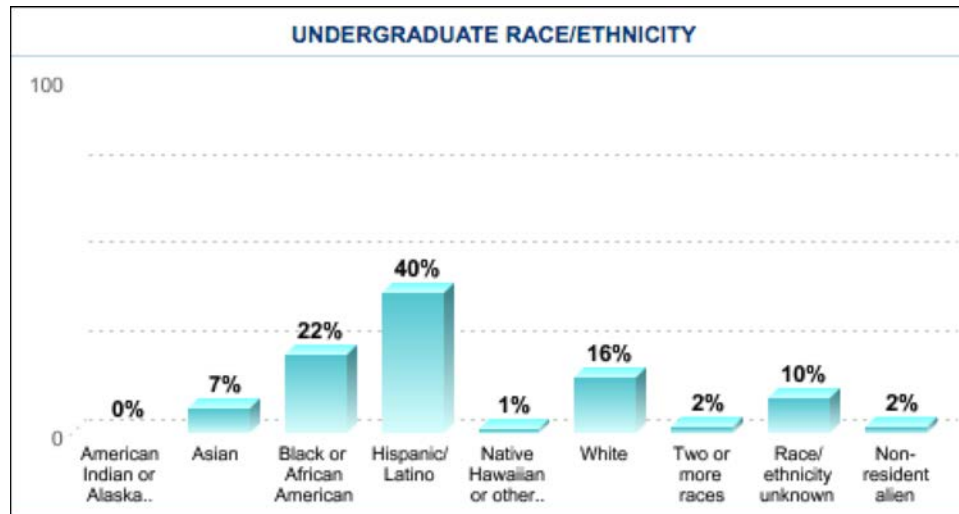
Figure 87. Saint Peter's University Student Race/Ethnicity. National Center for

Education Statistics, 2017.

Content access. Accessing diversity content on the Saint Peter's University (SPU)

website was challenging. A Google search for "Diversity at Saint Peter's University" returned

zero results that pointed to the SPU website. Similarly, a search on the Saint Peter's site for

"Diversity", "Latina", "LGBTQ" and several other terms did not return links to diversity content.

The main navigation on the SPU site was unique among Jesuit peers. Web designers

chose to use verbs (Learn, Live, Thrive, Attend) for the main items and then grouped services

and offerings under each action word. "Learn" was a substitute for "Academics" and contained

links for schools, courses and registration. "Live" was a proxy for Campus Life and therefore

contained housing and dining information. "Thrive" was the place where the university put the

"About" information as well as special programs and differentiating factors. Finally, "Attend" was the substitute for "Admissions." This navigation approach used was progressive, and clearly aimed at a younger audience. Jesuit higher education websites are often organized based on institutional hierarchy, rather than by student needs. This approach disrupted the current model and demonstrated an awareness of student needs and knowledge of web best practices. As a smaller institution interested in capturing additional market share, it is not surprising that Saint Peter's would take a progressive approach. Overall, the model worked, though the information architecture and content work to support the site had significant gaps. The site had no diversity page, which was surprising given their student demographics. There was no statement on DACA or Charlottesville and no page for Undocumented students. On a modern website such as Saint Peter's with a unique navigation model that likely required significant financial investment, it is interesting that website designers overlooked the need for diversity content.

Content analysis. Applying the Website Content Analysis Framework to the site revealed that the grammatical person is first person plural. The voice and tone of the content is friendly and conversational. In fact, the writing on the Saint Peter's University website reflects web best practices. The text is concise; paragraphs are short and the language is conversational. This approach is critical for connecting with a web audience that often consumes content on a tablet or phone.

The intended audience for the site was prospective students. A common technique in web writing is to pose a question to site visitors, as seen on the "About" page:

What happens when you put one of the world's greatest teaching organizations next to one of the greatest cities in the world? You get Saint Peter's University, a Jesuit

institution of higher education just minutes from New York City, a global center of culture, entertainment, business — and professional and career opportunities. ("Saint Peters University - Saint Peter's University - About," n.d.)

The About page closes with a catchy sentence that attempts to capture the essential advantage of Saint Peter's University: "We're small enough to know you by name and big enough to bring the world to your door." This writing was most likely done by an external writing firm, or an in-house writer with a solid foundation in web best practices. Evaluating this copy was critical, because it places Saint Peter's University among the leaders in their peer group with regard to two critical components: Information Architecture and web writing.

The overall Saint Peter's University website demonstrated competency in three major areas of web site development: information architecture, visual design and web writing. Therefore, it was quite surprising that the site has significant omissions: no diversity page, no statement on DACA, no information on financial aid for undocumented students, no reference to diversity in the mission statement, and no content on the LGBTQ page. The LGBTQ page is shown in Figure 88. Within key pages, there were significant omissions. The "Jesuit Identity" did not contain references to diversity and the words "gender", "race", "undocumented", "sexuality" or "poor" do not appear ("Saint Peters University - Jesuit Identity," n.d.). The "Catholic Tradition" page contained the phrase "Appreciation of diversity" among a list of bullets, but no references to race, other religions, disability, sexuality or gender ("Saint Peters University - Jesuit Identity - Catholic Tradition," n.d.).

Figure 88. Saint Peter's University PRIDE page. Retrieved from:

https://www.saintpeters.edu/pride/

The "Jesuit Identity" page contained an image of Saint Peter's President Eugene Cornacchia taking a "selfie" with a statue of Saint Peter. This playful gesture seemed somewhat out of place on a page that should strike at the heart of the Jesuit Mission of the university. Language of inclusion was omitted—replaced by an image of the president being silly. This is an example of phony register.

How was diversity characterized? Saint Peter's University did not directly address diversity through the website. It was one of the only institutions among Jesuit peers that did not have a diversity page. This was surprising given a student body that is just 16% white. Saint Peter's is remarkably diverse, so perhaps site designers did not feel the need to create diversity content. However, I would suggest that these content gaps are problematic. Even if the

university has been successful at recruiting, supporting and graduating a diverse class, these efforts must be linked to the mission. Furthermore, the institution exists within a society reeling from racist incidents in Charlottesville, ongoing police brutality, immigration injustice and a host of other issues. Statements in support of DACA from the president and administrators is critical—especially given the 40% Latino/a population at the school. Finally, Saint Peter's University faculty is 85% white ("Race, Ethnicity, and Gender of Full-Time Faculty at More Than 3,700 Institutions - The Chronicle of Higher Education," n.d.), which does not reflect the demographics of the student population. With an exceptionally diverse student body and knowledge of web best practices, Saint Peter's had a unique opportunity to create a website with powerful messaging that positioned the university as a national leader in the battle for social justice. To date, that opportunity has been squandered. Saint Peter's is in the Startup stage of diversity development.

Santa Clara University

Overview. Santa Clara University is a private non-profit institution located in Santa Clara, California with an undergraduate population of 5,400. The university is 50% female and 98% of students attend full time. As shown in Figure 89, Latino/a and Asian students each account for 17% of the student body, with black students at just 3%. Seven percent of Santa Clara students identify as more than one race, among the highest in the Jesuit peer group. Four percent are identified as non-resident alien. Forty-nine percent of students at Santa Clara are white.
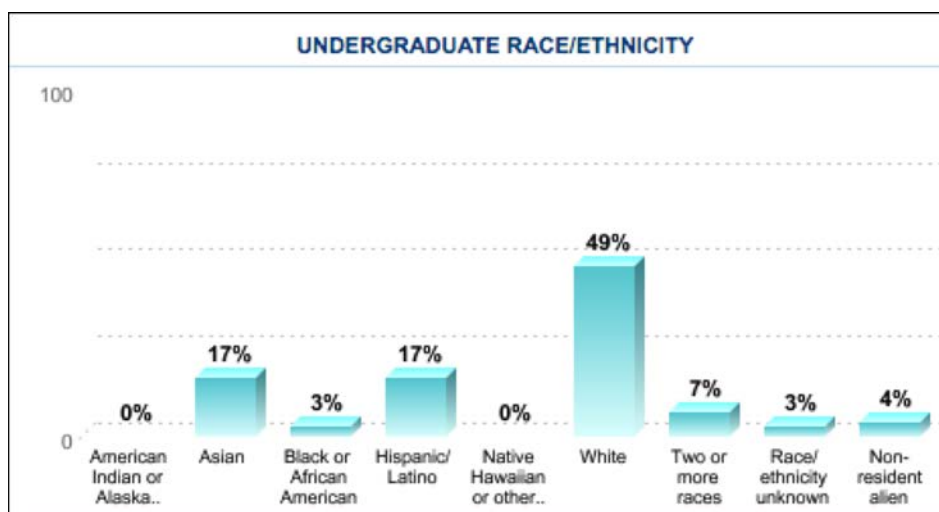
Figure 89. Santa Clara University Student Race/Ethnicity. National Center for Education Statistics, 2017.

Content access. Diversity content was readily available on the Santa Clara website. Throughout the site, the global navigation menu "About SCU" contained a "Diversity" subpage, making this available on every page on the site.   A search on the SCU site for "Undocumented" provided access to a page within the "Admissions" section containing financial aid, legal and support resources. Similarly, Google and site searches for "LGBTQ" and "Diversity" directed visitors to key content in the "About" section and in the "Office of Multicultural Learning" site. One content access issue was the separation of institutional diversity content and student-focused information, an IA concern across Jesuit higher education websites.

Content analysis. The grammatical person of the content shifts between third person and first person plural as evidenced in this selection from the "Admissions" page:

Broncos are ambitious problem-solvers. They care about the world around them. We give them the knowledge, experiences, and opportunities to make it better. ("Admission - Santa Clara University," n.d.).

The intendent audience of the content was prospective students. The voice and tone of the content is informal and playful in sections, such as on the "Admissions" site, which contains a heading "Hey There", then proceeds to welcome students to an idealistic haven referred to as "Claradise" ("Undergraduate - Admission - Santa Clara University," n.d.) This is in contrast to the experiences of the Unity 4 group at SCU who have documented their experiences with racism, sexism and other horrific interactions ("Unity 4 Envisions a More Equitable Campus - Story Archives - Sustainability at SCU - Santa Clara University," n.d.).   While the marketing content on the "Admissions" page is intended for prospective students and may need to slant toward the positive, the content went too far. As discussed in Chapter Two, marketing in higher education has struggled with the notion of "student as customer." Presenting Santa Clara campus as paradise when many students (such as the Unity 4 group) encounter racism, bias and inequitable treatment on campus can further isolate these students and reflects a lack of attention to the welfare of these students.

In places the writing takes an instructive and authoritative tone, which affirmed the value of safe spaces supporting LGBTQ students.

Santa Clara University affirms the right of all students to live and learn in a safe and respectful environment. Oftentimes, however, students from traditionally marginalized groups—women, people of color, the disabled, the poor, religious, ethnic and sexual minorities—feel neither safe nor respected on our campus. Creating a safe environment

for all students is the concern of the entire University. ("Safe Space Training - Rainbow

Resource Center - Office for Multicultural Learning - Santa Clara University," n.d.)

There were no obvious omissions in the text. Diversity was clearly and thoroughly

described on the "Council on Inclusive Excellence" page to include "personality, learning style,

life experience, race/ethnicity, class, gender, sexual orientation, country of origin, and ability, as

well as cultural, political, religious or other affiliations or perspectives" ("Guiding Principles -

Council on Inclusive Excellence - Diversity - Santa Clara University," n.d.).

Santa Clara was transparent about student diversity data. The "Santa Clara University

Trends" page contained detailed information on the retention rates of students and the goals to

increase students and faculty of color. The needs of First Generation students, LGBTQ students

and veterans were foregrounded via navigation links on the diversity page. While the university

did have financial aid resources for Undocumented students, the university did not have a

holistic approach to support. For example, there was no information on mental health support,

legal options or external resources for Undocumented students. In addition, no information was

available on the main admissions page or on the "About" page for Undocumented students.

Santa Clara had one significant content issue that warrants examination. On the "Office

of Multicultural Learning" page there were a series of six images under the heading "OM

Brochure." These images were small and only the headlines of each page were legible. There

was no link to access the brochure and the images did not contain "ALT text" which is a critical

component for accessibility.   Site visitors with a visual impairment would have limited access to

this content. While it is beyond the scope of this study to analyze disability access on higher

education websites, not following best practices can excluded community members from

content.

The "Diversity and Identity Abroad" page show in Figure 90 contains an impressive array of diversity information and resources. The voice and tone of the content was supportive and reflected a deep concern for student success.

> The goal is to anticipate how different aspects of your identity may be received in the host country. To do so, it is essential to understand the constructs of your identity and empower yourself with knowledge of the complex cultural, social, and historical dynamics of the host country/city culture. ("Diversity and Identity Abroad - Global Engagement - Santa Clara University," n.d.)

> Unfortunately, this page was three levels down in the site (Home/ Global Engagement / Study Abroad / Diversity and Identity Abroad) and exceptionally difficult to locate because there was no links to it on the main "Study Abroad" page, the institutional diversity page or the student life diversity page. This is an example of content segregation, which separates diversity content from the main site and ultimately backgrounds the needs of certain groups.

With regard to topicalization, diversity was critical to the mission of Santa Clara University. This was demonstrated through prominent placement of diversity links in the main navigation and strong language in the "About" section. The headline on the main diversity page states "The Diversity of the SCU community is its greatest strength" ("Diversity - About SCU - Santa Clara University," n.d.).

How was diversity characterized? Santa Clara had extensive resources for LGBTQ and Undocumented students. Diversity was central to the mission. Three key issues kept them from the top category. The first issue was the depiction of the campus as a paradise when there were

significant and persistent issues with racism on campus ("Unity 4 Envisions a More Equitable Campus - Story Archives - Sustainability at SCU - Santa Clara University," n.d.). The second issue of concern was the inaccessibility of key content on the "Office of Multicultural Affairs"
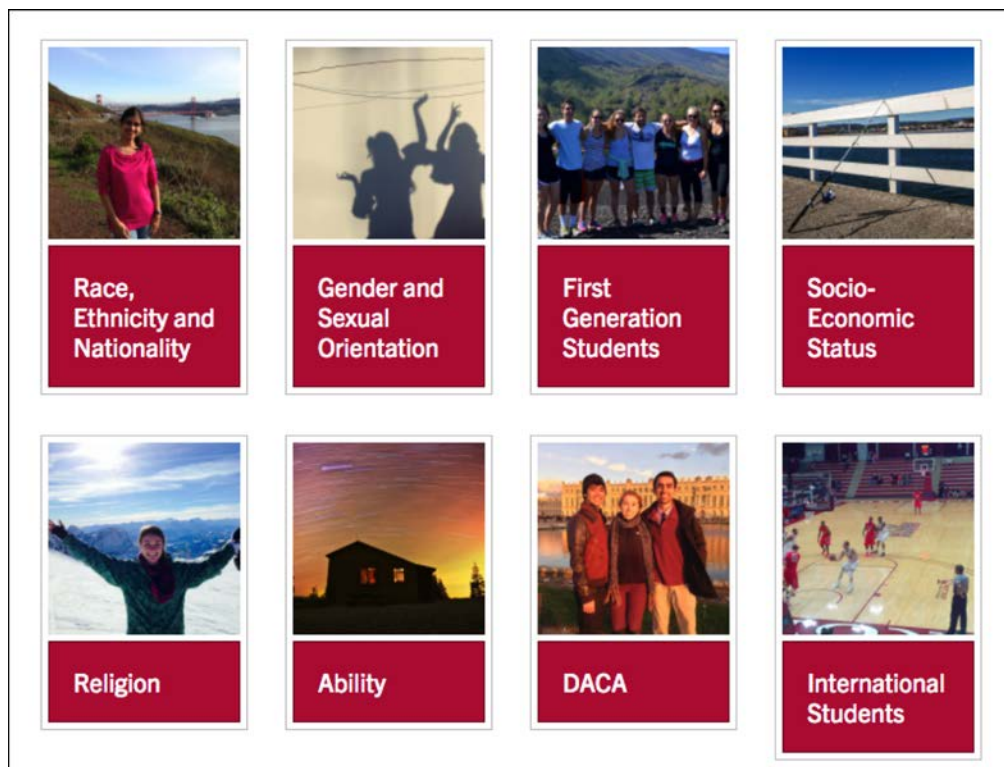
Figure 90. Santa Clara University Diversity and Identity Abroad page. Retrieved from: https://www.scu.edu/globalengagement/diversity-and-identity-abroad/

webpage, which reflected a lack of attention to the needs of students with disabilities. A third issue that plagued the diversity content at SCU was a fractured website environment. As was the case with other Jesuit institutions, Santa Clara had both a student-focused office and an administrative office. However, the content on the student-focused Office of Multicultural

Learning (OML) was not available on the "Office of Student Life" web page. Surprisingly, there

was no reference to the OML group on the "Office for Diversity and Inclusion" website, despite

11 navigation items. This type of fractured environment, or "segregation" of student and

administrative content suggests collaboration issues and raises questions about the

administration's commitment to student needs. Santa Clara is in the Mature Implementation

stage of diversity development.

Seattle University

    Overview.   Seattle University is a private non-profit institution with an undergraduate

enrollment of 4,700 students. The school is 61% female and 39% male. As shown in Figure 91,

Asian students account for 16% of the student population. Eleven percent of the students

identify as Latino/a, while 8% of students identify with more than one race. Three percent of

students at Seattle are Black, with 11% identifying as non-resident alien.
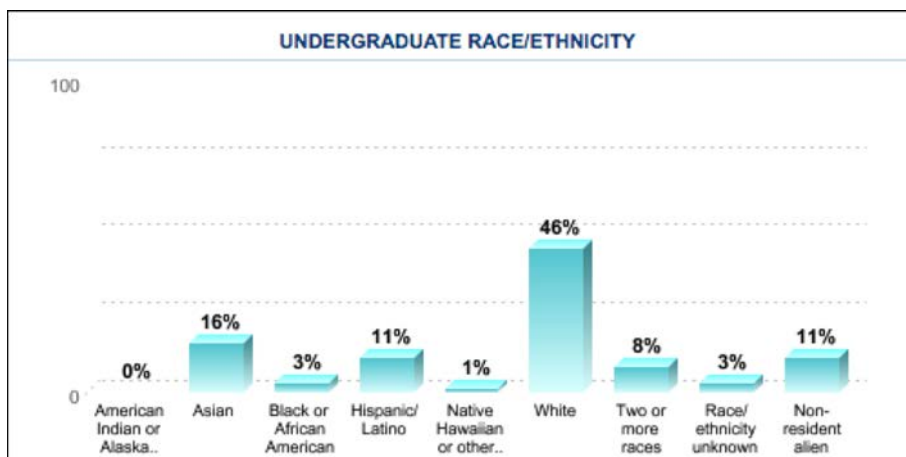
Figure 91. Seattle University Student Race/Ethnicity. National Center for Education

Statistics, 2017.

Content access. On the Seattle University home page, there were 8 main links in the top navigation. In the "About" section there was no link to diversity information. However, the "Mission, Vision and Values" page contained a list of six key values which were: Care, Academic Excellence, Diversity, Faith, Justice, and Leadership ("Mission, Vision and Values - About Seattle University - Seattle University," n.d.). In the Student Life section of the website there were 34 links on the page. The 34th link on the page was to the Office of Multicultural Affairs. Google searches for "LGBTQ" returned a number of relevant results, including information on how gender and sexual identity could impact the study abroad experience. A site search on the website returned information for Undocumented students in the Office of Multicultural Affairs section and on the main Admissions page. This reflected an understanding that both prospective and current students needed access to relevant information on how they can find legal, financial and emotional support.

Content analysis. The grammatical person of the content was third person. The tone was formal and distant. The intended audience was prospective and current students. The needs of LGBTQ and Undocumented students were foregrounded. For example, in the Office of Multicultural Affairs website there were left navigation links for only two groups: Trans students and Undocumented students ("Resources for Trans Students - Student Success Resources - Office of Multicultural Affairs - Seattle University," n.d.). The "Resources for Trans Students" page, shown in Figure 92, contained seven sections covering housing, legal protections and gender-neutral restrooms. Seattle University has provided resources to trans students since 2012, which is impressive ("All Gender Restrooms - Resources for Trans Students - Student Success Resources - Office of Multicultural Affairs - Seattle University," n.d.).

Figure 92. Seattle University Resources for Trans Students page. Retrieved from:

https://www.seattleu.edu/oma/student-success-resources/resources-for-trans-students/

With regard to topicalization, diversity was important to Seattle University, but there were gaps in the messaging that hindered effectiveness. For example, the "About" page contained a brief statement about the university, then a collection of 38 links grouped into Categories. There was no link in this section for diversity, but Sustainability and Assessment were major categories, indicating that these were institutional priorities. Diversity is listed on the "Mission, Vision and Values" page, but contains one sentence: "We celebrate educational

excellence achieved through diversity" ("Mission, Vision and Values - About Seattle University - Seattle University," n.d.). In this sentence "educational excellence" is the entity that is celebrated–that is the goal. One way this is achieved is "through" diversity. Therefore it would seem that diversity is a tool used for achieving educational excellence and is only valued insofar as it helps the university achieve educational excellence. I suggest that diversity has countless additional benefits and value, including the elevation of minoritized identities and personal experience with social justice issues that can bring urgency and meaning to core aspects of the Jesuit mission. The Seattle University site contained numerous pages that were lists of links, or short phrases that did not lend much depth to the content. On the Mission, Vision and Values page this method did not effectively convey the university's commitment to diversity.

How was diversity characterized? Diversity included race, gender, class, age, ability, religion, sexual orientation and global engagement ("DEEP: Diversity and Equity Education Program - Student Leadership - Office of Multicultural Affairs - Seattle University," n.d.). The inclusion of "global engagement" as an aspect of diversity was curious. The focus at Seattle University was on Undocumented and LGBTQ students. While focusing on Undocumented students is important, 16% of students at Seattle University are Asian. Asians students face ongoing racism and need support in combating microaggressions and concepts such as the model minority myth ("Beyond Stereotype | Harvard Graduate School of Education," n.d.). The content for the two foregrounded groups was deep and well-constructed, but the needs of other groups were backgrounded.

Diversity was not embedded within the mission. The "About" page did not describe

diversity or explain how it was an essential aspect of the Jesuit Mission. While Seattle

University had several important diversity tools such as a set of resources for Trans students and

powerful information acknowledging the power of women in the Jesuit mission, the language on

specific pages fell short of inclusive excellence. Seattle University is in the Mature

Implementation stage of diversity development.

Spring Hill College

      Overview. Spring Hill College is a private non-profit institution located in Mobile,

Alabama with an enrollment of 1,400 students. As shown in Figure 93, the school is 63% female
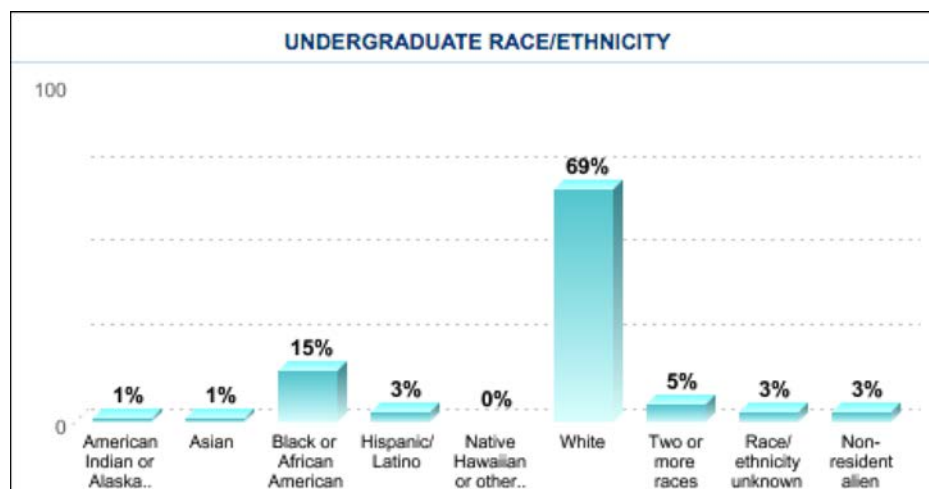
Figure 93. Spring Hill College Student Race/Ethnicity. National Center for Education
Statistics, 2016.

and 99% of students attend full time. The undergraduate population is 15% Black, 3% Latino/a

and 1% Asian. Five percent of students identify with more than one race. Sixty nine percent of

the students are white.

Content access. The home page of the Spring Hill College website contained a main

menu with six items: About, Admission & Aid, Student Life, About SHC, Athletics and News &
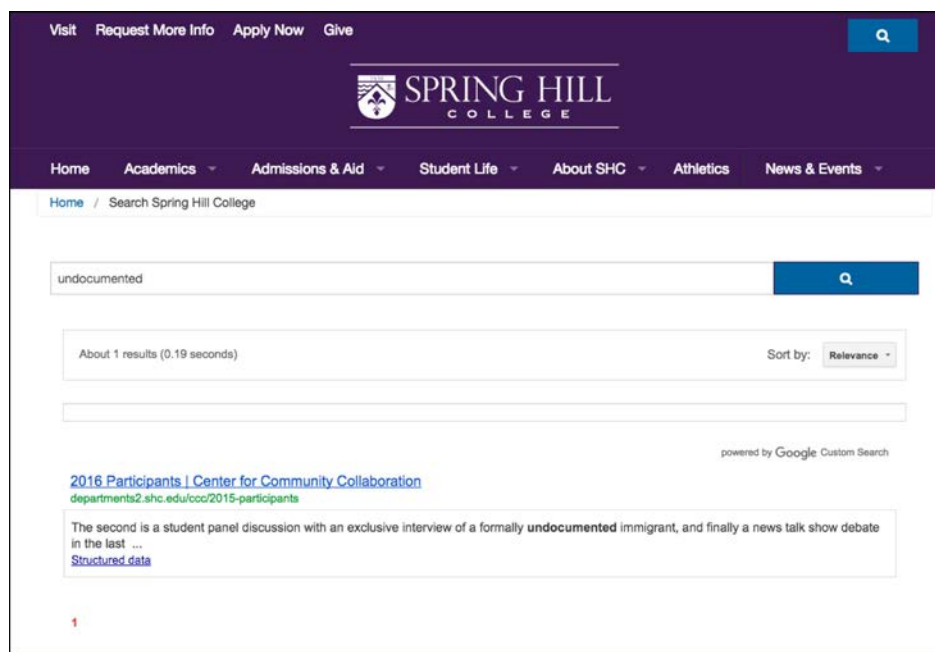
Figure 94. Search results from Spring Hill College website. Retrieved from:

http://www.shc.edu/search/?q=undocumented

Events. There were 53 links in these menus but no link for a "Diversity" page. There did not

appear to be an office responsible for institutional diversity. Similarly, there was no diversity or

multicultural information on the "Student Life" page. There does not appear to be an

administrative unit in student affairs supporting students from non-majority backgrounds. A

Google search and site search for "LGBTQ" yielded no relevant information—just a list of

course readings. As shown in Figure 94, there was no content on the website mentioning

Undocumented students.

Content analysis. There was a dearth of diversity content available on the Spring Hill College website. The "Student Life" and "About" sections of the site did not have pages devoted to discussing issues of diversity. There were no pages on the site discussing topics of concern to LGBTQ, Black, Latino/a, Undocumented or Asian students.

The "Mission of Spring Hill College" page contains the following sentence, "Through informed dialogue with the world's cultures, religions and peoples, we promote solidarity with the entire human family" ("Mission | Spring Hill College," n.d.). It is not clear how the college promotes solidarity, or who is included in this dialogue. The broad, sweeping generalizations of the statement make it is difficult to decipher. Therefore, it is virtually devoid of meaning.

The strategic plan page listed 10 goals, none of which referenced diversity, service to the poor, social justice, or equity ("Strategic Plan | Spring Hill College," n.d.). The goals were primarily related to establishing new revenue streams, meeting enrollment goals and increasing academic quality. The university responded to the White House executive order "Protecting the Nation from Terrorist Entry into the United States" dated February 1, 2017. President Christopher Puto wrote:

> Spring Hill College is committed to protecting the rights and safety of all students, staff
> and faculty. One of my most important duties as president of Spring Hill College is to
> foster a campus community that embraces diversity, facilitates learning and an open
> exchange of ideas, respects privacy, and cultivates a safe environment free of
> discrimination. ("Statement from Christopher Puto," n.d.)

The letter is not an aggressive rebuttal of the White House order, but rather a gentle affirmation that the school will protect the rights of "all students." While the letter notes

solidarity with peer Jesuit institutions, the tone of the letter does not match that of several Jesuit peers. When institutions reference "all" students in communications it can subtly overlook differences resulting and bias and can deny attention to those most in need. Finally, with no diversity statement, and no events or resources available to non-majority backgrounds, it is not clear how the school can achieve its goal of fostering diversity and an open exchange of ideas.

How was diversity characterized? At Spring Hill College, diversity was unevenly presented. There were minimal references to diversity or any of its component on the website. There appeared to be no events celebrating difference, discussing issues or bringing people together. LGBTQ high school students considering Spring Hill College would not find a single reference to LGBTQ concerns on the website. Another significant omission was related to Undocumented students and students from lower socioeconomic groups. Care for the poor is central to the Jesuit mission and has been for hundreds of years. These concerns were absent from the Spring Hill College website. Spring Hill College is in the Startup stage of diversity development.

University of Detroit Mercy

Overview. University of Detroit Mercy (UDM) is a private non-profit institution with 2,600 undergraduate students. As shown in Figure 95, sixty four percent of students are female and 82% attend part time. Black students account for 13% of the undergraduate population, with Latino/a students numbering at 5%. White students make up 60% of the student body.
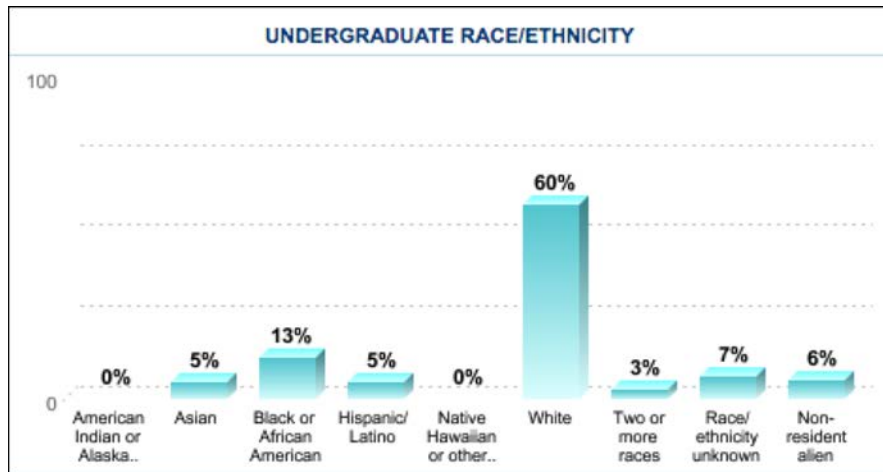
Figure 95. Spring Hill College Student Race/Ethnicity. National Center for Education

Statistics, 2016.

    Content access. A google search for "Diversity at University of Detroit mercy" returned

the main diversity page for the institution. This page was located three levels under, in the

"About" section and in a subsection called "Consumer Information." A Google search for

"LGBTQ at University of Detroit Mercy" returned no results from the UDM site. Conducting a

site search for "LGBTQ" returned one result—a list of student organizations. However, on that

page, there was no content for LGBTQ students. The site architecture contained four major

sections: Academics, Admission, Student Life and About. The "About" section contained no

diversity information, and no subpages discussing race, gender, or disability. Similarly, the

student life section was devoid of diversity content. There were 9 major callout sections in

"Student Life." None of these sections contained diversity information. There was no Office of

Multicultural Affairs information anywhere on the site. The site contained no information for

Undocumented students. In January and September, statements were posted regarding DACA,

but these appeared to be statements created by the Association of Jesuit Colleges and

Universities and then posted on the UDM website.

Content analysis. UDM had very little diversity content—there was no diversity

statement, no mention of it in the mission, no office of multicultural affairs, and no admissions

information.

The images on the site warrant examination. Seven of the ten top banner images across

the site feature students of color, as shown in Figure 96. This is not representative of UDM
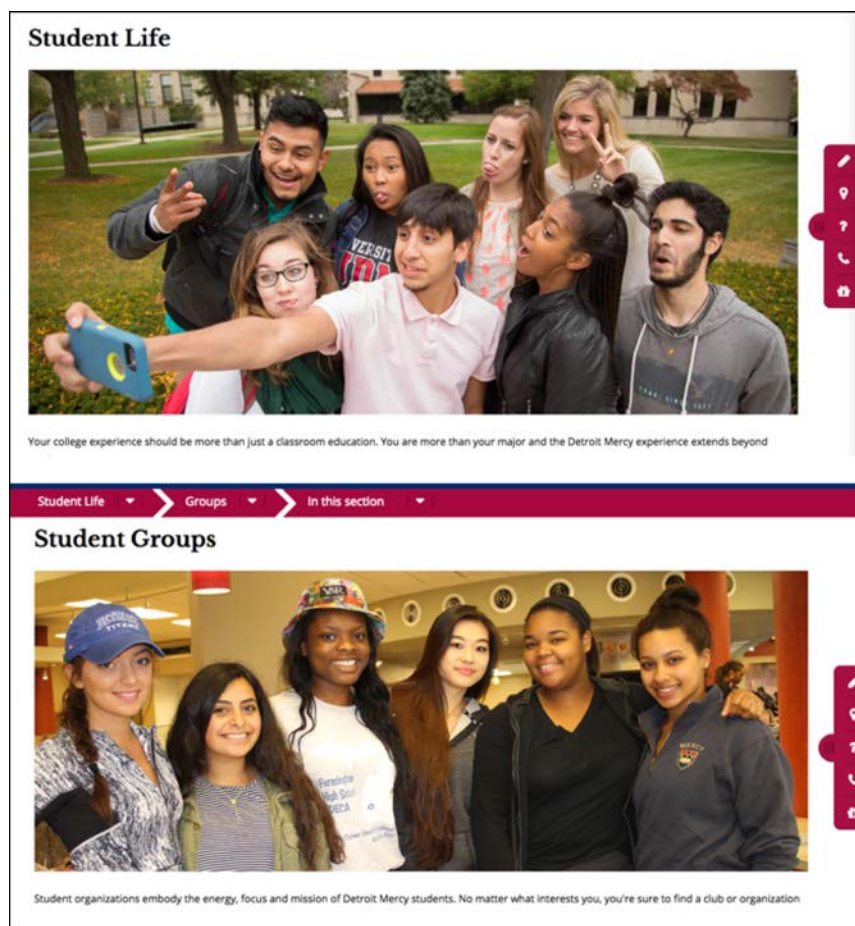
Figure 96. Student Life Carousel on University of Detroit Mercy website. Retrieved from:

https://www.udmercy.edu/life/index.php

campus, as only 16% of the undergraduates are students of color. While the presentation of images cannot and should not exactly match demographics, use of images should be carefully evaluated.
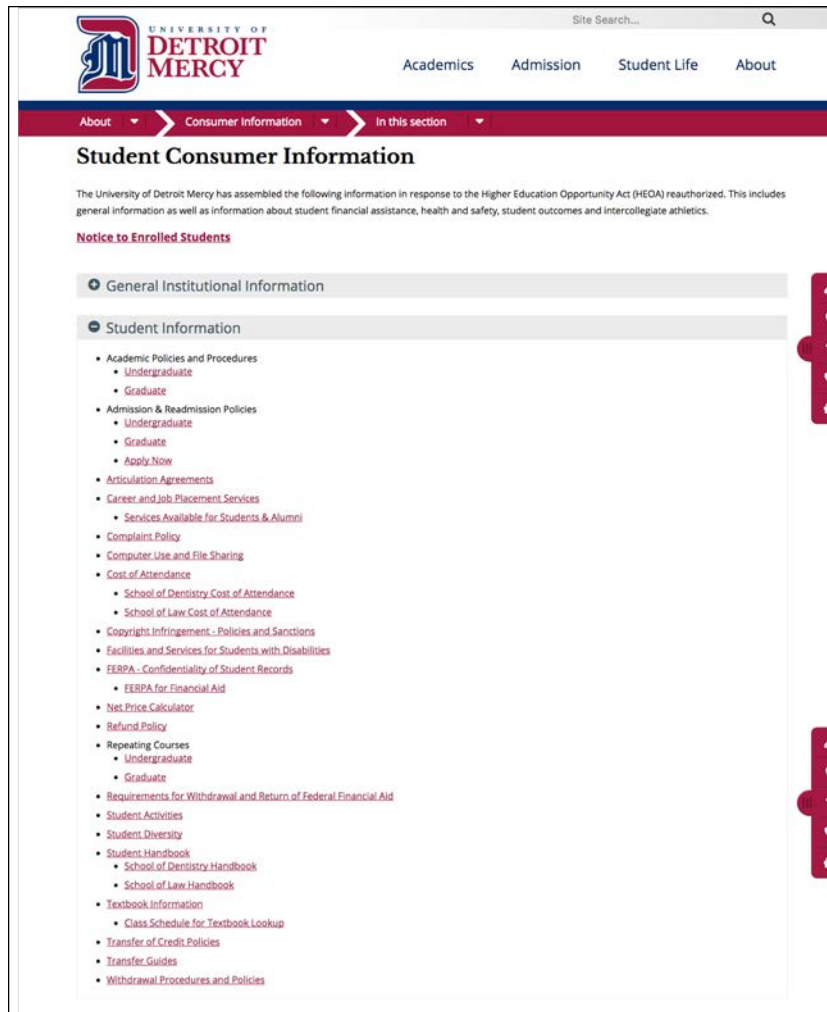
Figure 97. Consumer Information page on University of Detroit Mercy website.

Retrieved from: https://www.udmercy.edu/about/consumer-info/index.php

How was diversity characterized? Diversity was virtually ignored on the UDM website. There was no content for Undocumented students, LGBTQ, or Latino/s students.

However, there was a surprising number of students of color featured on photos. Diversity

information was in the "Consumer Information" section shown in Figure 97. This page listed

percentages of students across 6 ethnicities. University of Detroit Mercy is in the Startup stage

of diversity development.

University of San Francisco

Overview. The University of San Francisco (USF) is a private non-profit institution with

6,700 undergraduate students. Sixty-two percent of students are female and 98% of

undergraduates attend USF full-time. USF is highly diverse. As shown in Figure 98, white

students account for just 26% of undergraduates, with Asians students numbering at 22%.

Twenty percent of students identify as Latino/a, 7% identify with more than one race, and 18%
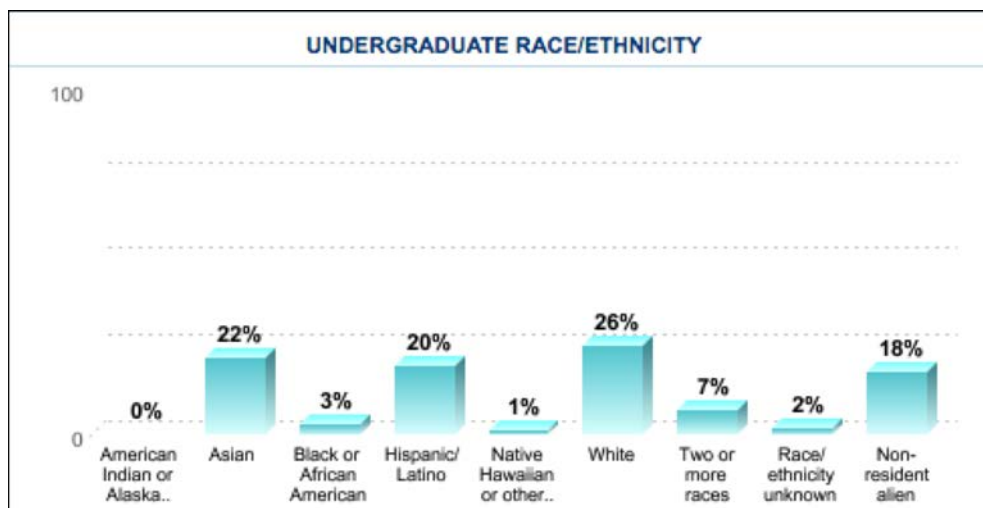
Figure 98. University of San Francisco Student Race/Ethnicity. National Center for Education

Statistics, 2016.

percent of students are classified as non-resident alien. Black students account for just 3% of the

undergraduate student body.

     Content access. Diversity content was readily accessible on the USF site. The home

page contained four sections: About USF, Academics, Admission, Student Life and San

Francisco Advantage. The main "About USF" page had a subpage called "Who We Are" that

contained a section on diversity and links to more information. A Google search and USF site

search for "LGBTQ University of San Francisco" directed site visitors to the Gender and

Sexuality Center. Searches for "Undocumented" returned news items and a "Global

Perspective" page that contained information for Undocumented students. Searches for

"Latina", "Latino", "Black" and "Asian" referred visitors to specific academic programs at USF.

     Content analysis. Diversity content on the USF website was abundant. The

grammatical person of the content was consistently third person. The intended audience of the
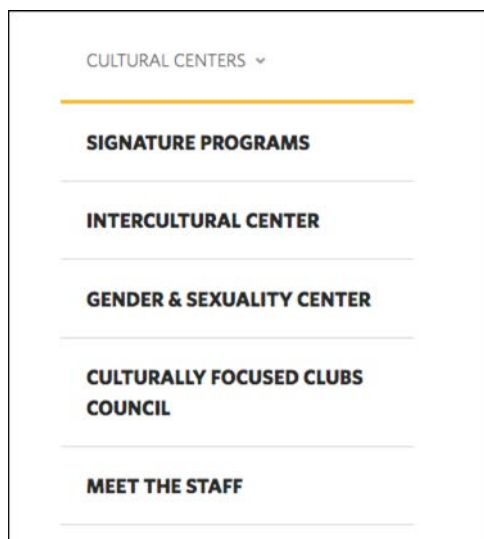
Figure 99. Menu on University of San Francisco Cultural Centers page. Retrieved from:

https://www.usfca.edu/student-life/student-activities/cultural-centers

content was prospective students and current students. The voice and tone was confident, supportive and informed. There were no notable omissions in the text. At USF, LGBTQ student needs were foregrounded through the navigation on the "Cultural Centers" page, which had a separate item for "Gender & Sexuality Center" as shown in Figure 99.

With regard to topicalization, diversity is presented as a key value at USF. Not only is it presented on key pages, it is often one of only a few items referenced as shown in

The "Cultural Centers" page contains 5 values, the third of which is "Intersectionality":

Intersectionality: We understand the complexity and beauty of the multiple intersecting

identities students bring into the world. Our programs encourage students to embrace

their whole self ("Cultural Centers | University of San Francisco," n.d.).

USF was one of the only institutions to address intersectionality. USF presented it as complex and beautiful, an approach unique among institutions in this study.

The "Who We Are" page is a powerful statement on diversity. The main section of the page contains just 176 words of text and two core values: "Jesuit Catholic Education" and "Commitment to Diversity." In the opening paragraph, the text positions USF as a Jesuit institution and immediately links USF to the diversity of the community surrounding it. Among the meager 176 words, the following phrases are related to, or reference diversity:

inclusive, inspirational, innovative city

students from all backgrounds

showcase their distinct perspectives

our strength lies in our diversity

see the world from a variety of perspectives

The core values section warrants inspection

The "Who We Are" page is a powerful statement on the values at USF. As shown in Figure 100, web page authors were able to simplify the content to include only two core values. This brings tremendous weight to each item. The copy is brief, scannable and memorable. In an era when visitors spend seconds on a web page, someone could visit this page, quickly scan the content and understand the essence of USF. To their credit, page authors were apparently unconcerned with omission of other items, goals or values.
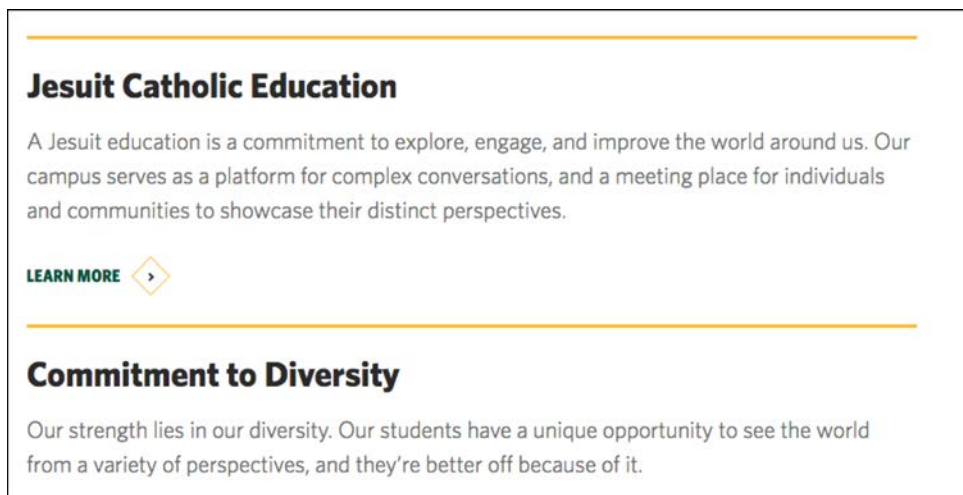
Figure 100. University of San Francisco Who We Are page. Retrieved from:

https://www.usfca.edu/about-usf/who-we-are

In the "About" section, a key subpage was the "Commitment to Diversity" page. In fact, it was the only subpage of "Our Values", which was a powerful statement on what is important to the institution. Page authors focused on the ranking of USF as one of the most diverse campus in the country, and their student numbers support this accolade. As a child page of "About" it was directly below the "President and Leadership" page—not buried three levels down under student affairs or human resources. The page provided links to both the Intercultural Center in

Inclusive Excellence

Inclusive excellence means finding common ground among diverse communities, and then moving to higher ground. At USF, we celebrate an environment where every individual steps into new understanding respectfully and with delight, and where all are better off by being part of our diverse community.

Figure 101. Inclusive excellence statement. Retrieved from:

https://www.usfca.edu/about-usf/who-we-are/our-values/commitment-to-diversity

student affairs and the Office of Diversity Engagement and Community Outreach managed by Vice Provost Dr. Mary J. Wardell-Ghirarduzzi.

USF was one of a handful of institutions to use the term "Inclusive Excellence." As shown in Figure 101, USF takes this one step further and defines it for site visitors. They contextualize this phrase and make it unique to USF, which prevents it from wandering toward cliché.

How was diversity characterized? Diversity was a key value at the University of San Francisco. The copy reflected an understanding of and commitment to diversity. USF had the

most thorough presentation among institutions reviewed for this study. The language used to

describe diversity, the wealth of programs, the presentation of diversity as one of two key values

positioned the University of San Francisco as the leader among Jesuit Institutions. The

University of San Francisco is in the Exclusive Excellence stage of diversity development.

University of Scranton

  Overview. The University of Scranton is a private non-profit institution with 3,900

undergraduate students located in Scranton, Pennsylvania. Fifty-nine percent of students are

female and 95% attend the institution on a full-time basis. As shown in Figure 102, the

university is just 20% non-white, with Latino/a students accounting for 9% of the student

population.   Three percent of the students identify as Asian, 2% identify as Black and 2% are
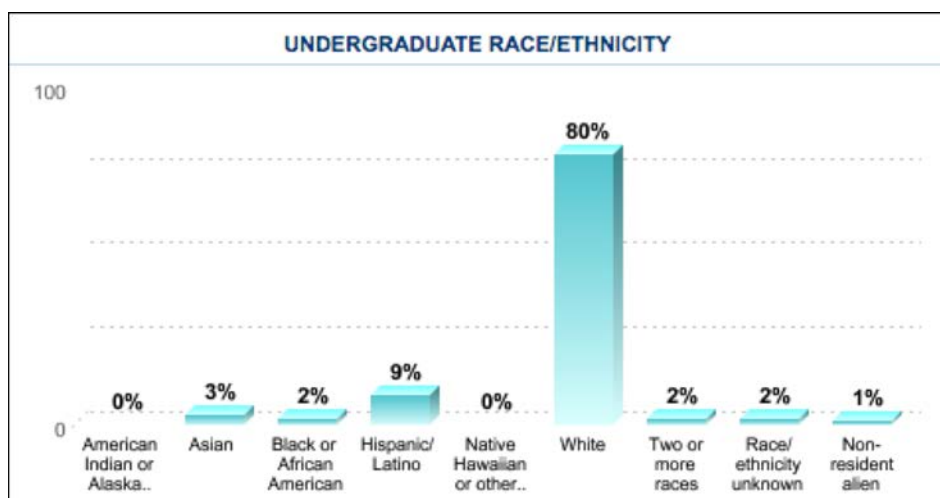
Figure 102. University of Scranton Student Race/Ethnicity. National Center for

Education Statistics, 2017.

multiracial. With a student body of 3,900, there are only 78 Black undergraduate students on campus ("College Navigator," n.d.).

Content access. A Google search for "University of Scranton diversity" yielded a few important links. The first page was the Office of Equity and Diversity website. A search on the University of Scranton website returned the same page. Second on the list, however, was a page providing information on disability resources. Among the results, there was also a page documenting the strategic plan for diversity at the university.

Using the website navigation, there was no apparent way to locate diversity information. The "About Us" section of the site did not contain a diversity item, nor did the "Campus Life" section. Within the "Campus Life" section of the site, there were 17 links listed on the left navigation. This was not in line with website best practices, which dictate that no more than seven options should be available at a top-level webpage.   However, even when listing 17 items, Diversity was not included, which indicated that it was not a critical part of the student experience at the University of Scranton.

Content analysis. The "Office of Equity and Diversity" page shown in Figure 103 contains a large banner image with the words "Equity" and "Diversity" across the top. There is a graphic of a scale and two images of individuals gathered around a table. People of color and whites are shown in the photograph and several are smiling and enjoying a meal. A graphic of a legal scale is positioned so that each side of the scale is even, presumably indicating that both sides are even or fair. Several aspects of this banner image raise questions. Is the scale intended to represent "equity" and "diversity" as evenly balanced? There is no supporting text describing what these terms mean. Are equity and diversity at odds, and therefore must be balanced? There

is also a tagline beneath the page header that reads: "Engaged…Integrated…Global."

There is a photograph of four individuals who appear to be college students, smiling at the camera. Beneath the photo is a caption that reads: "Working, Training, Caring for a better

Figure 103. The Office of Equity and Diversity page on the University of Scranton website. Retrieved from: http://www.scranton.edu/equity-diversity/index.shtml

U!" The tone of this phrase, the use of a purple script font and the substitution of the letter "U" for "you" all indicate informality. Web page editors may be trying to connect with a younger audience by using colors, fonts and language this audience may find appealing. The next section of the page contains information on the Title IX coordination for the university, information on

how to report sexual harassment and then a list of issues handled by the Office of Equity and Diversity.

The page has a curious mix of content and unclear goals. Imagery on the page presents diversity as something social and fun and uplifting. However, the scale and the large words "equity and "diversity" suggest a seriousness and social justice aspect that is introduced but not defined. The lower section of the page shifts to be friendly and informal. The two taglines present ideas that are unsupported, expanded on or explained. How is the university integrated? How is it global? How does the university care for students?

On the "Office of Equity and Diversity" page there was no reference the individuals who may benefit from their services. The content suggests that diversity is an office, not a core value. At the bottom of the page there is a list of policies and federal guidelines. This office handles "issues." The use of the word "issues" is significant, indicating that diversity creates problems that must be addressed. The tone is passive, reactive and strictly procedural. An attorney heads the diversity office. This person's main role, it would appear, is defending the university when cases of discrimination arise.

A few other interesting findings from this website were a dearth of content relating to diversity programs, goals or events. As shown in Figure 104, the events page contained a single item from April 2014. The strategic plan was available only as an external link to a tool called "Issu" which is not accessible for individuals with visual impairments. In other words, individuals who had a visual impairment would not be able to access this document using screen reader technology.

The "Diversity Initiatives Funding" page described the commitment to diversity education at the University of Scranton. The page states that the university "values diversity as a

Figure 104. Africa: Art, Memory, Culture page on University of Scranton website. Retrieved from: http://www.scranton.edu/equity-diversity/africanstudies.shtml

critical and integral part of its mission" ("Diversity Initiatives For Funding Requests 2016-17 | Equity and Diversity | The University of Scranton," n.d.). From this page, students can download a PDF document to apply for a diversity grant to create a program that fosters on-campus diversity. The application form defines diversity as "the range of human differences, including but not limited to race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, gender identity, gender expression, age, social class, physical ability or attributes, religion, national origin." ("DIVERSITY INITIATIVES GUIDELINES 2016," n.d.). This definition provides insight into

the myriad of differences that individuals bring to campus and the numerous possibilities for

cultural enrichment that exist on campus. However, this content is not readily accessible to the

community and presented on a PDF, rather than on the website. It has been relegated to an

application form buried deep in the site, and would most likely be accessed by minoritized

groups seeking equity.

Applying the McGregor and Fairclough model to this content was informative. The

grammatical person of the website content was primarily third person, which positioned the

content from the university's perspective. While no single audience was directly addressed

across the pages, the presumed target audiences was students and staff. Page objectives appeared

to be compliance with policy and providing contact information. The voice and tone of the

content was both authoritative and friendly, creating an inconsistency leading to phony register.

The claims regarding "Caring for a better U!" were unsubstantiated and not supported by

available content or resources. There were significant omissions in the text: individual identities

such as LGBTQ, students with disabilities, undocumented students, Blacks and Latina/a

identities are not listed, support for students is not described, and diversity is undefined. Issues

and policies were foregrounded, while care for the person was backgrounded. Compliance with

policy and remediation of issues were the primary concerns.

How was diversity characterized? The University of Scranton webpages did not

explicitly describe diversity. The site had significant omissions—there was no content

specifically for LGBTQ students, individuals with disabilities, or Undocumented students.

Diversity was not presented a benefit or core value of the university. There was no main link to

diversity content on the website. The University of Scranton is a Jesuit, Catholic institution

consisting of 80% white students. The demographics of the institution, coupled with the lack of

diversity content on the website present the university as an unwelcoming campus climate for

students of color, non-Catholics, Undocumented students and LGBTQ students. Diversity at the

University of Scranton can be characterized as an office responsible for compliance and

grievance reporting. The University of Scranton is in the Startup stage of diversity development.

Wheeling Jesuit University

Overview. Wheeling Jesuit University is located in Wheeling, West Virginia and has an

undergraduate enrollment of 1,000. Fifty-two percent of students are female and seven percent

are formally registered with the office of disability services. As shown in Figure 105, the student

body at Wheeling is 75% White, with six percent identifying as Black or African American and

six percent "non-resident alien." Eighty one percent of students are under the age of 24.   The

retention rate at Wheeling Jesuit University is 72% (National Center for Education Statistics,
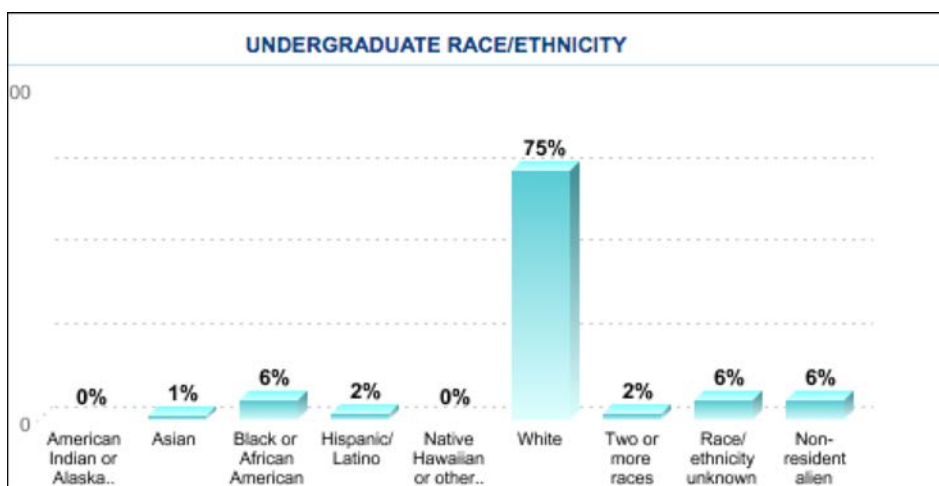
Figure 105. Wheeling Jesuit University Student Race/Ethnicity. National Center for

Education Statistics, 2017.

2016).

  Content access. A Google search for "diversity at Wheeling Jesuit University" returned only one item on the Wheeling Jesuit University website. The "Student Life Diversity Policy" page contained a paragraph of text that was last revised in July 2002. Searches for "LGBTQ" returned one item, a news story from 2016.

  Content analysis. Diversity content was limited on the Wheeling website. The "Student Lie Diversity Policy" page provides a statement that ties diversity to the Jesuit tradition:

> Wheeling Jesuit's goal is to help students develop a deep respect for all persons, resulting in a desire to know and learn from men and women from various cultural, religious and racial backgrounds. ("Diversity Policy - Wheeling Jesuit University," n.d.).

This statement indicates what is meant by diversity— includes cultural, religious and racial components. As a Jesuit, Catholic institution, including religious diversity is a critical aspect to creating a welcoming environment. Omitted from this page was any reference to sexual orientation, disabilities or gender identity. The language on the page shifted in the middle of the first paragraph. The first few sentences referenced the goals of the institution, the Jesuit tradition, and respect for all persons. The language was aspirational, warm, and rooted in history. The final two sentences struck a formal, legal and detached tone, with phrases such as "grievance procedure" "discrimination" and "applicable federal and state laws." The university espoused to "ensure fair treatment to all students." Fair is often a synonym for "equal" or "identical." For students from minoritized groups, they may need additional financial, emotional and academic support to offset years of disparities resulting from inequities in public school funding. The use of the term "fair" did not seem to acknowledge the uneven needs of students

from different backgrounds.

Events that celebrate the culture, achievements and ideas of individuals from minoritized groups are critical elements in developing an inclusive campus environment. On the Wheeling Jesuit University website, the only items listed were athletic events. While it is possible that certain cultural events are not public, there did not appear to be a vibrant cultural component to campus life. On the "Student Clubs" page of the site there were five organizations listed in the "Cultural" section ("Wheeling Jesuit - Campus Life," n.d.). The groups listed were the Black Student Union, International Conversation Club, International Student Club, Life Gets Better Together (LGBT), and the Spanish Club.

Finally, the image gallery of the event depicted students of color, students wearing what appear to be thobes, and numerous images of people dancing, eating food and singing. The pictures were not described with captions, so someone visiting this page would lose the opportunity to learn more about each culture. In this way, the "melting pot" of people are stripped of uniqueness and othered into a category called diversity. It is imperative to tell the stories of historically subjugated groups in order to keep their culture vibrant, while educating other community members. Simple descriptions attached to the pictures could preserve this uniqueness and then be made available to the world via Google's indexing process.

The Student Life Diversity Policy page is pictured in Figure 106. As shown in Table 17, the text on the "Student Life Diversity Policy" page is a mix of legal and policy terms and aspirational language. In combining these two concepts, the text merges inclusion with legal requirements. According to Critical Race Theory, society is structured to favor the white majority. The legal and educational system favors those in power. The university has an

obligation to document their legal requirements to not discriminate. However, these policies

have

become so commonplace that they are often meaningless. By merging the legal and policy

Figure 106. Student Life Diversity Policy page on Wheeling Jesuit University website.

Retrieved from: http://www.wju.edu/default.html

Table 17

Terms used on University of Scranton Diversity page

Legal and Policy Terms	Aspirational Terms
Policy	Affirms
Ensure fair treatment	Deep respect for all persons
Discriminate	Desire to know and learn
Grievance	Dialogue is vital
Procedure	
Discrimination	
Federal and state laws	
Cases	

jargon with the aspirational language, the content authors may undermine their message of inclusion. Minoritized groups would likely challenge the notion that universities can "ensure fair treatment" as stated in the policy. At the heart of this is the distinction between "equality" and "equity."

Applying the McGregor and Fairclough model to this content revealed a number of interesting findings. On the Wheeling Jesuit University website, the grammatical person was both third person and agentless passive. The intended audience for these pages appeared to be prospective students. The primary goal of these pages was policy compliance—with a secondary goal of appreciating "culture" such as music, dance and cuisine. The voice and tone was formal, authoritarian and distant. Religion was foregrounded, as evidenced by the callout button inviting non-Catholics to participate in campus ministry. Surprisingly, Undocumented students, international students and students with disabilities were backgrounded. LGBTQ students were not referenced on the site.

How was diversity characterized? At Wheeling Jesuit University, diversity is a policy and therefore is something to be enforced and complied with. Policies require administrative support and auditing and they promise negative repercussions to violators. The diversity policy claimed to be grounded in the Ignatian tradition, but there was no evidence of this on the website. Wheeling Jesuit University is in the Startup stage of diversity development.

Xavier University

Overview. Xavier University is a private non-profit institution with 6,500 undergraduate students located in Cincinnati, Ohio. As shown in Figure 107, 54% percent of students are

female and 94% attend Xavier full time. Nine percent of students identify as Black—the largest

non-white group at Xavier. Latino/a and multiracial students account for 5% and 4% of the

student body, while Asian students account for 3% of the population.
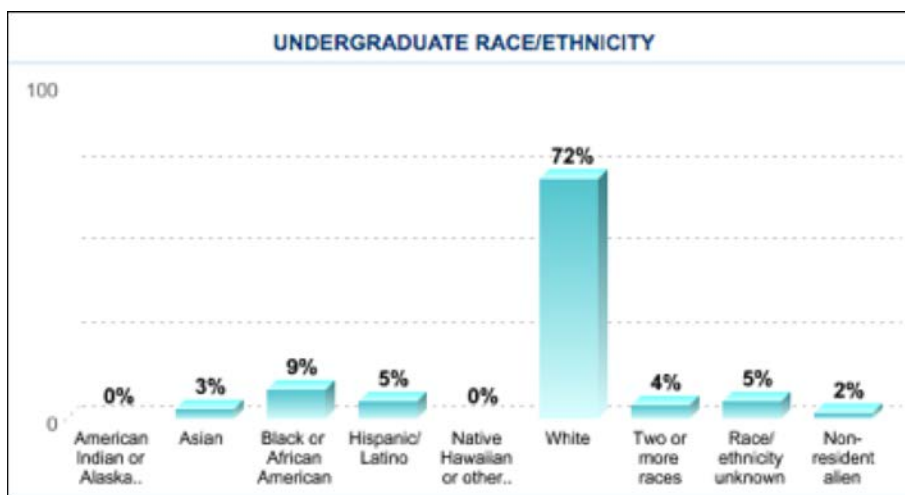
Figure 107. Xavier University Student Race/Ethnicity. National Center for

Education Statistics, 2017.

Content access. Diversity content was not readily available on the Xavier University

website. The home page contained no links or references to diversity content. The main menu

contained five top-level sections: Admission, Academics, Life at Xavier, Athletics and About

Xavier. The "Life at Xavier" section of the site contained six items: Residence Halls & Dining,

Clubs and Organizations, Sports, Faith and Service, Health & Wellness and Cincinnati. The

main page contained no information on diversity or multiculturalism. There was no links to

diversity content on any of the top level pages. However, on the "Clubs and Organizations" page

there were three links for clubs. Under the "General Interest Clubs" tab there was a listing of

approximately 75 links. Among these links were entries for "Black student association" and "LGBTQ Alliance." The "About Xavier" section of the site contained a callout section for "Religious Inclusion" which contained a few sentences and an image, but no access to additional information. In fact, the "About Xavier" section contained no links to the mission of the university, which was unique among institutions reviewed for this study.

A Google search for "Diversity Xavier University" produced two relevant results. The first result was the "Institutional Diversity and Inclusion" page and the second was the "Center for Diversity and Inclusion" site. These were distinct sections—the former focused on institutional issues and the latter focused on student support. Google and site searches for "LGBTQ" and "Undocumented" resulted in relevant pages containing significant information.

The content access for Xavier reflects a shift from navigation-based site access to search-based site access. However, in the case of Xavier, this could be problematic. If the site is focused on requiring a visitor to search, it limits opportunities for content discovery and promotion. In other words, a site visitor would need to explicitly visit the site and search for "Diversity" to find this content. The university limited page links and navigation on top level pages—reducing the choices available to site visitors. In the case of Xavier, when this reduction occurred, Diversity was not an element that "made the cut" and was therefore backgrounded by the institution. This is unfortunate, because the site had robust content (reviewed in the next section), but their search-first approach obfuscated diversity content and limited opportunities to promote diversity initiatives.

Content analysis The Xavier website had significant diversity content and excelled in several areas. Part of multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis is exposing how language, images and media reinforce hegemonic norms. The graphic Figure 108 depicts the gender of students at
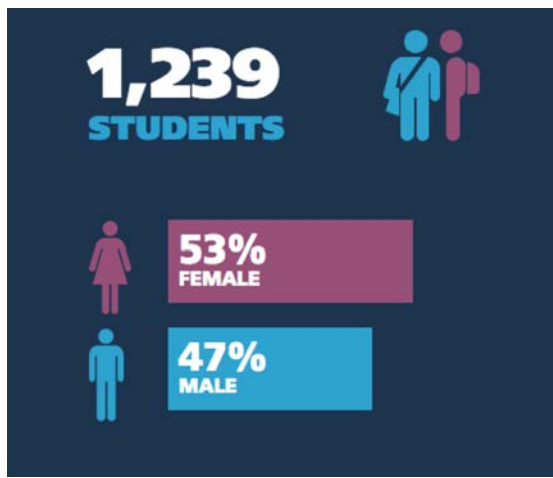
Figure 108. Xavier University student gender graphic. Retrieved from: https://www.xavier.edu/undergraduate-admission/

Xavier. The graphic used for the female gender depicts a pink figure presumably wearing a dress. This combination of elements is so embedded in our cultural lexicon that few challenge it. However, the shape and color of the icons could send a message to women about body type and wardrobe. It also could alienate transgender students. Icons and graphics are often used to simplify presentation of data.

The grammatical person of the text alternated between third person and first person plural. The intended audience of the pages was prospective students and current students. The voice and tone was mixed. The tone on top level pages was declarative and action-oriented:

"Xavier is where you'll take risks, become a better person and realize your future" ("Xavier University - Life at Xavier," n.d.). Third person is used on the pages for Undocumented students: "Xavier foes not consider immigration status when making admissions decisions" ("Xavier University - Supporting our Undocumented Students," n.d.). There were no major omissions in the text.

The needs of Undocumented, Latino/a and LGBT students were foregrounded. The site had a "Supporting Our Undocumented Students" page in undergraduate admission. The use of "Our" in this case was important. The title would have been grammatically correct if it merely read: Supporting Undocumented Students. The use of "Our" took ownership of the students in some way—they are possessed by the university. This could be viewed as a welcoming gesture.
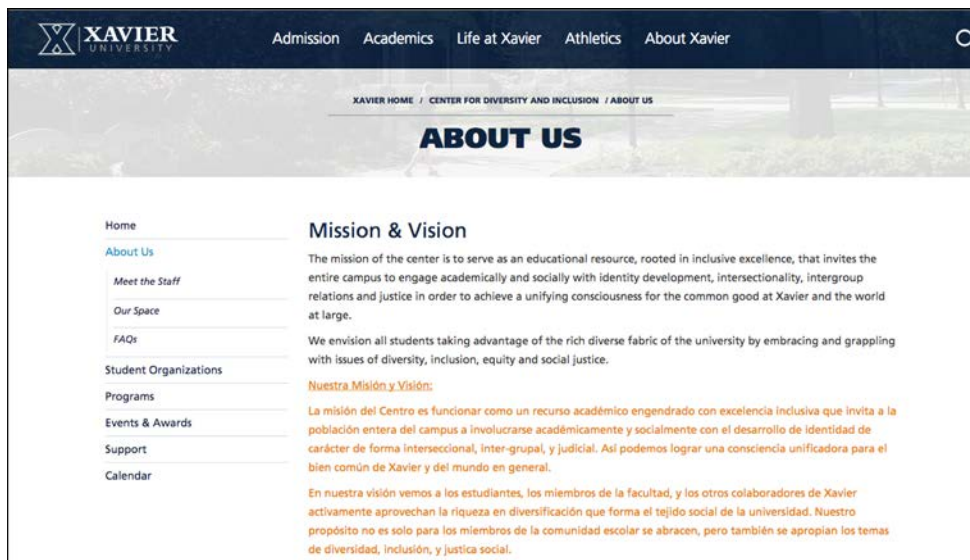
Figure 109. Center for Diversity and Inclusion About Us page. Retrieved from:

https://www.xavier.edu/diversity-inclusion/About-Us.cfm

In addition, the student-focused diversity Mission & Vision page was available in both Spanish and English as shown in Figure 109.

The office of Institutional Diversity and Inclusion at Xavier is managed by Chief Diversity Officer Janice B. Walker. The pages contain a statement from the president that went beyond a form letter.

Today, more than ever before, in the face of rapidly changing demographics and mounting inter-cultural and geo-political tensions, Xavier University nurtures learners in the art of creative engagement with questions of peace and justice ("President's Statement on Diversity and Inclusion," n.d.).

The vision statement on diversity warrants examination. The statement acknowledges the university is not yet fully inclusive—an important concession. The diversity vision included language indicating that the institution was in need of change.

Xavier University consequently envisions itself as an equitable and inclusive community of learners" ("Xavier's Diversity Vision," n.d.).

Lower on the page, the subheading "Institutional Transformation" contains the following sentence:

Finally, in order to remain vital and viable as an institution, we aspire to institutionalize these commitments in every aspect of our endeavor and to build a culture in which all are accountable for advancing them" ("Xavier's Diversity Vision," n.d.).

The use of "aspire" and "build" indicate that the university has not achieved this goal.

How was diversity characterized? At Xavier, diversity was characterized as a core to the mission, but something the university had not yet attained. Xavier had significant diversity content and the language was consistent and compelling. A few key omissions hindered their efforts. The prominent use of a female icon that is pink and depicts a person in a skirt was problematic and inconsistent with other site messaging. In addition, diversity content was not easily accessible on key top level pages of the site. Xavier is in the Mature Implementation stage of diversity development

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