# A Policy Discourse Analysis of U.S. Land-Grant University Diversity Action Plans 

Susan Van Deventer Iverson

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## A POLICY DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF U.S. LAND-GRANT UNIVERSITY DIVERSITY ACTION PLANS

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#### Abstract

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A dissertation can be viewed as knowledge generated from an individual's effort and can become an isolating task; however, this research product symbolizes collective energy. My laboring to give birth to this dissertation has been assisted by many 'midwives' deserving of acknowledgement. For without the support of family, friends, colleagues, and advisors, this work would not have been completed. I will mention a few people who enhanced the process.

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## CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

Although human diversity and multiculturalism are highly important, they remain one of the most intractable problems facing this nation
(Campbell, 1995, p. 45).

## Context of Study

The "problem" of diversity ${ }^{1}$ in U.S. higher education continues to be the focus of passionate debate—scholarly, popular, and legal. Efforts to assure that U.S. postsecondary education is more fully reflective of the society that supports it have brought diversity to the forefront of the U.S. higher education policy agenda over the past fifty years. ${ }^{2}$ The voices of increasing numbers of historically disadvantaged group members on campuses contributed to efforts to change from a homogeneous institution (predominantly white) to one that is demographically heterogeneous (Lee, 2002; Valverde, 1998). Responding to this changing demographic, many administrators in U.S. post-secondary education have attempted to revise institutional goals to accommodate and celebrate a pluralistic campus community.

Colleges and universities under pressure from a variety of forces continue to undertake a range of initiatives to promote diversity. Time-honored solutions for combating inequities on college and university campuses rely on a few essential ingredients: increasing access and retention of historically underrepresented populations,

[^0]and therefore a critical mass of diverse groups; improving campus climate and intergroup relations; incorporating diversity into the curriculum; and utilizing diversity as a resource for an enriched and engaged academic environment (Hurtado, 1992; Ibarra, 2001; Smith \& Schonfeld, 2000). In order to increase access and expand the critical mass of under-represented populations, many colleges and universities have engaged in activities such as: the recruitment of students from historically disadvantaged groups, high school mentoring and tutorial programs for "at risk" populations, need-based financial aid awards, and race-sensitive admissions policies (Does Diversity Make a Difference?, 2000a). Tools such as these are perceived to be indispensable for achieving a diverse campus environment. Yet, despite these targeted efforts, many segments of the national population continue to be grossly underrepresented on campus (Ibarra, 2001; Valverde, 1998).

The participation of minorities in higher education remains low relative to their population or their high school graduation rates. For instance, African Americans and Hispanics continue to lag behind Whites in the percentage of college-age, high school graduates enrolled in college (Harvey, 2003). In 2000, the proportion of white students (ages 18-24) attending college was 43.2 percent, but African-American and Hispanic students' participation rates fall behind, at 39.4 percent and 36.5 percent, respectively ${ }^{3}$ (College Enrollment by Racial and Ethnic Group, 2003). For all groups, including Whites, women account for more than half the total college population, and for Black student enrollment in particular, Black women enrolled in higher education are disproportionately represented compared with Black men (63\% women; 37\% men)

[^1](College Enrollment by Racial and Ethnic Group, 2003). Additionally, the majority of historically under-represented racial groups are enrolled in 2-year public institutions, fewer in 4-year public institutions, and the fewest in private 2-year institutions (College Enrollment by Racial and Ethnic Group, 2003).

Diversity initiatives to increase participation of under-represented populations in U.S. post-secondary education can be traced to the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s. Grassroots efforts contesting segregation and striving to build an integrated society ultimately saw the passage of the Civil Rights Act in 1964, demanding equal opportunity and non-discrimination in both programs and employment. In response to activism, changing legislation, and considerable litigation, institutions of higher education generated plans and strategies to dismantle segregated systems, increase access for people of color, and combat institutionalized racism.

In the decades that followed, institutional goals were expanded to include a desire for meaningful participation within the campus community. Strategies, for instance, during the 1980s sought to reveal and revise "racist policies" and "adverse practices" (Valverde, 1998, p. 21) and improve the campus climate for historically excluded populations (Hurtado, 1992; Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pedersen \& Allen, 2000; Ibarra, 2001). The 1989 publication of the American Council on Education's A Handbook for Enhancing Diversity was instrumental and served as a key reference for numerous institutions. This handbook states that
the institutions that have been successful in improving minority participation have at least one important characteristic in common: They have developed a comprehensive and institution-wide approach. Too often in the past, institutions
have tried a program here, a new staff person there. An institution-wide commitment to enhancing diversity and vigorous leadership from the chief executive officer and the governing board will produce more qualitatively different results than an institution undertaking sporadic and piecemeal efforts, even if they are well conceived and well executed (Green, 1989, p. 7). Chang (2005) echoes Green, more than fifteen years later, when he states that "the impact [of diversity] is likely to be strongest when campuses intervene by coordinating a set of mutually supportive and reinforcing experiences."

A principle mechanism for illustrating "an institution-wide commitment to enhancing diversity and vigorous leadership" is through the development and implementation of policy. ${ }^{4}$ Some scholars criticize this strategy suggesting little to no relationship between planning and performance (Boyd, 1991), and posit that the formation of policy-making groups may serve as a place into which wide varieties of problems can be dumped, occupying symbolic importance but failing to drive decisionmaking or change (Cohen \& March, 1986; Estler, 1988; March, 1994). Further, decades of policy-making efforts, situated parallel to persistent inequalities, generates ample cynicism about the efficacy of policy and planning initiatives. As a higher education practitioner and policy author (experience on which I will elaborate in Chapter Three), I share this cynicism surrounding "an institution-wide commitment to enhancing diversity." However, I remain committed to the use of equity policies as a tool and adhere to the assumption that diversity councils can serve as a vehicle for change.

[^2]Typically, on university campuses, special committees and task forces are assembled to study problems related to diversity (e.g., attrition of minority students and faculty, exclusionary policies and practices, and inaccessible residence halls and classrooms). The recommendations generated by these groups are codified in policy documents that serve as a primary means by which postsecondary institutions formally advance and influence efforts for building diverse, inclusive campus communities. These documents, usually sanctioned by an institution's president or system's chancellor are referred to by different names, depending on the institution (e.g., Diversity Action Plan, Report on Diversity and Internationalization, Diversity Initiative, Report on Race, Gender, and Ethnicity). The report titles reflect their official status as a plan of action. These policy documents codify a university's "comprehensive and institution-wide approach" and serve to influence and determine decisions to strengthen, enhance, promote, and support coordinated and integrated diversity efforts. For the purpose of this study, I collectively refer to these documents as diversity action plans.

Diversity Councils-the term I use to collectively refer to the groups that author diversity action plans—are generally comprised of faculty, staff, and students (undergraduate and graduate). Further, Council members are typically selected and appointed to represent diverse views and experiences, as exemplified by one report's description of its Diversity Council. The President appointed a panel of 21 members "of whom nine are African American, eight are European American, three are Latino, and two are Asian American" (University of Maryland, 2000). Yet, as with all institutions in the sample for this investigation, this university is a predominantly white campus, and the
composition of Diversity Councils not proportionately representative of the campus population.

While Diversity Councils are typically convened and controlled within campuses (meaning charged by the university’s President or Provost), external entities (i.e. federal agencies, board of regents, system chancellors) who declare diversity a priority may also give impetus for the generation of these reports (Valverde, 1998). For example, in California, since the passage of the University of California (UC) Regents’ Resolutions SP-1 and SP-2 in 1995 and Proposition 209 in 1996, which barred affirmative action programs, UC-Berkeley has seen a significant reduction in the number of underrepresented minority (i.e., African American, Latino, American Indian) students; in African American staff; and in women and underrepresented minority faculty. In response to widespread perception that diversity is "off the table," the Chancellor convened an advisory committee on diversity to identify "best practices" and make recommendations for enacting "diversity measures" that would enable diversity to flourish on all nine University of California System campuses (Report of the Chancellor’s Advisory Committee on Diversity, 2000).

Typically, diversity action plans articulate problems and solutions related to: access and success of under-represented groups, the utilization of diversity as a resource for an enriched and engaged academic environment, and campus climate and inter-group relations (Smith \& Schonfeld, 2000). For instance, these policies often recommend educational programming and training about cultural sensitivity and cross-cultural communication. The premise is that individuals’ cultural sensitivity will increase appreciation of difference between and among individuals and groups, remove
interpersonal hostility and discrimination, and enhance campus climate (Alimo, Kelly \& Clark, 2002; Bacchi, 1999; Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pedersen \& Allen, 2000). Thus, the goal of improving campus climate for historically disadvantaged groups falls entirely on the individual, excusing the university of responsibility for dealing with itself or others, failing to question the power relations that maintain systems of advantage and disadvantage, such as racism, sexism, classism, and eluding any discussion of structural inequalities, such as the economic undermining of marginalized departments like multicultural programs (Bacchi, 1999; Hu-DeHart, 2000; Ng, 1997; Sleeter \& Grant, 2003; Tierney, 1993).

Diversity planning holds significant appeal and perceived efficacy for institutions of higher education (Chang, 2005). A search of nearly any college or university website reveals diversity planning efforts, often codified in an action plan. At times institutions, regionally and nationally, collaborate to create diversity programs. For instance, the Northeastern Pennsylvania Diversity Education Consortium, comprised of colleges, universities, and their community partners, formed to facilitate diversity education initiatives throughout the region (Trompetter, 1999). A national initiative is the Change Agent States for Diversity (CASD) project founded by land-grant universities, specifically through cooperative extension, which began in 1999 as a consortium of seven states dedicated to supporting greater cultural diversity in the land grant system (Ingram, 2005).

Yet, even despite of the diversity planning efforts and initiatives, progress toward the achievement of targeted goals and outcomes remains slow. Many segments of the national population continue to be grossly underrepresented on campus, and the goal of
achieving inclusive campuses is under-realized. Equity in education remains a soughtafter goal; disadvantaged groups and their respective support programs remain marginalized; and the participation of disadvantaged groups in higher education remains disproportional relative to their population. The solution is not a matter of adding diversity to the university; rather, the solution first requires recognition of the existing structures in the institution, and demands rethinking the institution and how it does or does not serve/benefit everyone (Bacchi, 1999; Baez, 2003a,b; Ibarra, 2001). My investment and interest in this research is inspired by a commitment to ending social and material inequalities. My intention is to raise questions and unsettle what we know in order to view and critique it from different/multiple perspectives.

## Research Goal

Diversity action plans are a primary means by which universities advance recommendations regarding their professed commitment to a (more) inclusive and equitable climate for all members of the campus community. As such, these policy documents not only record and reflect a campus culture, ${ }^{5}$ but also construct a particular reality for members of the institution (Allan, 2003). This study is designed to enhance understanding of these diversity policy documents, how they contribute to producing a particular cultural reality, and how they may compromise the achievement of their own goals. Well-intentioned attempts to create a more inclusive campus climate may unwittingly reinforce practices that support exclusion and inequity. A university's diversity action plan may construct a world for "others" that disqualifies them from

[^3]participation, even as it strives to include them as full participants. The use of assumptive concepts in language may limit a policy's effectiveness and actually reinscribe the very problem the policy seeks to alleviate (Allan, 2003; Bacchi, 1999; Ball, 1990; Scheurich, 1994).

This study analyzes 21 diversity action plans issued at 20 U.S. land-grant universities to understand how these documents frame diversity and what reality is produced by diversity action plans. More specifically, this inquiry utilizes the method of policy discourse analysis to investigate the images of diversity and the construction of "diversity problems" as articulated in diversity action plans. Policy discourse analysis is a strategy for examining policy discourses and the ways they commingle to make particular perspectives more prominent than others (Allan, 2003).

## Research Questions

In order to examine the discursive framing of diversity in diversity action plans, the following questions serve as a guide:

- What are the predominant images of diversity in diversity action plans?
- What discourses are employed to shape these images?
- How are problems related to diversity represented in diversity action plans?
- How are solutions related to "diversity problems" represented in diversity action plans?
- What realities do these problems, solutions, and images construct?


## Significance

Despite the proliferation of recommendations, initiatives, and strategies, codified in diversity action plans, campuses continue to struggle with and strive for changes in
institutional environment, climate, and culture to include, reflect, and accommodate diversity. Extensive research exists on diversity in higher education, including scholarly investigations of campus climate (Alimo, Kelly \& Clark, 2002; Clark, 2002; Hurtado, 1992, 1994; Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pedersen, \& Allen, 1998, 2000; Lee, 2002; Rankin, 2003), the educational benefits of diversity (Foner, 1999; Gudeman, 2000; Gurin, Dey, Hurtado, \& Gurin, 2002; Hu \& Kuh, 2003; Marin, 2000; Maruyama \& Moreno, 2000; Milem, Chang \& Antonio, 2005; Milem \& Hakuta, 2000; Orfield, 2001; Smith \& Associates, 1997; Terenzini, Cabrera, Colbeck, Bjorkland \& Parente, 2001), access for and retention of under-represented populations (Bowen \& Bok, 1998; Chang, Witt, Jones, \& Hakuta, 2000; St. John, 2002) and the significance of public policy focused primarily on increasing access for diverse groups (Horn \& Flores, 2003; Marin \& Lee, 2003; Perna \& Titus, 2004; Perna, Steele, Woda, \& Hibbert, 2005), as well as critical examinations of dominant strategies and policies intended to transform institutional culture (Ibarra, 2001; Tierney, 1992; Valverde \& Castenell, 1998). Yet, relatively little research exists investigating institutional equity policies (e.g., diversity action plans) and their role as a solution to social problems on college and university campuses. Allan (2003), for instance, in her analysis of the text of women's commission reports issued at four research universities, investigated how discourses generated by these reports constructed women's status in academe. Informed by Allan (2003), this analysis of the discursive framing of diversity in diversity action plans is the first to examine these policies in this way. This study offers new insights to influence institutional policy development and effective change-making strategies for university administrators and policy-makers seeking to create more equitable post-secondary institutions.

## Key Terms

For this investigation, I am drawing upon multiple theoretical frames: a commitment to social justice; a belief that many competing truth claims exist; and recognition of power as a productive force. What follows are definitions of some key terms to clarify my use of them in this study and an elaboration of the conceptual frames that guide and shape my inquiry.

## Critical theory ${ }^{6}$

This study—guided by the notion that inquiry leads to change—is informed by critical theory, which is defined by a commitment to eliminating subordination and oppressive conditions in social institutions (e.g., education) and a liberatory belief in a more just and equitable society (Ladson-Billings, 2000; Lather, 1991; Tierney, 1992). Inspired by various movements situated within critical theory, including feminism, critical race theory, and inquiry that can broadly be viewed as activism (Freire, 1970/2000; Ladson-Billings, 2000; Lather, 1991; Nielson, 1990; Reinharz, 1992), this study employs a critical approach to policy studies that helps to raise important questions about the control and production of knowledge, and the ways policy can be used to empower individuals to act upon/in their environment to challenge dominant ideology (Ball, 1994, Marshall, 1999).

[^4]
## Poststructuralism ${ }^{7}$

My research is also influenced by poststructuralist views. Poststructuralism rejects the belief that one Truth exists and the philosophy of an essential, individualized, rational and coherent self and society; and, instead, posits that many competing truth claims reign (Lather, 1991; McNay, 1992; Weedon, 1997). A poststructural view is able to account for multiple perspectives and identities, diversities and differences between and within people and groups, and advocates a move away from "disabling vestiges of essentialism" (McNay, 1992, p. 120; also Flax, 1990; Knight, Smith \& Sachs, 1990; Weedon, 1997). Poststructural approaches to policy analysis question taken-for-granted assumptions embedded in the naming of policy problems and analyze unintended consequences of policy solutions (Allan, 2003; Bacchi, 1999; Knight, Smith \& Sachs, 1990; Scheurich, 1994).

## Discourse

Discourse is a term often used but without simple definition. As stated by Mills (1997), discourse "has perhaps the widest range of possible significations of any term in literary and cultural theory, and yet it is often the term within theoretical texts which is least defined" (p. 1). "Broadly, discourse refers to both spoken and written language use, and the study of discourse (discourse analysis) includes the examination of both talk and text and its relationship to the social context in which it is constructed" (Allan, 2003, p. 47). Discourse for my purpose refers to "the way in which language, or, more broadly,

[^5]bodies of knowledge, ... define the terrain and consequently complicate attempts at change" (Bacchi, 1999, p. 40).

Language-spoken and written words-enables us to give meaning to the world and act to transform it; "through language, we actively construct our experience..." (Wilkinson \& Kitzinger, 1995, p. 35; also Mills, 1997). Language then is not simply descriptive, or a reflection, of the world; it "doesn’t just mirror reality; it actively shapes the way we perceive and understand it" (Fischer \& Forester, in Hajer \& Wagenaar, 2003, p. 14). Consider, for example, a university student handbook. On the one hand, such a document is descriptive of an institution's behavioral expectations for students, a procedural guide, and an archival document useful for historical purposes. On the other hand, such a document is "a set of tacit rules that regulate what can and cannot be said, who can speak with the blessings of authority and who must listen, whose social constructions are valid and whose are erroneous and unimportant" (Kincheloe \& McLaren, 2000, p. 284). As such, the discursive practices set forth in a student handbook have some institutionalized force, which means that "they have a profound influence on the way that individuals act and think" (Mills, 1997, p. 62). Applied to the study of diversity action plans, "an interest in discourse becomes an interest in the ways in which arguments are structured, and objects and subjects are constituted in language" (Bacchi, 1999, p. 41).

## Subject Positions

Subjectivity and subject positions are central to discourse theory and poststructuralism. According to Weedon (1997), subjectivity refers to "the place where our sense of ourselves. . .is constructed" (p. 21, original emphasis) and subject positions
are the social identities that can be taken up or inhabited by individuals. One's subjectivity is "neither unified nor fixed," as assumed in humanist discourses; rather, the individual is viewed as a "site of disunity and conflict," and discursive fields offer a range of modes of subjectivity, often producing conflicting subject positions for the individual (Weedon, 1997, p. 21). For example, a woman who is the primary caretaker of her child and works outside the home in a white-collar job may be referred to as a working mother. The working mother must negotiate competing discourses that produce conflicting subject positions: woman as mother, a subject position produced by discourse of motherhood, and woman as white-collar worker, a subject position produced by a discourse of professionalism. The working mother, thus, is "subjected" to the contradictions within a range of conflicting discourses (Weedon, 1997, p. 34).

Discourses, then, as the above example illustrates, do not occur or circulate in isolation; rather, multiple and competing discourses exist simultaneously, propagating often conflicting subject positions (Mills, 1997). Yet, some discourses emerge as dominant and are supported more readily than others, masking alternatives; these dominant discourses are supported by institutional practices (Mills, 1997) that constitute and conceal, produce and "constrain the possibilities of thought" (Ball, 1990, p. 2; also Allan, 2003). This study investigates the ways in which policy discourses come together to make particular perspectives more prominent than others (Allan, 2003).

## Overview of Chapters

Next, Chapter Two synthesizes the literature relevant to the research problem and provides a context for this study. In Chapter Three, I discuss the research design of this study, describing the methods and procedures of data collection and analysis, and issues
related to the trustworthiness of this research. The next chapters describe the findings of the study, using examples from the data of how discourses are deployed in diversity action plans to shape images of diverse individuals and make visible policy problems and solutions. More specifically, in Chapter Four, I describe the dominant discourses of access and disadvantage that coalesce to produce images-and subject positions that individuals inhabit—of diverse persons as outsiders to the institution, at-risk before and after entering the university, and dependent on it for success in higher education. In Chapter Five, I describe a dominant marketplace discourse that shapes the diverse individual as a commodity and the discourse of democracy that emerges as an alternative to the marketplace discourse, constructing the diverse individual as the change agent for equity. However, as I discuss in this chapter, the greater weight of the marketplace discourse undermines the change-making possibilities of the discourse of democracy. Finally, Chapter Six discusses the interpretation of these findings, offers suggestions for further research, and explores implications of this study for practice.

## CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter provides an overview of the professional and scholarly literature central to this investigation: a policy analysis of diversity action plans at selected U.S. land-grant universities. The goal of this literature review is to synthesize the relevant literature on the research problem and contextualize this study. The literature review begins with a historical overview of land-grant universities, discusses the literature relevant to the origins of diversity action plans, and provides a review of scholarship on policy analysis. The review of policy literature serves to situate my study and illustrates how critical and poststructural approaches to policy analysis, with their attention to power relations and discourse, are best suited for this study.

## Land-Grant Universities

The data analyzed for this study are 21 diversity action plans collected from 20 U.S. land-grant universities. This designation—land-grant university—is derived from land grants to the states in 1862 under the Morrill Land Grant Act. Sponsored by Congressman Justin Morrill of Vermont, and signed by President Lincoln, the Act gave each state an allotment of federal land - 30,000 acres for each senator and representative the state had in Congress (Rudolph, 1962; The land-grant tradition, 1995). The states were to sell the land and use the proceeds to create endowments, which in turn would provide dependable support for institutions that agreed to fulfill their "peculiar mission"-meaning to provide both liberal and practical (or scientific) education (Ross, 1969/1942). Prior to this legislation, higher education institutions were typically accessible only by the elite (aristocracy) who benefited from a classical education embodied in the liberal arts (McDowell, 2001). Passage of the Morrill Act provided
federal support for states to develop, at the college level, "instruction relating to the practical realities of an agricultural and industrial society," and meant that higher education was now accessible to "the laboring class" (The land grant tradition, 1995).

Institutions, such as Cornell University and the University of Illinois, developed "technical education" in engineering, mining, agriculture, and other applied sciences that would be useful to a nation that was just beginning to enter a period of unprecedented economic and technological growth (Goldberg, 1976; The land grant tradition, 1995; Veysey, 1965). These universities also had to pledge that the cost of this new higher education would remain within reach of average Americans - "the sons and daughters of the industrial classes" (Campbell, 1995, p. 8; Clark, 1978). Thus, land-grant universities have often been termed "democracy’s colleges" (Nevins, 1962; Ross, 1969/1942).

Land-grant institutions continue to provide "liberal and practical education," to emphasize open access to education, and serve to prepare the citizenry for the U.S. labor market (Campbell, 1995; McDowell, 2001). Diversity initiatives today are in many ways consistent with the historical ideals of the Morrill Act of 1862, which mandated the need to make higher education more accessible and sought to educate the masses to ensure the strength and competitiveness of America’s human capital. As noted by John Campbell (1995) in Reclaiming a lost heritage: Land-grant and other higher education initiatives for the twenty-first century,

Addressing the critical and growing need of making higher education more accessible to students of underrepresented groups should not be viewed simply as a matter of social justice. It is one way to enhance the overall level of excellence in institutions of higher education, as well as in corporate America (p. 44).

As open and accessible institutions, dedicated to teaching, research, and public service, many of America's land-grant universities have joined the ranks of the nation's most distinguished public research universities; they continue to be recognized as educational leaders.

As a category, they supply eight of the ten largest undergraduate campuses in the United States and enroll more than one-seventh of all university students. They and the state universities together produce two out of every three doctoral degrees granted nationally. In other words, they are prime actors at both extremes: in mass education with its emphasis on "equal access," and in graduate training with its emphasis on research specialization (Johnson, 1999, p. 222).

Yet, considering land-grant universities as one entity risks erasing the distinct identity of each campus. While all place emphasis on "instruction, research, and service a mission description that virtually every institution, public or private, now embraces" (Johnson, 1999, p. 222), land-grant universities are often more different than similar. In some ways, they share little more in common than serving as beneficiaries of land grants to the states under the Morrill Act of 1862. Each has a unique history (not all were established in 1862); serves the people of its respective state; and accommodates to its local reality (Rudolph, 1962). To illustrate this heterogeneity, a profile of each university in the sample for this study is included in Appendix A.

This historical overview of land-grant universities focuses on the "1862 landgrants" since the diversity action plans in this study's sample were collected from them. However, a few additional points in this historical overview warrant attention. The Morrill Land Grant Act of 1862, true to its intent to be accessible to all, did not explicitly
exclude any citizens of the U.S.; yet, "early land-grant colleges became white bastions, barring blacks from admission by custom, by law, or both" (Campbell, 1995, p. 19). The passage of the Second Morrill Act, in 1890, allocated federal funds for education "without distinction of race or color" (The land-grant tradition, 1995). As a result of this Act, seventeen southern states (in the then-segregated south) established land-grant institutions for blacks; these institutions came to be known as "the 1890 land-grants" (Beale, 1973; The land-grant tradition, 1995; see Christy \& Williamson, 1992, for a historical and contemporary view of "1890 land-grants"). In 1994, as a provision of the Elementary and Secondary Reauthorization Act, and as a result of the initiative of the American Indian Higher Education Consortium, in collaboration with the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges, land-grant status was conferred on twenty-nine (29) Native American tribal colleges, in further attempt to "democratize higher education" (Campbell, 1995, p. 24; The land-grant tradition, 1995; see Benham \& Stein, 2003; Boyer, 1997, for a historical and contemporary review of tribal colleges). ${ }^{8}$ While some land-grant universities remain minority-serving institutions, the "1862 land-grants," with their commitment to open access, strive to achieve greater diversity, focusing particular attention on increasing the proportion of under-represented students, faculty, and staff on campus. It might be argued that diversity action plans serve to codify this institutional commitment to diversity. Next, I provide a review of the literature relevant to the origins of diversity action plans in higher education.

[^6]
## Diversity Action Plans

The origins of diversity action plans can be traced to institutional policies of the 1960s and 1970s on equal opportunity and affirmative action that considered race, along with other factors, in assembling a diverse student body of varying talents, backgrounds, and perspectives. While not causal, the initiative to draft institutional policies was likely motivated by the passage of non-discrimination laws, such as Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Title IX of the Educational Amendments of 1972 governing sex discrimination, Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 prohibiting discrimination against individuals with disabilities, and the Age Discrimination Act of 1975. ${ }^{9}$ These, along with other non-discrimination laws, and with changing demographics in the U.S., have contributed to the shaping and defining of the identity categories reflected in diversity action plans, and to the construction of diversity as a social phenomenon requiring institutional attention. Next, I will examine the emergence of race-ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, and disabilities - four identity categories that are prominent in the diversity action plans analyzed for this investigation.

## Race-Ethnicity

Early diversity initiatives were primarily focused on racial integration, namely for African Americans, and are often framed as a product of efforts to desegregate higher education. While access to higher education for historically disadvantaged racial groups increases slowly, institutionalized racism remains and receives much attention in academic and activist circles.

During the 1980s college campuses reflected the nation's political shift toward conservatism (Hurtado, 1992). Incidents of overt racism and harassment were reported

[^7]with greater frequency on campuses across the U.S. in the late 1980s and received much press coverage (Farrell \& Jones, 1988). In response to these racial conflicts in institutions of higher education, and a perceived failure to deal with diversity issues at the institutional, programmatic, or individual level (Hurtado, 1992), colleges and universities drafted planning documents and policies promoting cooperation and understanding among diverse groups in higher education. Affirmative action plans, mandated by federal Executive Order, and drafted and maintained by the institution's affirmative action office, were increasingly associated with bureaucracy and an emphasis on compliance. To reflect a "change in focus from the tool, Affirmative Action, to the end product, Diversity" (Ibarra, 2001, p. 255), many affirmative action offices renamed themselves and/or a new department emerged to promote constructive cross-racial and cross-cultural interactions and sought to enhance campus climate and intergroup relations (Hurtado, 1992; Smith \& Schonfeld, 2000). A proliferation of diversity programs continued to emerge into the 1990s and exemplary programs received national recognition and support through President Clinton's Initiative on Race (1997).

When speaking or writing about race, the definition of race is often assumed. When explicated in diversity action plans, five racial groups are typically named: African-American (or Black), Hispanic (or Latino), Asian-American (and Pacific Islander), American Indian (or Native American), and White (or Caucasian or EuropeanAmerican). These five categories are consistent with the federal government's racial classification for data collection purposes (the U.S. Census). However, these broad, "lumpy" categories classify racial identity on a "highly aggregated, continental level" that erases the cultural variation within each category (Yanow, 2003, p. 187; also Ibarra,
2001). For example, Asian-American encompasses persons having origins in "the Far East, Southeast Asia, or the Indian subcontinent...including, for example, Cambodia, China, India, ...and Pakistan..." (Yanow, 2003, p. 39). Further complicating the notion of race is its intersection and, at times, conflation with ethnicity.

Depending on the source, many classifications of ethnicity exist. Yanow (2003), in the introduction to her analysis of the construction of race and ethnicity in America, delineates "an unspecified number of possibilities" for categorizing race-ethnicity (pp. 34). This definitional complexity illustrates that race and ethnicity are socially constructed concepts - that is, "perceived and understood to be human inventions, created to impose some sense of order on the surrounding social world;" yet, the concepts are used "as if they were fixed, stable, and scientifically grounded in the human social world, as if they did correspond to some naturally occurring reality" (Yanow, p. vii, emphasis in original). While the two concepts—race and ethnicity-can be and are used to mean different things, they are also used interchangeably. For the purpose of this study, I will use "raceethnicity" as a single referent for both. ${ }^{10}$

## Gender

The status of women in U.S. higher education has been codified in women's commission reports for nearly four decades (Allan, 2003). The Presidential Commission on the Status of Women, established in 1961 by executive order of President John F. Kennedy, provided a model for universities to follow (Allan, 1999). Since 1968, when the first university women's commissions were formed at the University of California at

[^8]Berkeley and the University of Chicago (Allan, 1999), these groups, responsive to both federal legislation (e.g., Title VII and IX, and affirmative action) and grass-roots organizing, addressed concerns related to women's equity and representation in various institutional arenas (Allan, 2003; Glazer-Raymo, 1999).

University women's commissions remain a prominent voice in the dialogue about and development of strategies to improve women’s status; yet, concurrently, issues related to gender (in)equity have been identified, monitored, and prioritized in diversity action plans. These policies, similar to women's commission reports, delineate recommendations for removing barriers and transforming campus cultures for women, as complaints of gender inequities, ranging from chilly climate for women to barriers in faculty hiring and promotion, continue to surface (e.g., Cox \& Wilson, 2001; Fogg, 2003; Suggs, 2004; Wilson, 2003).

In the diversity action plans, the term "gender," while never explicitly defined, implicitly refers to the categories of "male" and "female." For the purposes of this study, the term "gender" represents the socio-cultural production of sexual identity - that is, being a woman (or man) is a constructed category influenced by culture, social processes and practices, and gender relations (Lorber, 2004; Rothenberg, 1990). This view operates in contrast to an essentialist position (represented, for my purposes, by the term "sex") which holds that differences between men and women are rooted in biological and genetic factors, e.g., hormones, physical size, capacity to bear children (Chodorow, 1994). Gender, then, is an "achieved" status while sex is described as an "ascribed" or given status; gender is not so much a set of traits residing within individuals, but something people do in their social interactions (West \& Zimmerman, 1987). "Gender"
could also include transgender or transsexual persons (Lorber, 2004); however, the diversity action plans reserve "gender" for discussions involving women and men, and categorize transgender persons with individuals identified as lesbian, gay, bisexual (often referred to by the acronym LGBT). ${ }^{11}$

## Sexual orientation

While race-ethnicity and gender dominate much of the literature related to diversity, they are not the only identity categories that receive attention in university diversity action plans. Sexual orientation, while not a federally protected status, ${ }^{12}$ is identified as an individual attribute and is subsumed by the heading "diversity" in the policies analyzed in this investigation. My use of "sexual orientation" reflects my understanding of sexuality as a socially constructed experience and attribute ascribed to all people (Hubbard, 2001). However, its use in the diversity action plans refers to individuals identified as lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender, leaving heterosexuality typically invisible.
"Homosexuality" as an object of study has existed for over a century; yet, LGBT
programs and services in U.S. higher education are relatively new, emerging over the past thirty-five years ${ }^{13}$ (Chestnut, in Sanlo, 1998). The first LGBT student group ${ }^{14}$ was formed in 1967 at Columbia University and within fifteen years "virtually every major

[^9]campus in the country had one" (Johansson, in Mallory, 1998, p. 321). The first Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual (LGB) Studies Program opened in 1972 at Sacramento State University; yet, LGBT (sometimes termed "queer") studies, programs, and services are still considered new on university campuses, do not exist on all campuses, and continue to face challenges as they seek recognition (Sanlo, 1998; Sanlo, Rankin \& Schoenberg, 2002).

Similarly as in the development of women's resource centers and ALANA ${ }^{15}$ centers now common to many campuses, student activism demanded institutional acknowledgment of LGBT concerns and the need for safe spaces on campus. In response to a call for assistance from campus activists, the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force (NGLTF), founded in 1973, ${ }^{16}$ launched their Campus Project in 1987 (Sanlo, Rankin \& Schoenberg, 2002). The Project's primary goal was to "foster the growth of campus organizations... [to improve] the quality of life for LGBT people in academe" (Shepard, Yeskel \& Outcalt, in Sanlo, Rankin \& Schoenberg, 2002, p. 9). Since 1987, LGBT students, LGBT center directors, and others who do this work continue to argue the need for the establishment of resource centers, creation of Safe Zone Projects, changes in the curriculum, inclusion of sexual orientation (and increasingly gender identity) in statements of non-discrimination, and extension of benefits to same-sex domestic partners, among other issues and concerns. Strategies to achieve these and other goals are often delineated in reports generated by task forces on the status of lesbian, gay, bisexual,

[^10]and transgender people in higher education, and are articulated in 16 of the diversity action plans analyzed for this study.

## Disability

Similar to the previous concepts discussed, disability is not defined in the diversity action plans. Disability can be understood using different theoretical frames; Jones (1996) delineates three prevailing frames: functional limitations, minority group paradigm, and social constructivism. My use of "disability" is consistent with the social constructivism perspective that contends "it is the attitudes and institutions of the nondisabled, even more than the biological characteristics of the disabled, that turn characteristics into handicaps" (Asch \& Fine, 1988, p. 7; also Baynton, 2001).

Disability emerged prominently around the late 1960s and early 1970s as an identity category warranting the attention of post-secondary institutions. Federal legislation, specifically Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act, was passed in 1973 prohibiting discrimination on the basis of disability. However, the process of making higher education accessible has been slow, with only modest progress made between 1973 and 1990 when The Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) ${ }^{17}$ was passed (Thomas, 2000).

The ADA—fundamentally a civil rights act—demanded that all institutions of higher education (public and private) acknowledge the ways in which facilities and programs excluded individuals with disabilities and set forth strategies for equal opportunity in education and employment (Gordon \& Keiser, 1998). The broader coverage of the ADA, coupled with publicity surrounding its passage, "an increase in the

[^11]number of administrative appeals and lawsuits, and growth in the number of students requesting accommodation" resulted in increased efforts by universities (Thomas, 2000). Many campuses during this time established Offices of Disabilities Services. In addition to serving students, these offices were also typically asked to serve an advisory function to university offices of equal opportunity. Also, many universities convened standing committees and task forces on disabilities, prepared status reports, and drafted strategic planning documents; the recommendations from the latter often inform university diversity action planning efforts. ${ }^{18}$

[^12]
## Diversity

Diversity, in the diversity action plans, is typically defined demographically, listing multiple identity-statuses, e.g., race-ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, disability, national origin, age, religion. Some plans add that diversity can be viewed more broadly, incorporating differences in thoughts, ideas, perspectives, and personalities. A few reports observe the intersections of identity, capturing what some scholars refer to as the multidimensionality of identity (Ellsworth \& Miller, 1996; Reynolds \& Pope, 1991; West \& Fenstermaker, 1995). Identity is not fixed or static; it is always already in process; and, diversity is a concept "into which its 'others' are now being added, which its 'others’ are now modifying" (Ellsworth, 1999, p. 35). Yet, the multiple identity-statuses explicated here (race-ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, and disability) exist in the reports without definition, leaving diversity to mean only difference.

Difference often reflects how those who are socially dominant define reality for themselves and others; yet, this perspective also veils—makes invisible—the standard against which others are measured. Thus, diversity is a socially constructed concept, and its current usage has only emerged in the past twenty-five years. The concept of diversity is not new to the scholarly literature of higher education; in fact, early commentary on "diversity" in higher education reaches back to the mid-nineteenth century (Orfield, 2001). However, my focus is on contemporary origins of "diversity" as an all-inclusive category representing (subsuming) numerous identity groups, and its emergence as a social phenomenon demanding attention in higher education.

Prior to the 1980s, concerns about access to higher education typically focused on specific identity groups, e.g., women, blacks, Native Americans; if collective references were made (e.g., minorities), they were primarily racial, and often exclusive of international populations. In the 1980s, assimilationist views, aptly represented in the melting pot metaphor, were eclipsed by the concept of pluralism, meaning members of different identity groups could maintain their individuality and culture, symbolized by the tossed salad metaphor. Yet, concurrent with a growing emphasis on pluralism and multiculturalism, the "pendulum of civil rights policy" began to swing in the other direction during the Reagan-Bush era; campuses faced more legal challenges to affirmative action by whites, experienced major cutbacks in financial aid, and increased their use of entrance exams for admission to higher education (Orfield, 2001, p.3; also Hurtado, 1992). Also during this time, political shifts from "territorially bound governments to [transnational] companies that can roam in the world" (Barnet \& Cavanagh, in Readings, 1996, p. 203) prompted higher education to re/consider its role in educating citizens for a "diverse democracy" in an increasingly global economy ${ }^{19}$ (Readings, 1996). Globalization blurred the boundaries of national and social identities; formerly discrete categories became more fluid and ambiguous (Readings, 1996).

Attention in higher education expanded beyond the needs of individual identity groups (as well as beyond the geographic boundaries of states and the nation) to the delivery of

[^13]multicultural education for an increasingly diverse student population. ${ }^{20}$ Pluralism and globalization - diversity - rose to the top of the agenda in the late 1980s for numerous university presidents and system chancellors who, in addition to identity-specific commissions (i.e. women's commissions), convened Commissions on Pluralism into the 1990s (e.g., Syracuse University, 1995; University of Maine System, 1989), and still today issue a charge to Councils on Diversity, to intensify institutional commitment to diversity, and codify recommendations in diversity action plans.

Public (government) support—funding-of higher education has continued to decline in the last fifteen years, precipitating profound changes in university culture as the academy becomes increasingly privatized, marketized, and consumer-driven (Meadmore, 1998; Readings, 1996). This shift to a more competitive ethos, along with an adaptation of management principles by university administration have contributed to a pervasive view of higher education as an enterprise competing "for students, resources, faculty, and prestige" (Eckel \& King, 2004, p. 16) in a "merciless marketplace" (O’Meara, 2001, p. 3). Concurrently, during the 1990s, research examining the effects of a diverse college environment on student-related outcomes began to accumulate. Previous anecdotal commentary on the benefits of educational diversity were replaced with empirical research on the effects of diversity (e.g., the existence of a diverse student body, inter-group interactions, a diverse curriculum) on beliefs and attitudes regarding college experiences (Alger, 1997; Antonio, 1999; Apple, Cartwright, Smith \& Wolf, 1996; Astin, 1993; Bowen \& Bok, 1998; Chang, 1997; Fischer \& Hartmann, 1995; Foner, 1999; Gubitosi-White, 1999; Gurin, 1999; Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pedersen, \& Allen,

[^14]1998; Kardia, 1998; Kogler, 1999; Pascarella, Whitt, Nora, Edison, Hagedorn, \& Terenzini, 1996; Smith \& Associates, 1997; Zuniga, 1998). While public opinion regarding the educational benefits of diversity has been and continues to be mixed, a growing body of research provides support for the view that a diverse student body is an important educational resource (Chang, 1997; Does diversity make a difference? 2000a; Hu \& Kuh, 2003; Lee, 2002).

## Coordination and accountability

The challenge facing universities today is coordinating the many diversity programs that have sprung up and structuring them in complementary ways (Wathington, 2003). Consistent with the movement in higher education and government toward accountability, the emphasis in recent years has shifted from the development of diversity programs to evaluation and assessment of and demonstrating the efficacy of transformative diversity initiatives (Smith, 2004; Smith \& Schonfeld, 2000). The research report, Does Diversity Make a Difference? Three Research Studies on Diversity in college classrooms (2000a), prepared by ACE and AAUP, provided the first comprehensive, nationwide analysis of the impact of diversity in higher education. The findings indicate that there are good educational reasons for universities to recruit and admit a diverse student population (Maruyama \& Moreno, 2000). Recognizing this, colleges and universities continue to develop plans and set goals for increased access and greater minority representation in admissions and employment. Race-sensitive practices have evolved into policies that support essential educational goals; colleges and universities "feel a sense of urgency about greater inclusion of students of color...; yet, most continue to have a student body not sufficiently diverse" (Gudeman, 2000, p. 38).

The debates about and (legal) interpretations of diversity policies focus on how higher education can best justify diversity as central to their missions and make the best use of diversity on campuses (Schmidt, 2003).

## Policy Analysis

U.S. postsecondary institutions profess to utilize diversity action plans as a primary change-making tool; ${ }^{21}$ these documents advance policy recommendations for equity in access, to improve inter-group relations, and to realize the educational benefits of diverse learning environments (Hurtado et al, 1998). Legal and legislative action has demanded much attention in the scholarly literature on diversity, and increasingly researchers are examining the impact of diversity and reporting "significant positive outcomes ... for underrepresented students, students who represent other kinds of diversity, students in general, the institution, and society" (Smith \& Schonfeld, 2000, p. 17; also Does Diversity Make a Difference?, 2000a; Gurin, Dey, Hurtado \& Gurin, 2002; Hurtado et al, 1998, 2000; Milem, Chang, \& Antonio, 2005; Milem \& Hakuta, 2000; Orfield with Kurlaender, 2001; Smith, 2004; Smith \& Associates, 1997). Yet, little scholarship exists about the discursive framing of diversity problems and corresponding strategies to solve these problems in institutional policy. The "problem" or "challenge" of diversity prominent in university policies is taken as given, rather than questioned for "how the discursive and ideological practices of academic, institutional, social, and political action position [some] as different and produce [particular] identities and experiences" (Baez, 2003b, p. 105).

[^15]A variety of approaches to the study of policy exists. A conventional-sometimes called "rational"-approach to policy analysis views policy-making principally as a process of problem-solving; it involves "description, explanation, and prediction of issues" (Hawkesworth, 1988, p. 2). "The fundamental assumption [of this approach] is that there is a best collective decision, the public interest, that can be rationally and analytically determined if the correct neutral procedure is followed" (Dudley \& Vidovich, in Bacchi, 1999, p. 17). Policy-makers employ formulaic steps in policy-making, and value decisions are assumed to be "relatively straightforward" and are "clearly formulated in advance" -meaning the problem which the policy seeks to resolve is accepted as an unquestioned, objective fact, and attention is instead focused on identifying solutions to the given problem (Bacchi, 1999, p. 18; Dery, 1984).

Hawkesworth (1988) identifies the organizational tool of this approach as the "fact/value dichotomy" that "demarcates between the legitimate sphere of scientific inquiry and the legitimate sphere of politics" and suggests that values fall beyond the legitimate sphere of the rational policy approach (p. 4).

Others argue that values cannot be dismissed as subjective preference. Critics of the rational approach insist that final solutions can never be identified; rather, the policymaker can only attempt to improve the situation (Lindblom, 1980). Dudley and Vidovitch add that "negotiation and compromise between complementary and contradictory values and objectives is continuous through the decision making process" (in Bacchi, 1999, p. 17; Lindblom, 1980). An alternative is the "politically rational" approach, which strives to engage an open process, "giving voice" to a wide range of participants, and "must confront normative decisions"-simply put, "politics matters" and policy-makers must
acknowledge underlying ideological positions (Bacchi, 1999, pp. 18-20; Lindlbom, 1980).

Critiques of traditional policy (Bacchi, 1999; Ball, 1990; Fraser, 1989; Marshall, 1999; Scheurich, 1994) posit that such policy approaches are guided by a technicalrational evaluation of what makes effective policy-meaning they want to offer ways of "doing it better" (Bacchi, 1999, p. 20)—and serve to legitimize some socially constructed norms of behavior that function to categorize people, things, and ideas. Policy problems, approached from this "rational" perspective, are typically uncritically accepted, naturalized in the individual, and ignore the social construction of the policy problem (Allan, 2003; Bacchi, 1999; Baez, 2002; Dery, 1984; Scheurich, 1994). From this perspective, policy implies consensus and risks "ignoring and creating silences on the contradictions of lived experience and social ideals" (Ball, 1990, p. 139). Conventional policy studies, with its attention on problem identification and definition, strives to develop better policies with better solutions to accepted social problems (Bacchi, 1999; Dery, 1984; Gale, 1994). Such approaches often fail to examine underlying and often taken-for-granted assumptions about solutions embedded within how a problem is represented and fail to acknowledge the implications for these representations (Allan, 2003; Bacchi, 1999; Baez, 2002).

An alternative to these traditional approaches to policy analysis is a critical approach concerned with how the policy document, and its stated problem(s), is given meaning. Blending critical approaches to policy analysis with methods of textual analysis enables researchers to focus on silences and exclusions (Reinharz, 1992), gives voice to those at the margins (Marshall, 2000, 1999), and makes visible missing data (Ulrich,
1990). Some scholars assert this approach goes further than the "political rational" approach in its attention to the discourses that normalize some institutional practices and marginalize others (Baez, 2002; Bell, 2003; Ladson-Billings, 2000; Solorzano \& Yosso, 2002; Yosso, 2002). Eyre (2000), for instance, utilizing discourse analysis in her investigation of one case of sexual harassment on a university campus, investigated how policy administrators at one institution framed sexual harassment and raised awareness of how these discursive constructions may benefit some while marginalizing others. The researcher's basic suppositions with this approach are to make visible and critique the social relations of power that normalize sexual harassment; to reveal the conditions that make sexual harassment possible; and to transform the institution through this awareness (Eyre, 2000).

This analysis of diversity action plans aligns with and is influenced by authors who have begun to consider the realities that have been constructed for diverse groups in policy efforts, and how policy initiatives may unintentionally undermine their own equity goals (Allan, 2003; Bacchi, 1999; Baez, 2002; Ball, 1990; Blackmore, 1999). Such approaches, rooted in critical and poststructural theories, aim to understand how everyday discourses inscribe our lives, and to unsettle what we think we know and to "defamiliarize taken-for-granted beliefs in order to render them susceptible to critique" (Fraser \& Gordon, in Allen, 1999, p. 51). This study follows the work of Allan (2003), Bacchi (1999), Scheurich (1994) and others who investigate the discursive construction of social problems, the forces and relations of power connected to discursive practices, and the production (and privileging) of some solutions and policy choices over others.

## Power

Multiple conceptualizations of power exist. A dominant view is best represented by French and Raven's (1959) typology of power (in Fisher, 1984). ${ }^{22}$ These bases of power, evident in social power theory (Bensimon, Neumann, \& Birnbaum, 1989), encompass control, influence, and hierarchical power (McGrath, in Hodgkinson \& Meeth, 1971); power is defined as a "force" sufficient to change behavior (Pfeffer, 1981, p. 3) and "valued as an instrument to be used" (Fisher, 1984, p. 29). ${ }^{23}$ Baldridge (1971) built upon French \& Raven's established framework in his case study of academic decision-making and policy formulation. Baldridge (1971) delineated four "power bases"-bureaucratic, professional, coercive, and personal—and referred to these as "weapons" that through "their tactical use" administrators can "influence policies" (p. 154). From this perspective, which some conceptualize as "power-over" (Allen, 1999; Beckwith, 1999), power is causative, intentional, and purposeful, but not predictive; one event triggers the next, but power does not consist of a discrete set of actions or stages, nor can we predict the outcome of any one event or action (Burns, 1978). Cohen \& March (1986) illustrate this conception of power through their analogy of the president driving a skidding car (p. 20), demonstrating how a leader's actions are not predictive of outcome, and emphasizing the significance of the perceptions and interpretations of the followers on defining (constructing) reality.

An alternate perspective, whose origins can be traced to social exchange theory (Blau, 1986; Cook \& Emerson, 1978; Emerson, 1962), views power as a unit of exchange, "a social energy that is created transactionally between the leaders and the led"

[^16](Astin \& Leland, 1991, p. 2; Bennis \& Nanus, 1985). This view conceives of power as "energy that transforms oneself and others" (Astin \& Leland, 1991, p. 1; also Bennis \& Nanus, 1985; Rees, Cervero, Moshi \& Wilson, 1997). Power, conceptualized in this view as "power-to" by Allen (1999), can be found in empowerment - "the power to be selfdetermining, to act rather than react, to choose the terms on which to live one's own life" (Freeman, Bourque \& Shelton, 2001, p. 10; also Beckwith, 1999, p. 394). Evidence of this power can also be found in resistance ${ }^{24}$ - a way to challenge and/or subvert domination (Allen, 1999, p. 126).

Another view defines power as the "ability of a collectivity to act together for the attainment of an agreed-upon end or series of ends" (Allen, 1999, pp. 126-7). Such power is "an expandable resource that is produced and shared through interaction" (Astin \& Leland, 1991, p. 1; also Beckwith, 1999; Blackmore, 1999). Redefined as "power through and with others," such power is exercised rather than possessed, illustrating its transformative potential (Blackmore, 1999, p. 161; also Anderson \& Grinberg, 1998; Sawicki, 1991). This perspective is captured by a participant in Blackmore's (1999) study of women and leadership who redefined power as "being at the centre of the spokes of a wheel rather than out in front pulling the wagon" (p. 161).

This study of the discursive framing of diversity draws upon the work of Foucault (1977/1995, 1978/1990) and others who reconceptualize power as a productive force rather than a primarily repressive one (Allen, 1999; Fraser, 1989; Gore, 1998; McNay, 1992; Mills, 1997; Sawicki, 1991; Weedon, 1997). In contrast to traditional views of power as possessive, coercive and controlling, Foucault (1978/1990) articulates a

[^17]theoretical conception of power that is produced and transmitted through knowledge and discourse at the micro-levels of society. The "macro-level" of society focuses on power located in ideologies, structures, and institutions (Gore, 1998, p. 278), whereas a "microlevel" analysis of power relations examines specific (discursive) practices, such as those codified in diversity action plans that discipline individuals' ways of thinking and acting through self-regulation (Anderson \& Grinberg, 1998). From this perspective, policy, itself a form of disciplinary power, "both constrains individuals by subjecting them to regulation, control, and normalization and, at the same time, enables or empowers individuals by positioning them as subjects who are endowed with the capacity to act" (Allen, 1999, p. 51; also Sawicki, 1991). Marshall (in Ball, 1990) adds that the subject "carries the twin meaning of an active knowing subject and of an object being acted upon - a product of discourse" (p. 14). Different from theorists of power who view individuals as oppressed by power relations, "Foucault sees [individuals] as the effects or instances of power relations" (Mills, 1997, p. 22).

Power, thus, is inextricably linked to the production of knowledge, a connection Foucault describes as "power/knowledge" (in Mills, 1997, p. 22). The knowledge we have is the result or the effect of power struggles. For instance, what is studied in schools is the result of struggles over whose version of events is sanctioned (Mills, 1997, p. 21). A recent newspaper article on changes in U.S. health textbooks for Texas high school students is illustrative: publishers changed phrases such as "when two people marry" and "partners" to depict marriage as the union of "a man and a woman" or "husbands and wives" (Gott, 2004). This change in language is the result and effect of state and federal
socio-political movements to ban the recognition of civil unions between same-sex individuals.

Who has the power to shape the public perception about the logic and worth of diversity action plans is an important consideration, as is the way knowledge is used to reproduce social inequalities. Policy, a form of institutional knowledge and site of power relations, has the power to define what is normal (and thus abnormal); this power derives from its location at the top of the institutional hierarchy-that is from senior administration who legitimize policy with their official status. Institutions act, through policy, with the authority to classify, objectify, and normalize persons. Additionally, policies attempt "represent the world in factual terms so that certain kinds of practices flow ‘naturally’ from them" (Knight, Smith \& Sachs, 1990, p. 133).

This investigation of the discursive framing of diversity involves an examination of the forces and relations of power connected to discursive practices. My concern is with the unquestioned assumptions, structures, and practices that construct diversity as both a problem and a solution in higher education, and with what realities are produced for diverse individuals by diversity action plans.

## Discourse Analysis

Discourse, as defined in the previous chapter, refers to both spoken and written language use. Mills (1997) states that discourses consist of utterances which have meaning, force, and effect within a social context; thus, they are not fixed but the site of constant contestation of meaning (p. 13). Discourse, then, "does not merely ‘describe’ the world but 'acts' in the world" (Willig, 1999, p. 88). The method for this study—policy discourse analysis—recognizes that policy-as-discourse creates structures and practices
that define, support, enforce, and constrain both liberatory and repressive realities and experiences for diverse individuals and groups on university campuses.

Many scholars have employed discourse analysis as a method in educational research. However, discourse analysis is not a discrete method; it is employed differently depending upon one's methodological approach. A brief overview of the uses of discourse analysis in educational research is next, with specific attention to analyses that illuminate the forces and relations of power connected to discursive practices; this section serves to illuminate how the method selected—policy discourse analysis—is best suited for this investigation.

According to Denzin \& Lincoln (2000) discourse analysis is one of three major approaches ${ }^{25}$ to textual analysis that requires an examination of language, text, and meaning that emerge from the text. Rees, Cervero, Moshi \& Wilson (1997) employ a form of discourse analysis known as "critical language study." This methodology is an interpretive process that analyzes the "function and effects of language," more specifically "verbal interaction," to identify "the power 'in' and 'behind' language" (p. 65). Their analysis of the verbal interaction between three planners in two adult education program planning meetings reveal planners’ ability to "use language to reposition power relations or empower themselves" (Rees et al, 1997, p. 74). Their study illuminates "how power is exercised, by whom, when, for what reasons, and with what effects" and determines that the use of language-the verbal interactions in meetings-is a source of power for the planners (Rees et al, 1997, p. 74).

Gouthro (2005), in a theoretical essay, offers a critical, feminist interpretation of adult education arguing that a "homeplace" orientation, made visible by a discourse of

[^18]feminism, can serve to challenge the dominant marketplace discourse in adult education, which is influenced by "masculine values that stress competition over cooperation, dominance over mutuality." Gouthro illustrates ways in which discourses operate to construct given realities, and how dominant discourses may "undermine the broader emancipatory potential of adult education, blinding many of us to alternative discourses and perspectives."

Narrative analysis, a form of textual analysis imbued with a critical framework, is employed by some scholars to uncover taken-for-granted assumptions and reveal dominant "stories" through analysis of oral communication and written documents. For instance, Roe’s (1994) narrative policy analysis, used to investigate politicized policy issues, is employed to deconstruct legal and policy texts to reveal potential assumptions and contradictions (see also Baez's (2002) use of this method to analyze court cases in his study of narratives about race, law, and the academy). In addition to seeking the dominant storyline in policy, Roe (1994) also identifies other narratives that do not conform or run counter to the dominant policy narratives.

Sachs (1999) also employs a critical narrative analysis in her investigation of the discursive construction of teachers' identities under conditions of change in government policy and educational restructuring in Australia. Her study reveals two competing discourses that shape the professional identity of teachers: managerial and democratic discourses that (respectively) produce the entrepreneurial and activist identities for teachers. Sachs suggests that "democratic discourses give rise to the development of communities of practice" and thus, she argues, the activist identity can and should be cultivated.

Naidu (2001), while not utilizing narrative analysis, also investigates the discursive construction of teachers' subjectivities as they negotiate the teacher evaluation, performance management process. The findings of this critical analysis reveal that "teachers’ professional autonomy has been eroded at the expense of discourses of managerialistic accountability" producing teacher-technicians more concerned with implementing the ideas of others. Naidu's findings build upon the work of Blackmore (1999), whose investigation of educational policy in Australia, revealed competing subjectivities that women inhabit (and uncritically accept), identities produced by contemporary management discourses circulating in educational leadership.

Blackmore's research is guided by a feminist poststructural perspective that conceives of power as productive--"a mobile set of force relations that operate throughout the social body," enabling and constraining options for individuals subject to institutional policies and practices (Allen, 1999, p. 37; Ball, 1990). Others, drawing upon a critical poststructural framework, have examined the discursive practices in education and the subjectivities constituted by these. For instance, Anderson \& Grinberg (1998), in a theoretical essay that discusses the relevance of Foucault's work to the field of educational administration, argue that no educational practices are inherently more progressive or empowering than others. Even the appearance of participatory and democratic processes still, in fact, constitutes forms of disciplinary power.

Bensimon (1995), employing a feminist poststructualist approach, deconstructs taken-for-granted discourses of management, more specifically of the postulates of Total Quality Management (TQM), in an effort to "expose the patriarchal underside of TQM, and to call attention to ways in which TQM reinforces the natural tendency to value
conformity to take-for-granted standards of knowledge, quality, and legitimacy" (p. 608). In this critical essay, Bensimon posits that TQM (and I would add, more broadly, discourses of quality and managerialism) "can be a threat to efforts underway on many campuses to dismantle practices and structures that sustain gender and racial exclusive patriarchal arrangements" (p. 608).

Skelton (1998), as part of a broader study of masculinity in higher education, examined the ways in which gay and bisexual male higher education faculty construct and manage their identities within a shifting higher education context in which "new managerialist" discourses appear to be replacing discourses of equity. Employing what he terms a "critical-interpretive" approach, Skelton seeks to uncover the "discursive practices" that operate "to regulate sex, gender and desire" and "frame people’s 'choice’ of identities" (p. 115).

Bacchi's (1999) What's the Problem? Approach, drawing on perspectives from social constructivism and discourse analysis, gives attention to the discursive construction of policy problems. She utilizes this approach to analyze a range of policies associated with and intended to address women's inequality (though not exclusive to education), including policies on sexual harassment, discrimination, child care, and pay equity. Bacchi asserts that every policy proposal contains within it an explicit or implicit diagnosis of the problem, which she calls its "problem representation." For instance, Bacchi applies her analytic approach to antidiscrimination and affirmative action policy. In her analysis, she questions the assumptions that ground the construction of the policy problem. Bacchi's "problematization" reveals that within antidiscrimination discourse "there lodge assumptions about the causes of the 'problem'... These include the
individualizing of the problem, the creation of the victim as 'disadvantaged', [and] the denial of the power relations which keep oppressed groups oppressed" (p. 109).

Similarly, Knight, Smith, and Sachs (1990), drawing upon the work of Foucault, apply discourse analysis to "multicultural policy" in Australia. More specifically, they analyze two "competing texts"-two Australian policies that articulate contrasting positions: monoculturalism versus multiculturalism. While ideological struggles are evident in the policies, their analysis reveals that the documents share assumptions about the source of the problem of inequality and discrimination: "‘above all, changes must occur in people ...'. Thus, inequality is resolved through the elimination of discrimination, 'bias and prejudice’" (Knight, Smith \& Sachs, 1990, p. 145, italics in original). Knight, Smith, and Sachs (1990) observe that the "structural inequities that disadvantage ethnic minorities" remain unquestioned and unaddressed (p. 145).

Consistent with my methodological blending of critical and poststructural approaches to policy analysis, this study employs the method of policy discourse analysis, a hybrid methodology developed by Allan $(1999,2003)$ in her investigation of the discursive construction of women's status described in university women's commission reports. Policy discourse analysis, a unique model for analyzing policy documents, focuses on written texts, distinguishes the ways in which policy constructs social relations, and relies on an understanding of discourse as productive, shaping particular realities. This method recognizes that policy-as-discourse creates structures and practices that define, support, enforce, and constrain both liberatory and repressive realities and experiences for individuals and groups on campus.

My study of the discursive framing of diversity involves an examination of the forces and relations of power connected to discursive practices. The discursive practices set forth in diversity action plans have a profound influence on the way that individuals act and think (Mills, 1997, p. 62); they determine what counts as true or important in a particular place and time (Anderson \& Grinberg, 1998). My concern is with the unquestioned assumptions, structures, and practices that construct diversity as both a problem and a solution in higher education, and in what realities are produced for individuals by diversity action plans.

This investigation of diversity action plans calls for a move away from thinking about policy problems as an either/or struggle (e.g., institutions are either increasing access or limiting it, individuals and groups are either advantaged or disadvantaged) to a recognition of the multiplicity of ways in which power is exercised (Ball, 1990; Scheurich, 1994). Meanings and their effects change as they are deployed within different discourses, so this investigation is particularly concerned with social locations or institutional sites wherein discursive practices are operating. Policy discourse analysis examines how mechanisms of language, knowledge, and norms position some as different and produce particular identities and experiences (Allan, 2003; Baez, 2000).

## Summary

My historical overview of land-grant universities and review of the literature on the origins of diversity actions plans provides a foundation for my examination of the discursive framing of diversity in diversity action plans at U.S. land-grant universities. My review of scholarship on policy analysis serves to situate my study and illustrates how critical and poststructural approaches to policy analysis, with their attention to
power relations and discourse as productive, shaping particular realities, are best suited for this study. My overview of the uses of discourse analysis in educational research supports why policy discourse analysis (Allan, 2003) is best suited for this investigation. The next chapter discusses my research design and methodology.

## CHAPTER III: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the research design of this study. I review my sampling rationale, data collection, and data analysis procedures used in this study. Finally, I discuss the trustworthiness and limitations of this research. I precede this description of methods and procedures with a brief review of the conceptual framework for this study.

In the previous chapter, I articulated theoretical tensions that exist among conventional and alternative approaches to policy studies and provided an overview of the uses of discourse analysis in educational research, illuminating the rationale for my choice of method for this study—policy discourse analysis. This unique approach to policy analysis emerges from both critical and poststructural approaches to qualitative research (Allan, 2003), incorporates a commitment to social change and a poststructural lens through which to interrogate the uncritical acceptance of the problem to be addressed and ameliorated through policy, and, thus, is best suited for my research problem. I rely on the method of policy discourse analysis to investigate the images of diversity and the construction of diversity problems and solutions as articulated in diversity action plans. Policy discourse analysis "highlights the discursive power of policy by investigating the written text of policy documents as primary data sources situated within a larger sociopolitical context" (Allan, 2003, p. 49). The methodology for this investigation, then, supports the goals of this inquiry to question the degree to which diversity as a policy problem is taken as given; to uncover the implicit characterizations of diversity; and to analyze the production and use of diversity in diversity action plans.

The purpose of this study is to expand and enhance the understanding of diversity policy documents, how they frame and construct problems, solutions, and images related to diversity, and how they contribute to producing a particular cultural reality on university campuses. The following research questions guide this investigation:

- What are the predominant images of diversity in diversity action plans?
- What discourses are employed to shape these images?
- How are problems related to diversity represented in diversity action plans?
- How are solutions related to "diversity problems" represented in diversity action plans?
- What realities do these problems, solutions, and images construct?


## Methods and Procedures

## Data Selection/Sample

For this study I collected diversity action plans from U.S., public, land-grant universities. I employed a multi-phase process to identify the sample for this investigation.

Phase 1: I reviewed one "1862 land-grant" ${ }^{26}$ university in each of the fifty states (see Appendix B for complete list). Land-grant universities were selected for the following reasons:
a. The missions of the "1862 land-grants"-"the peoples' colleges" (Campbell, 1995, p. 26)—are consistent with the professed values and beliefs articulated in

[^19]diversity action plans; these institutions are explicitly seeking to create an environment where people of diverse backgrounds and economic classes can flourish and contribute in the classroom and the workplace. Land-grant universities historically have served society. ${ }^{27}$ "Unfortunately, society has changed faster than have the land-grant institutions" (Campbell, 1995, p. 250). Land-grants, then, recognizing this responsibility to respond to changing demographics and to sustain their commitment to instruction, service, and research are seeking to create an environment where people of diverse backgrounds and economic classes can flourish and contribute in the classroom and the workplace. Thus, land-grant universities will likely emerge as a social force in higher education's response to the public concern of diversity.
b. As a group, land-grant universities hold status in the higher education community. ${ }^{28}$ Twenty-two of the 69 "Research I" institutions, according to Carnegie Classification, are land-grant universities; those land-grants not classified as "research universities" are grouped within the next classification of "doctoral" institutions (in McDowell, 2001, p. 6). The classification of land-grant universities as research or doctoral institutions meets "the prestige standard by which most colleges judge their progress" and positions them—symbolically and

[^20]in actuality—as a benchmark for other institutions, on a local, regional, and national level (Fairweather \& Beach, 2002, p. 99).
c. As public universities they are subject to public information laws and therefore offered increased access to data (The land-grant tradition, 1995).

Phase 2: I conducted a search of each university's website, using the search function and keywords: diversity and diversity plan. Every university, of the fifty screened, revealed diversity-related content (e.g., multicultural student affairs, faculty committee on diversity in the curriculum, diversity workshops); many universities had diversity committees examining "diversity issues" (often addressing issues of recruitment and retention, sometimes in response to recent race-related problems). Most of the universities have one or more diversity-related groups ${ }^{29}$ committed to one or more of the following concerns: recruitment and retention of under-represented populations, curriculum change, and campus climate. See Appendix C for a table of land-grant universities and their respective diversity planning efforts.

Phase 3: These 50 universities were then screened in greater depth, seeking those that had a diversity committee, charged by a senior administrator (president, provost), which had developed at least one diversity action plan ${ }^{30}$ generated within the last five years (19992004). This process involved a review of diversity action plans, some associated documents (progress reports, strategic plans) at each university, and electronic correspondence with individuals at most institutions, to determine which sites would

[^21]provide the best opportunity for gathering data. Of those universities with a diversity committee, not all have produced a plan to date, or their plan was generated more than five years ago. At this phase, the sample was reduced to twenty (20) universities that each generated at least one diversity action plan within the last five years (1999-2004); these diversity action plans serve as the primary data for this investigation (see Table 3.1). Phase 4: While sampling from land-grant universities enabled me to gather data from a consistent institutional type, this does not mean these institutions are all the same. Landgrant universities were built on the premise that higher education should be open to all and faculty should share knowledge with people in their states (Campbell, 1995). As such, the culture and demographics of each institution typically varies depending upon geographic region. In order to identify themes within and among institutions, I mapped the selected institutions to determine the cross-section of public land-grant institutions represented both geographically and demographically. ${ }^{31}$ The twenty universities are located throughout the United States, representing northern, southern, mid-western, south-western, and west coast regions of the country, and urban and rural campuses.

Table 3.1
Diversity action plans: Primary data

| State | Institution | Diversity Action Plan(s) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Alabama | Auburn University | Strategic Diversity Plan, 2004 |
| Arizona | University of Arizona | Diversity Action Plan, 2003-04 |
| Arkansas | University of Arkansas | Diversity Plan, 2002-05 |
| California | University of California, <br> Berkeley | Report of the Chancellor's <br> advisory committee on diversity, <br> 2000 |

[^22]Table 3.1, continued

| Connecticut | University of Connecticut | Diversity Action Plan, 2002 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Georgia | University of Georgia | Institutional Diversity Strategic Plan, 2002-05 |
| Idaho | University of Idaho | Diversity and Human Rights at the University of Idaho: Comprehensive Plan for Action and Accountability, 2004 |
| Illinois | University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign | Final Report of the Diversity Initiatives Planning Committee, 2002 |
| Maine | University of Maine | Diversity Action Plan, 1999; 2003-05 |
| Maryland | University of Maryland, College Park | Report and Recommendations of the President's Diversity Panel, 2000 |
| Nebraska | University of Nebraska, Lincoln | Comprehensive Diversity Plan, 1999 (revised draft) |
| Nevada | University of Nevada, Reno | Strategic Plan for Diversity Initiatives, 2002 |
| New York | Cornell University | The Cornell University Story: A Holistic Approach to Diversity and Inclusiveness, 2004. |
| North Carolina | North Carolina State University | Diversity Initiative, 1999 (revised \& final) |
| Ohio | The Ohio State University | Diversity Action Plan, 2000 |
| Oklahoma | Oklahoma State University | Institutional Diversity Strategic Plan, 2003 |
| Pennsylvania | Pennsylvania State University | Framework to foster diversity, 2004-09 |
| Texas | Texas A\&M University | Report by the President's Ad Hoc Committee on Diversity and Globalization, 2002 |
| Virginia | Virginia Tech | Diversity Strategic Plan, 2000-05 |
| Wisconsin | University of Wisconsin, Madison | Plan 2008: the campus diversity plan (1999) |

Official diversity action plans serve as the primary data source. These reports typically articulate problems and solutions related to: access and success of underrepresented groups, campus climate and inter-group relations, (lack of) diversity in the
curriculum, and the utilization of diversity as a resource for an enriched and engaged academic environment (Smith \& Schonfeld, 2000). Secondary data sources were also collected, electronically, to assist me in understanding the context within and from which diversity action plans are generated. Secondary data sources collected for this inquiry included progress reports, presidential and chancellor statements and memos, documentation related to diversity committee and associated groups (e.g., equity council, LGBT Issues Task Force, Disabilities Council), newspaper articles, and research reports used in preparation of diversity action plans.

## Data Collection

Through the support of a Summer Graduate Research Award (University of Maine), I collected data in the summer of 2004. Most data were accessible and retrieved via the internet, since institutions increasingly maintain and archive information electronically. Only two primary documents were not available electronically (Auburn University and University of Connecticut); these were mailed to me by contacts at the universities, and then scanned so they could be catalogued electronically with the others.

The data collection process involved numerous email exchanges and phone conversations with academic and administrative personnel at the institutions. People openly shared information and directed me to others with greater awareness of the planning efforts; in general, individuals shared generously of their time and knowledge. These exchanges enabled me to gather some supporting documents, but moreover they were useful in establishing a profile of each institution and understanding the "path" leading to the diversity action plan included in the sample for this investigation.

However, it is important to note that the perspectives of individuals with whom I spoke
are only partial perspectives, and conversations with different and additional individuals likely would reveal alternate interpretations. Nonetheless, these perspectives were valuable in gathering documents and preparing a profile of each university.

On average, I spent approximately five hours per institution reading the university website and exchanging emails with administrative personnel (e.g., President's Office, Equal Opportunity Office, Human Resources Office, Multicultural Affairs Office) and members of diversity councils (often co-chaired by an administrator and a faculty member) in order to discern the nature of their diversity efforts and collect relevant documents. This process of data collection also served as a first level of data analysis, since some patterns and themes between and among institutions began to emerge as I read and re-read the materials.

## Data Analysis

## Researcher as Instrument

I approached the analysis of data, and the study as a whole, with an understanding of my role as an "instrument" in the research process (Guba \& Lincoln, 1981). Guba and Lincoln acknowledge that potential problems can arise with the reliability of humans as instruments. However, they believe these can be overcome by "increasing self-awareness [and] enlarged understanding of one's own value perspectives and how they act as selection filters on observations" (Guba \& Lincoln, 1981, p. 151). My aim, then, in this section, is to articulate how my personal self and experience informs the research process and how I will compensate for potential researcher bias.

I have worked, over the past fifteen years, as an administrator at four institutions of higher education. During this time, I served as a member of numerous committees
related to diversity, including a Student Affairs Committee on Diversity and Unity in Residence Life, a President's Council on Disabilities, the Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender, and Allies Council, and the Rape Awareness Committee. At one college, I supervised the Department of Multicultural Student Services and was instrumental in designing special interest living for international students. Additionally, as a senior administrator at another college, I participated in meetings of the President's Visiting Committee on Diversity, which was comprised of not only college students, faculty and staff, but also community members and alumna, and was charged with an examination of the campus culture related to racial and ethnic diversity. This involvement and interest provided the impetus for this study to examine diversity action plans and investigate the discourse/s circulating around the problem of diversity.

My familiarity with university life provides me with an insider's perspective for this inquiry. This perspective helped me collect data efficiently by understanding how diversity action plans are typically situated in the university and by providing me with access to a network of administrators involved in the drafting, interpreting, and implementing of diversity action plans in higher education. However, these advantages are accompanied by the limitation of potential researcher bias.

I am committed to practices and policies that promote equity and more inclusive climates for all individuals, and view equity policies as a vehicle for change. Recognizing this commitment as a potential bias, I worked throughout the research process to "bracket" potential biases, meaning the researcher "sets aside all prejudgment, bracketing his or her experience..." (Creswell, 1998, p. 52). This "bracketing" was accomplished through the use of reflective journaling, which provided me with valuable
information in addition to that obtained through document analysis. In order to clarify my role as the researcher, and to articulate assumptions and express concerns, I maintained a "running diary" of initial thoughts, assumptions, analytic notes, interpretation comments, and descriptive summaries to document my individual reflections (Creswell, 1998; Miles \& Huberman, 1994). For instance, early in the analytic process I observed inattention in the diversity action plans to the complexity of diversity-or rather diverse identities—and reflected on my potential complicity with the plans. An excerpt from my research journal is provided in Appendix D to illustrate this reflective process. Journaling enabled me to "store" thinking-in-progress; it served as a warehouse of ideas and assumptions to which I can, and do, return later during analysis and when writing findings and interpretations.

## Data Management

As data were collected, I established and maintained unique files for each institution, and for each document pertaining to that institution. Additionally, each document was loaded into NVivo, computer software designed for qualitative data analysis. All but two documents were retrieved electronically; the remaining two paper documents, requested by phone and received by mail, were scanned, edited, and loaded into NVivo. The development of a master list of types of information gathered and the creation of folders for the data were an important step in the management of the data (Creswell, 1998; Glesne, 1999). This mundane and time-consuming aspect of data collection and analysis is critical to ensure high-quality, accessible data. As the data and my experience with it grew, more specific files were created to help me store and organize "meaning-finding interpretations" that I made about the data (Glesne, 1999, p.
132). Good management of data, along with detailed documentation, achieved through a log of research design decisions (e.g., changes in sample) produce a methodological map, or "audit trail," which contributes to the soundness of the study (Merriam, 2002; Miles \& Huberman, 1994).

## Analytic Process

The process of data analysis was informed by established methods of qualitative inquiry that make use of both inductive and deductive coding strategies (Denzin \& Lincoln, 2000; Marshall \& Rossman, 1999; Miles \& Huberman, 1994). Analysis began by reading all the documents in the sample and recording analytic notes in my research journal. The initial coding phase employed a deductive process in response to my research questions. Through the use of NVivo, computer software designed for qualitative data analysis, I conducted line-by-line analysis of each report to identify and code images of diversity, the problems related to diversity described in diversity action plans, and the proposed solutions to these problems. While much of the coding assigned one label to one segment of text, some segments required two or all three. For instance, the decline (problem) in African American student (image) enrollments signals the need to reenergize our recruitment and retention efforts (solution) (University of Maryland, 2000).

Once all documents were coded, I used NVivo to generate "reports" for each category - images, problems, and solutions - across all diversity action plans; these reports were then analyzed using both deductive and inductive processes, which served as the second phase of coding. Inductively, I read each report for emergent themes and assigned codes that were both descriptive and interpretive (Miles \& Huberman, 1994).

For instance, when reading the "problems" report I identified segments of text that were specific to particular issues like barriers to access, high attrition of diverse populations, inequitable salaries, inadequate representation, absence of diversity in curriculum, discriminatory acts, and so forth.

A vine of codes grew, as did the need to establish "pattern codes"-a way of grouping "explanatory or inferential codes" into themes, sets or constructs (Miles \& Huberman, 1994, p. 69). According to Miles \& Huberman (1994), such "data displays" are valuable for "eyeballing data in an exploratory way" as well as "carrying out detailed analyses" (p. 93). In an effort to see how to subsume the "particulars into the general" (Miles \& Huberman, 1994, p. 245), I began to map, visually, patterns and themes. This resulted in the development of more focused, qualified codes or "subcodes" that illustrated emerging patterns (Miles \& Huberman, 1994, p. 71). These codes ${ }^{32}$ were then clustered according to common themes to generate image categories and identify subject positions that emerged from these images.

I then re-examined the twenty-one documents with a focus on what appears to be taken-for-granted or accepted as given by the policies. For instance, a commitment to excellence is pervasive in the diversity action plans, and diversity is frequently identified as an essential component or ingredient in excellence. I recorded analytic notes in my researcher journal to uncover hidden assumptions about excellence. Similarly, during this phase of the process, I paid close attention to the (un)intended use of words, metaphors, and assumptions. As an example, bridges, pools, pipelines, and feeders were frequently evident in the documents, referring to challenges recruiting disadvantaged populations.

[^23]Consistent with research methods from both critical and poststructural approaches to policy analysis, examining the data for implied consensus, silences, taken-for-granted assumptions, and exclusions enabled me to focus on how different versions of the world are produced; how particular statements are privileged over others, and at times a discourse appears to be the only one available; and how the text embodies meaning and constitutes social relations (Allan, 2003; Bacchi, 1999; Baez, 2002; Ball, 1990; Marshall, 1999; Roe, 1994; Silverman, 2000; Smith, 1990). This privileging of some knowledge over others, the construction of normative standards, and the simultaneous concealment of this practice, is implicitly inextricably linked to power, and, in doing so, begins to reveal the discursive power of policy. For example, the documents focus primarily on diverse populations' needs and challenges, and construct white males as the normative standard against which to measure "minority" progress and success. This standard or criteria (white, male), and thus advantage or privilege, remains largely unacknowledged and unquestioned in the documents.

In this phase of the analytic process, I also read and coded all 21 documents deductively in response to the following research question: what discourses are employed to shape the predominant images? Further, I examined the subject positions that emerged in my earlier analysis to identify discourses that were most prominent in constituting these positions. More specifically, I asked-who is produced by the discursive framing of diversity? For instance, images of diversity-thus, diverse persons-as a resource and as a commodity emerged throughout analysis. The marketplace discourse is employed to shape these images. These findings will be described in chapter five. Finally, in this phase, key concepts and emergent themes were visually displayed to identify 1 ) discrete
categories, 2) the points at which categories overlapped, and 3) the subject positions constituted discursively by the documents. According to Miles \& Huberman (1994) the creation of a visual display is a useful "tactic" for generating meaning, seeing plausibility, and noting relationships between concepts.

A critical strategy throughout the analytic process was my use of peer debriefers to assist me in "standing back [and] reviewing critically what [I] have observed up until then" (Miles \& Huberman, 1994, p. 264). At times I found myself deep in a particular rabbit hole, struggling to view the entire warren—what Miles and Huberman (1994) call "checking for representativeness" and "weighting the evidence." I would delineate numerous stretches of text to support claims, and peer debriefers were helpful in identifying the "stronger, more valid" data (Miles \& Huberman, 1994, p. 267-8). Finally, reflective journaling was critical to help me "check for researcher effects" (Miles \& Huberman, 1994, p. 265). This process of drawing conclusions and verifying findings enabled me to determine how the data reflected and shaped discourses produced by diversity action plans, and how these discourses framed (constituted) particular subject positions.

This multi-phased approach to data analysis was important in that it helped me to examine the data on multiple levels: reading individual reports deductively and inductively, analyzing segments of text in their original text, then out of context, and in relation to other documents provided an opportunity to see patterns and themes within and among the diversity action plans, and enabling me to examine consistencies and inconsistencies across institutions. This multi-phased and layered approach, along with
my use of peer debriefers and reflective journaling contribute to the trustworthiness of this investigation; this will be discussed next.

## Trustworthiness

The concept of trustworthiness refers to the believability of the researcher's findings (Lincoln \& Guba, 1985) or the conceptual soundness from which the value of the research can be judged (Marshall \& Rossman, 1995). Policy discourse analysis, as both method and methodology, is a matter of interpretation, and therefore does not adhere to conventional standards for measuring the strength of research claims: internal and external validity, reliability and objectivity. It does not provide absolute answers to the specific problem, but provides understanding of the conditions that make a specific problem possible and helps us realize that the essence of that problem, and its resolution, lie in its assumptions-the very assumptions that enable the existence of that problem (Bacchi, 1999). Thus, even the best-constructed arguments are subject to their own deconstructive reading and counter-interpretations.

Acknowledging the plurality of readings available, the trustworthiness and credibility of these findings (this "reading"), and therefore the comprehensiveness of this study, can be seen in the fit and suitability of the data collection techniques to the research questions, and in the careful selection of methods for collecting and analyzing data (Eisenhart \& Borko, 1993). I articulated and executed a plan and process for data collection, management, and analysis that was systematic and organized. My use of multiple data sources and the intentional use of theoretical triangulation strengthened the study's design (Patton, 1990). Further, as discussed above in the analytic process, my use of reflective journaling to record assumptions and analytic notes provides an audit trail
throughout the research process and contributes to the trustworthiness of this investigation.

I also solicited peer debriefers to audit my coding and provide external input on the data analysis process and my interpretations of the data. Two peers assisted me in clarifying and deepening aspects of data analysis that remained incomplete and/or unresolved. The peer debriefers reviewed selected documents and analytic notes in order "to keep the inquirer honest" (Lincoln \& Guba, 1986, p. 77) and they "played devil's advocate" (Marshall \& Rossman, 1989, p. 147). The peer debriefers served as sounding boards for me and offered different perspectives to analyze the data. They also served as meaning makers and helped me to examine the data and interpretations for the concept and theme analysis. I met with the peer debriefers regularly during the data analysis phases of the research process. Notes were taken at these meetings and became a part of the audit trail.

These factors contribute to the trustworthiness of the study and the credibility of the findings. Next, I will describe limitations of this investigation.

## Limitations

One limiting factor of this study is the type of institutions (land-grant universities) from which I collected my data and my exclusive attention to written text, potentially contributing to questions about this study's generalizability. However, I do not intend to generate generalizable conclusions, but rather offer a credible interpretation of the discursive framing of diversity in diversity action plans at U.S. land-grant universities that, in turn, might inform theoretical perspectives for future research. Thus, the findings
from this study are offered as a perspective on the discursive framing of diversity in diversity action plans generated at twenty institutions of higher education.

Additionally, the land-grant universities in this sample are predominantly white campuses. While the findings from this investigation may have implications within these contexts, more research needs to be conducted to examine diversity in other contexts, such as historically black colleges and universities, Hispanic-serving institutions, and tribal colleges. Further research is also warranted to explore regional distinctions.

Another limitation for this study is researcher bias; the lens through which I view this research risks being clouded by my insider's perspective. ${ }^{33}$ However, certain strategies, such as searching out and including negative instances, using peer debriefers, and indicating how the analytic process includes checking the data and purposeful examination of alternative explanations, were employed to limit researcher bias in interpretation (Marshall \& Rossman, 1999).

## Summary

This chapter described the major components of this research design and methodology. The elements delineated above included description of the sampling criteria, analytic processes as well as the criteria of trustworthiness and the limitations of the study. The next two chapters describe the findings of this examination of the discursive framing of diversity in university diversity action plans.

[^24]
## CHAPTER IV: FINDINGS: THE AT-RISK OUTSIDER

In this chapter, I describe the findings that emerged from my analysis of 21 diversity action plans. As explicated in the previous chapter, the analytic process involved deductive coding in response to research questions (coding for "problems," "solutions," and "images") and inductive coding, seeking what is taken-for-granted, (un)intended use of words, and embedded assumptions in diversity action plans. Codes were visually displayed and common themes and categories began to emerge. I then reread and coded all 21 documents in response to the following research question: what discourses are employed to shape the predominant images? And asked who is produced?-meaning what subject positions are discursively constituted, or rather, what social identities can be taken up or inhabited by diverse individuals? This multi-phased and layered approach to data analysis was important, enabling me to examine the data on multiple levels. However, this complexity presented some challenges for reporting the data and describing the findings. I chose to use my research questions as a guide to structure the presentation of the data, and, in this chapter, I provide evidence of the "problems" and "solutions" related to diversity in the diversity action plans, culminating in a description of dominant "images" revealed through analysis.

Analysis of 21 diversity action plans revealed images of diverse persons ${ }^{34}$ confronting numerous challenges in gaining access to higher education, and to programs and services within education, due to limited resources (e.g., money, academic

[^25]preparation). Through a reporting of the data, I provide evidence of a dominant discourse of access employed to shape these images and position diverse persons as the outsider. The discourse of access that situates the diverse person as the outsider often emerged from analysis in conjunction with another image: an individual at-risk. This identity status-the diverse individual at-risk-is produced by a discourse of disadvantage.

Figure 4.1 provides a visual display of the discourses described in this chapter, relationships among them, and the subject positions produced by them.

## Figure 4.1

Discourses and Subject Positions: The at-risk outsider


In this chapter, I will report data that emerged through analysis that provides evidence of a discourse of access, and three distinct strands within the discourse of access: entrée, representation, and affirmation, which contribute to shaping the diverse individual as the outsider. In the latter portion of this chapter, I will report data that
provide evidence of a discourse of disadvantage, and a discursive strand of discrimination, that constructs the diverse individual as at-risk. The dominant discourses of access and disadvantage coalesce to produce realities that situate diverse persons as outsiders to post-secondary education, at-risk before and after entering the university, and dependent on the institution for success in higher education. ${ }^{35}$

## Discourse of Access

Equity and access are two of the most frequently used terms in discussions about the status of underrepresented groups in higher education (Astin \& Oseguera, 2004). The diversity action plans analyzed for this investigation support this assertion, urging for attention to and improvement of recruitment, retention, and advancement practices to enhance the entrée and representation, and to create an environment affirming of diverse persons. Equity and access are linked as key issues related to recruitment and retention of diverse persons. For instance, one report established goals for the "recruitment, retention, and equity" of faculty, staff, and students (University of Arizona, 2003). Another indicates "diversity outcomes were linked to faculty, staff and student recruitment and retention and to their expectations to be able to work in an equitable environment" (North Carolina State University, 1999). Finally, another diversity action plan stated its commitment to ensure that "equal opportunity for education and employment is afforded to all our constituents;" this commitment will be realized when "retention rates for all ... groups of diverse [employees and students] will equal or surpass those in every category" (University of Maine, 1999).

[^26]The reports identify "significant barriers" and "discriminatory practices" as problems related to access. For instance, one diversity action plan identifies inequity as "a real barrier to building a diverse community" (University of Maryland, 2000), and another policy articulates the need to "identify obstacles and barriers to full participation in the academic, cultural, and social life of the university" (University of Nevada, 2002) and to "eliminate criteria that provide significant barriers to obtaining a diverse applicant pool" (University of Nebraska, 1999). Still another report states its goal is "to redress the inequities resulting from past and present discriminatory practices as a means of facilitating the attainment of equal opportunity for everyone" (Virginia Tech University, 2000; also University of Arizona, 2003; University of California at Berkeley, 2000). Yet another document, stating its commitment to "afford everyone the opportunity to participate,"
pledges to eliminate all vestiges of policy that tended, intentionally or otherwise, to discriminate on the grounds proscribed by federal and state laws and, in order to eliminate all traces of discrimination, to take affirmative action to recruit, employ, and promote qualified members of those groups formerly excluded (University of Idaho, 2004).

The problem of access resounds in the documents. Analysis of the data revealed three distinct strands within the access discourse: entrée, representation, and affirmation. These findings that emerged from my analysis are consistent with and build upon Allan's (2003) analysis of discourses embedded in university women's commission reports, which identified women as outsiders to the institution, a subject position produced by a dominant discourse of access and three strands within the discourse of access. I present
my findings here using Allan's categorization, which offers a useful framework and serves to illustrate the different ways in which the problem of access is framed for diverse persons. Entrée is evident in pleas for diverse persons to be permitted to enter and participate in the university. Representation is apparent in attention to greater involvement of diverse persons in the institution; it is exemplified by repeated references to "full participation"-meaning diverse persons deserve and demand more than simply a seat at the table (more than entrée). Affirmation calls for diverse persons to be valued, welcomed, included, and celebrated by the institutional culture. A more complete description, supported with data excerpts, of each of the three strands follows.

## Entrée

Entrée is characterized by calls for participation by diverse persons. Predominant images emerged from analysis of individuals previously or currently denied access, whether through perceived or actual exclusionary practices or behaviors, and requiring the freedom of entry to the institution or arenas within the university. As exemplified by one data quote, "Access means welcoming previously excluded and ensuring the full participation of existing groups of students, faculty and staff to campus" (North Carolina State University, 1999). Another document articulates its goal "is to ensure that no member of the university community, by virtue of a known or presumed attribute, is excluded from full participation (University of Nevada, 2002). Some iteration of this goal—ensure entry and open participation-is articulated in most policies.

Analysis revealed a discourse of entrée that emerges most prominently in discussions of recruitment and hiring of faculty, staff, and students, and the practices and processes associated with employee and student recruitment and selection. The entrée
discourse is also evident in descriptions of physical access, namely for individuals with disabilities. For instance, the University of Maryland Diversity Panel (2000) made a plea to the president in its report to move
forward to make the Main Administration building fully accessible for individuals with physical disabilities. It is not enough to say that there are accessible settings for meetings elsewhere. That the center of power on our campus is still inaccessible to some members of our community is an unfortunate statement about our commitment to community (University of Maryland, 2000, italics added; also Auburn University, 2004; University of Illinois, 2002; University of Maine, 2003).

## Problems

Analysis identified that nearly every report names one or more of the following problems related to entrée: poor selection processes, untrained committees, limited pool of candidates and difficulty attracting diverse persons, inadequate compensation and benefits, and inaccessible facilities. Ineffective and inequitable recruitment practices and processes are cited in many documents as key reasons for the problem of gaining entrée. For example,

Inefficiencies and lack of timeliness in recruitment and selection processes erect barriers to attracting highly qualified minority and female applicants. Automation and streamlined employment processes are critical to the creation of a more welcoming environment for these job seekers (University of California at Berkeley, 2000).

This same report observes that "No amount of energy at the campus level will be effective to promote diversity if changes are not felt directly at the 'local' level where key personnel decisions are made" (University of California at Berkeley, 2000). Flawed search processes are often identified in the reports as the cause for problems in the recruitment of diverse faculty and staff. As one policy states: "The fundamental problem appeared to be inattention to equity issues throughout the entire search process. This inattention was particularly evident in the way search committees were configured and in the persistent lack of diverse applicant pools" (Virginia Tech University, 2000, italics added; also Pennsylvania State University, 2004; Texas A\&M University, 2002; University of Arizona, 2003; University of California at Berkeley, 2000; University of Maryland, 2000).

In addition to flawed recruitment processes, the documents articulate difficulty in attracting diverse persons. A few reports speculate about the reasons for this difficulty. For instance, one document delineates three factors that contribute to "the difficulty of attracting minority students:"
1.] There are not many people like me here at the University; 2.] Those who have graduated relate to current and potential students their own negative experiences while here; and 3.] Those experiences today are as negative for minority students as they were ten years ago (University of Connecticut, 2002).

One report observes that its "unique location in a rural area makes diversity recruiting and retention a challenge" (Cornell University, 2004; also University of Connecticut, 2002). Another document also links the problem of entrée for "more diverse search pools of staff positions" with their geographic location: "staff hiring is largely bound to region.

Penn State campuses not located in or adjacent to areas of Pennsylvania with a comparatively diverse population understandably struggle to achieve diversity among staff." However, this same report further observes that their campuses with "access to more diverse search pools for staff positions often have not achieved any greater success than those in less diverse locations" (Pennsylvania State University, 2004). Thus, other factors must be operating as barriers to entrée. One report, echoing this "concern about the inability to recruit and hire more minority faculty members" notes that "there are relatively few minority group members available for our positions, and fierce competition for those who are exceptional" (University of Idaho, 2004). This same report adds that "the level of our current salaries severely impacts our ability to recruit from the national pool of highly sought after well qualified minorities" (University of Idaho, 2004).

Diversity action plans are, on the one hand, identifying barriers to entrée and participation, and seeking to rectify these, as I will describe in the next section (solutions). Yet, on the other hand, they are observing that even as the institutions remove the barriers, the recruitment of "minorities" is still fraught with challenges; a "fierce competition" exists for the "relatively few" and "highly sought after" "exceptional" and "well qualified minorities." This fierce competition emerges from a marketplace discourse that I will discuss in the next chapter.

The loss of recruitment programs, at times linked with legal or legislative decisions, is also cited as a problem related to entrée. One report expresses concern that the
loss of momentum in its recruitment of faculty and students of color and dated this either to the court decision in the Podberesky v. Kirwan (Banneker) case or to
the University's possible overreaction to that decision, resulting in the halting of our most pro-active minority recruitment programs (University of Maryland, 2000).

Another diversity action plan laments the loss of its Target of Opportunity Program following the Regents’ resolution banning use of race and ethnicity as criteria for hiring, stating the program "was a major pathway for women and minority recruitment" (University of California at Berkeley, 2000). An Opportunity Hire Program at another institution faces an uncertain future; the report contends "an administrative position responsible for affirmative action recruitment [must] be re-established" (University of Maine, 2003). Still another policy report cites that the "effects of Hopwood ${ }^{36}$ struck hardest at the state’s more selective undergraduate institutions, including Texas A\&M..., where affirmative action admissions and financial aid programs and policies and programs had helped to ensure increasing diversity" (Texas A\&M University, 2002). Finally, one report articulates the need "for adequate planning to develop alternatives to affirmative action if legal opinion strikes down the use of affirmative action in making admissions, hiring and financial aid decisions" (Ohio State University, 2000). This final point is echoed by others who perceive their use of affirmative action in recruitment as tenuous and subject to ongoing debate, signaling an awareness that the "wide range of legally permissible means of attaining a diverse student body" may be narrowing, and this could impede current and future recruitment efforts (Pennsylvania State University, 2004; also University of California at Berkeley, 2000; University of Idaho, 2004;

Virginia Tech University, 2000).

[^27]Analysis revealed numerous documents that identify inadequate funds-for scholarships for students and compensation and benefits for employees-as a problem related to entrée (Oklahoma State University, 2004; Texas A\&M University, 2002; University of Georgia, 2002; University of Idaho, 2004; University of Illinois, 2002; University of Maine, 1999, 2003; University of Maryland, 2000).

While we believe that the University of Idaho is a fine place to work and we are expending a great deal of effort towards improvement in our compensation system, the level of our current salaries severely impacts our ability to recruit from the national pool of highly sought after well qualified minorities (University of Idaho, 2004, italics added).

Many diversity action plans cite historical discrimination and exclusionary practices as former barriers to participation or reasons that diverse persons are previously excluded, but indicate these obstacles no longer exist, as exemplified by this quote.

Prior to World War II, it was not uncommon at numerous elite private colleges and universities to exclude or routinely limit the number of faculty and students drawn from various religious and ethnic minority groups (e.g., Catholics, Jews, Irish-Americans, Italian-Americans). These barriers, however, have eroded and largely disappeared, especially in the past three decades (University of California at Berkeley, 2000, italics added; also Cornell University, 2004; Ohio State University, 2000; Texas A\&M University, 2002; University of Idaho, 2004; University of Maryland, 2000; Virginia Tech University, 2000).

Yet, even as problems related to entry and participation are framed as a thing of the past, the lengthy lists of action items and proposed steps identified to improve entry and
increase participation signal contemporary examples of the problem of entrée. Solutions to the problem of entrée are described next.

## Solutions

Implicit in the problem of entrée are seemingly obvious solutions: identify and remove barriers, subsequently increasing participation. As one report succinctly states: "Good recruiting practices will widen the net and increase access for all students" (North Carolina State University, 1999, italics added). Another document notes that "Extra effort devoted early in the search process will increase the available pools of highly qualified candidates. Diversity should naturally follow" (University of Nebraska, 1999, italics added). This same report further elaborates, delineating various strategies to enhance recruitment efforts.

Broadly defining fields of specialization will encourage a diverse pool of applicants. Advertising should be placed where diverse candidates will see the ads. Search committee members and others can engage in aggressive networking efforts: calling places, institutions, groups, individuals and programs to increase awareness of job openings and to encourage qualified candidates to apply. We must promote ourselves appropriately to all candidates (University of Nebraska, 1999).

This analysis revealed several solutions the problem of entrée. These include: improvements to recruitment and selection processes, through enhanced advertising, changes in job descriptions, and training for search committees; identifying and expanding diverse pools through partnerships and pre-college programs; strategic use of
funds; and ensuring facilities are accessible. I will describe each of these, providing examples from the data.

One predominant solution that emerged from coding is to improve recruitment and selection processes. In particular, a few diversity action plans suggest a review and revision of position descriptions, announcements, and advertisement (Pennsylvania State University, 2004; University of Arizona, 2003; University of Arkansas, 2002; University of Idaho, 2004; University of Nebraska, 1999). Attention to such documents, according to one report, can "eliminate criteria that provide significant barriers to obtaining a diverse applicant pool" and will "require candidates to demonstrate an ability to work with a diverse student, faculty and staff population and have a record of incorporating diversity issues within the curriculum and the workplace" (University of Nebraska, 1999; also University of Idaho, 2004). Another report argues for revision of job descriptions to require "skills that foster diversity" (University of Arizona, 2003). Still others call for the creation and revision of recruitment materials that "demonstrate the importance of diversity" (University of Arkansas, 2002; also University of Arizona, 2003).

Analysis revealed that some diversity action plans, in response to the problem of ineffective and inequitable selection processes, argue for the appointment of special recruiters, the creation of a designated position, or establishment of a task force to "assist units with diversity recruitment" (Cornell University, 2004; also Auburn University, 2004; University of Connecticut, 2002), while others advocate for "flexibility in hiring procedures" through the use of "opportunity" or "designated" hiring (University of Arizona, 2003; University of Maryland, 2000). Other diversity action plans focus their attention on the composition and training of search committees (Auburn University,

2004; Ohio State University, 2000; University of Arizona, 2003; University of Arkansas, 2002; University of Idaho, 2004). For example, one report indicates search committees would receive expanded educational sessions on: developing a recruitment plan, crafting position descriptions, reviewing documentation, crafting interview questions, analyzing results, matching the best candidate to the position description, and insuring that candidates are treated professionally and kept posted on the status of the process (University of Nebraska, 1999).

Another report, on the composition of search committees, writes that they must be broadly representative and also knowledgeable of the University's diversity objectives (Pennsylvania State University, 2004). Still another university delineates numerous tactics for improving search committees: "implement requirements of an effective Diverse Search committee," "implement education and training for all Search committee [and] ...completion of this training is a pre-requisite for participation on search committees," "establish search criteria for diversity for use as guidelines for external search firms" (Auburn University, 2004).

Analysis identified another primary means by which reports propose to expand entrée: through the establishment of partnerships and by tapping into existing or creating new pipelines, ${ }^{37}$ as shown by these quotes from the data:

Establish and coordinate K-12 outreach efforts ... to enhance partnerships with schools and feed the long-term undergraduate pipeline of under-represented

[^28]students, including women in engineering and the sciences (University of Idaho, 2004, italics added).

Develop long-term objectives for increasing diversity in the skilled trades through pipeline programs and marketing the skilled trades as a career to young people, with a particular focus on underrepresented populations (Cornell University, 2004, italics added).

Design a special admissions program to accept promising college-bound students from feeder programs (e.g., Upward Bound) (University of Arkansas, 2002, italics added).

Encourage partnerships that build the educational pipeline by reaching children and their parents at an earlier age, ... especially with key "feeder" schools and communities (University of Wisconsin, 1999, italics added).

More specifically, data analysis identified numerous diversity action plans (Ohio State University, 2000; Pennsylvania State University, 2004; University of Arizona, 2003; University of Arkansas, 2002; University of Georgia, 2002; University of Idaho, 2004; University of Illinois, 2002; University of Wisconsin, 1999; Virginia Tech University, 2000) that recommend developing and enhancing partnerships with Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs), Hispanic Serving Institutions (HSIs), and tribal colleges to "facilitate the transfer of students from underrepresented groups" (Virginia Tech University, 2000) and "to attract their graduates to faculty positions" (University of Arizona, 2003). One diversity action plan suggests "bidirectional exchanges" (University of Idaho, 2004) and another recommends initiating collaborations that provide "mutual benefits" (Virginia Tech University, 2000); however,
the recommendations to establish partnerships are primarily intended to increase recruitment and retention for the "1862 land-grants." The explicit benefits for HBCUs, HSIs, and tribal colleges are unstated and unexplored. ${ }^{38}$

Various pre-college programs are identified as a means by which to access "areas where there are high concentrations of diverse students" (University of Maine, 2003), including both externally recognized programs, e.g., Upward Bound, Education Talent Search, McNair Scholars Program, Summer Undergraduate Research Opportunity Program (SUROP), and institution-specific programs, such as University of Idaho’s (2004) College Assistance Migrant Program and University of Nebraska’s (1999) summer institute for promising scholars (also Oklahoma State University, 2004; Pennsylvania State University, 2004; University of Maine, 1999, 2003; University of Wisconsin, 1999). Some of the diversity action plans also recommend that universities "borrow" minority employees through visiting scholars programs, multicultural teaching fellows programs, faculty exchanges, apprenticeships (Pennsylvania State University, 2004; University of Arkansas, 2002; University of Connecticut, 2002; University of Wisconsin, 1999). A few other diversity action plans, recognizing the challenges of identifying, creating, or targeting external "pipelines" and "feeders," and even with borrowing minorities, suggest an alternative: "grow your own," meaning to "monitor" the careers of talented women and minority graduates, "facilitating their recruitment back to the campus when they have achieved scholarly distinction" (University of California at

[^29]Berkeley, 2000; also Texas A\&M University, 2002; University of Arizona, 2003; University of Idaho, 2004).

Analysis revealed the strategic use of funding as another solution to the problem of entrée. A primary means by which diversity action plans suggest to open entrée for students is to "increase financial assistance for students" (University of Arizona, 2003; also Oklahoma State University, 2004). Numerous approaches are recommended, including waive application fee (University of Arkansas, 2002); offer scholarships for merit or need (Auburn University, 2004; Ohio State University, 2000; University of Arkansas, 2002; University of Idaho, 2004; University of Nebraska, 1999; University of Wisconsin, 1999; Virginia Tech University, 2000); and create fellowships for graduate students (University of Arkansas, 2002; University of Maryland, 2000).

Diversity action plans also recommend the allocation of funds for strategic hiring programs to expand minority staff and faculty recruitment (Ohio State University, 2000; University of Maine, 2003; University of Maryland, 2000). Numerous other strategies are suggested to open entrée for employees (primarily faculty) representing minority populations, including establish privately funded chairs (University of California at Berkeley, 2000); fund "research packages and summer stipends for diversity efforts" (University of Arizona, 2003; also Texas A\&M University, 2002); fiscal support for visiting faculty positions (University of Maine, 2003; University of Wisconsin, 1999); allocate funds "for recruitment packages that are attractive and competitive"-and equitable (University of Nebraska, 1999; also Ohio State University, 2000; University of Arizona, 2003; University of Georgia, 2002; University of Idaho, 2004; University of Illinois, 2002);

While numerous barriers to entrée and participation emerged from analysis of these diversity action plans, the most literal barrier is inaccessible facilities. Analysis identified a clear solution to this problem: remove physical barriers, as shown by these quotes.

Relocate the graduate school office to an accessible location (University of Maine, 2003, italics added).

Re-locate the Aggieland Visitor Center to a more accessible location and diversify informational resources for campus visitors (Texas A\&M University, 2002, italics added).

Review all campus facilities with representatives of Students with Disabilities to ensure all facilities are safe and accessible (Auburn University, 2004, italics added).

Provide bathrooms \& other facilities for transgender persons (University of Illinois, 2002; University of Connecticut, 2002).

Ensure physical facilities appropriate for both sexes, ... thereby assuring that hiring men or women, or assigning men or women a particular job, is not limited because of lack of restroom facilities (University of Idaho, 2004, italics added). Other diversity action plans, recognizing that language could serve as a barrier to access, recommend hiring "Spanish-speaking staff in offices that interact with potential students and their families" (University of Arkansas, 2002) and preparing recruitment materials "in diverse languages and formats to increase accessibility to language minorities and persons with disabilities" (University of Idaho, 2004).

The lists of ideas to remove barriers and increase recruitment that emerged from coding are illustrative of the challenges for diverse individuals to gain entrée to higher education. Indeed, numerous scholars have identified and investigated the problem of access for members of under-represented groups (Astin \& Oseguera, 2004; Levine \& Niddifer, 1996; Perna, 2002; Perna et al, 2005; Rendon, Novack \& Dowell, 2005). However, the emphasis in the diversity action plans on the inability to recruit diverse individuals using existing practices and the need to develop special programs and services (and allocate funds) for diversity reinscribes the insider/outsider binary-being different from the norm is a problem requiring special attention and service; in fact, difference itself may be the problem. This characterization constructs an image of diverse individuals as outsiders, unable to be recruited through existing, mainstream mechanisms, as illustrated by this data excerpt: "instruct [recruitment committees] on developing innovative ways of locating outstanding minority scholars in their discipline who may not surface through the traditional canons of recruitment" (Texas A\&M University, 2002, my emphasis). Notably, even descriptions of minority scholars as "outstanding" or "high achieving" or "high profile" reinforces difference, marking individuals from diverse groups as not only "outside of identified norms" but also different from others within a diverse group. This portrayal underscores their status as outsiders, a point to which I will return later in this chapter.

## Representation

While the entrée strand focuses on identifying and opening points of entry and permitting diverse individuals to participate in the institution, representation differs in its attention to greater involvement, increasing numbers, and full participation of individuals
from diverse populations on university campuses. Beyond gaining entrance and participation (exemplified by the entrée strand), representation, the second strand of the access discourse, emerges from analysis most prominently in policy explications of the retention and advancement of individuals from diverse populations; about providing opportunities for individuals from underrepresented groups to be seen and heard. Analysis identified that this visibility is sought throughout the campus-in the student body, in the workforce, in leadership positions, in policies, on committees, and in curriculum. These data excerpts exemplify the strand of representation:

There is a widespread acknowledgement that the departments do not employ a representative number of racial/ethnic faculty (Auburn University, 2004, italics added).

The dimension of representation focuses on ... the inclusion and success of previously underrepresented and/or underserved groups. ... While representation is most widely understood in terms of student access, the issues of access and success within the workforce are also critical (Pennsylvania State University, 2004).
[The university will] establish as an institutional goal of the highest priority, the increased representation of women and other under-represented groups in the university community, among students, administrators, faculty and staff (University of Idaho, 2004, my emphasis). Identify obstacles and barriers to full participation in the academic, cultural, and social life of the university; and ... recommend policy and practice that ensures
effective participation for every segment of the university community (University of Nevada, 2002, my emphasis).
[The university has set] goals of significantly improving the representation and academic success of members of four targeted ethnic groups, namely, American Indian, African-American, Latino/a, and Southeast Asian-American, among the student body, the faculty and the staff.... (University of Wisconsin, 1999, italics added).

## Problems

Analysis identified several problems made visible by the discourse of representation. These include inadequate representation, typically supported by quantifiable data; and poor recruitment and attrition, as well as slow-to-no advancement described as reasons for inadequate representation. I will describe each.

The problem of inadequate representation emerged during the analytic process in nearly every report, which observes (laments) the absence or invisibility of diverse individuals in many arenas of the institution. The following quotes serve to illustrate this. Long-standing problems remain. Women are still not well represented in some colleges that have been traditionally dominated by men, and a significant disparity in graduation rates persists between undergraduate students of color and white students (Pennsylvania State University, 2004, italics added).

In the recruitment of graduate and professional students of color ... some Graduate School programs, particularly in the biological and physical sciences, have made little or no progress (University of Wisconsin, 1999).

The university convened a group of high-level employees from throughout the university to brainstorm ideas to increase the representation of women and minorities not only within the skilled trades positions employed within the university but also throughout the local community (Cornell University, 2004, italics added).

Many perceive that women and minorities are under-represented on committees, particularly at the college and university-wide levels (University of Arkansas, 2002, italics added).

The problem of under-representation of diverse persons is often framed numerically, supported with quantifiable data, as exemplified by the following data excerpts (also Cornell University, 2004; North Carolina State University, 1999; Pennsylvania State University, 2004; Texas A\&M University, 2002; University of Idaho, 2004; University of Nebraska, 1999; University of Wisconsin, 1999; Virginia Tech University, 2000). Increases in female faculty between 1992 and 2000 have also been small. In 1992, women were $25.3 \%$ of the faculty; in 2000 , they were $29.5 \%$. Asian females increased from $1 \%$ to $2.1 \%$, Black females were 0.6 of the faculty in 1992 and $0.9 \%$ in 2000 , Hispanic females were $0.7 \%$ and $1.4 \%$ in 2000 , and White females were $22.9 \%$ in 1992 and $25.1 \%$ in 2000. Thus, growth in the representation of women, especially minority women, and minority males has increased only slightly over the past eight years (University of Connecticut, 2002, italics added). In two years, the total number of underrepresented minority students declined from 750 to 477, a decrease of $36.4 \% .9$. Moreover, for African American and Latino/Chicano students, the Berkeley freshman class of 1999 was less
representative of the California high school graduate population than the freshman class of 1997. ... The African American work force declined from $17.1 \%$ to $14.9 \% \ldots$ Latinos and American Indians made only modest gains. The former increased from $9.3 \%$ to $10.4 \%$ of the work force; the latter from $0.9 \%$ to $1.1 \%$ of the work force (University of California at Berkeley, 2000, italics added). Over the ten years there have been slight increases in the actual numbers of ethnic minorities [on faculty] except for African Americans who have decreased by five. ... In 1999, 26.6\% ( $\mathrm{N}=790$ ) of the regular, tenure track faculty was female. Because the overall size of the faculty has decreased by 383 since 1990 the percentage of women has increased from $23.5 \%$ to $26.6 \%$, but the actual number of women faculty has increased by only 2 (Ohio State University, 2000).

Overwhelmingly, the problem of inadequate representation was evident during analysis by an emphasis on under-representation of diverse persons; however, a few reports observe a skewed distribution of diverse individuals as a problem. For instance, one policy notes that "The majority of Hispanics and African Americans, as well as women, are employed in categories with lower pay grades, such as services and maintenance, or as entry level office support staff" (Texas A\&M University, 2002).

Analysis of diversity action plans also reveals that diverse persons are underrepresented in leadership positions. As one document notes: "commitment to diversity must be visible in its most public face, that of the senior managers and leaders of the University" (Pennsylvania State University, 2004). Other reports echo this sentiment, adding that "Nowhere on campus is the lack of diversity more evident than at the highest level of the university's administration" (University of Maryland, 2000; also

Pennsylvania State University, 2004; University of Idaho, 2004; University of Maine, 2003). Another report states that "The number of women and/or ethnic minorities in senior leadership positions including vice presidents, deans and department chairs is small" (Ohio State University, 2000). Still another policy notes that "At the executive and senior management levels, the minority and female share of the work force has decreased almost continuously; minorities currently represent $11 \%$ and women $16 \%$ at the executive level" (University of California at Berkeley, 2000).

Predominant themes that emerged from coding reveal that the problem of inadequate representation is often attributed to poor recruitment, slow (or no) advancement, and attrition of diverse persons. One policy observes that "People of color and women are underrepresented among the tenure stream faculty relative to availability in a number of disciplines, and the progress of people of color and women into senior faculty ranks and into administrative leadership positions has been slow" (University of Connecticut, 2002). Another document notes that "Women faculty leave the University before achieving tenure in disproportionate numbers, particularly in disciplines where women are underrepresented," and later adds that "most frustrating, several minority faculty and staff have left the University after only one or two years of employment" (University of Maine, 2003). Yet another document laments that "our progress in the recruitment of graduate and professional students of color has been uneven" (University of Wisconsin, 1999). One report expresses concern that "unwritten practices ...may hinder advancement (e.g., meeting times, unequal startup packages resulting merely from a particular candidate's negotiation skills, social practices and expectations that affect junior faculty within a department)" (University of Idaho, 2004). Still another report
remarks that "the recent decline in African American student enrollments, especially at the graduate level, but also at the level of incoming first-year students, and the fact that the number of minority faculty has barely improved in four years, signal the need to reenergize our recruitment and retention efforts" (University of Maryland, 2000). Finally, a document states that

The presence of minority faculty members, particularly African American and Hispanic faculty members, on the campus of Texas A\&M remains hardly noticeable. Because of continued problems in recruitment, retention, and promotion of minority faculty members, the university remains largely an enclave for the education of White students by White faculty (Texas A\&M University, 2002).

## Solutions

This analysis revealed several solutions to the problem of inadequate representation. These include: increase numbers, especially in leadership positions; revise exclusionary policies that fail to reflect and respond to the diverse individuals represented on campus; initiate curricular change in response to concerns about an absence of content about diverse individuals and groups; conduct (further) assessments of the problem of inadequate representation; and improve retention, namely through mentoring and professional development. I will describe each.

The most prominent solution to the problem of inadequate representation that emerged from analysis is seemingly simple: increase "diversity"-literally and symbolically. For example:

Appoint diverse membership on search advisory committees (Texas A\&M University, 2002, italics added).

A discussion of diversity should be included in speeches, in institutional documents, in news releases, talk show appearances, and guest columns in internal and external publications (North Carolina State University, 1999, italics added).

Include members of underrepresented groups in strategic planning committees, senates, and other governing and management bodies within the unit (Pennsylvania State University, 2004, italics added).

Over the next five years (1997-2002), increase in the overall representation of tenured and tenure-track women [and minority] faculty at UNL so the percent of women [and minority] faculty exceeds the midpoint of UNL's peer institutions (University of Nebraska, 1999, italics added). Increase presence of under-represented groups among extension faculty and extension advisory committees (University of Idaho, 2004, italics added). Encourage departments to include representation of all ranks of faculty in the review tenure, promotion, and annual review processes (University of Arkansas, 2002, italics added).

Increase the prevalence of persons with disabilities among the faculty, staff and students (University of Idaho, 2004, italics added).

Develop and implement activities and programs that are designed to increase and
enhance student, faculty, and staff diversity at all levels of the university, with particular focus on racial/ethnic and gender differences (Virginia Tech University, 2000).

We must commit to the goal of establishing a University leadership that reflects society's diversity. ...It is particularly important that the Challenge [of Diversifying University Leadership and Management] be addressed not only at the level of each individual unit, but through the coordinated efforts of the central administration and other supervisory bodies that provide the direction and set the tone for the University as a whole. The charge to colleges, units, and departments to recruit and retain a diverse faculty and staff rings hollow if not modeled in the leadership and management of the University (Pennsylvania State University, 2004).

Increase the number of diverse students in student government (University of Connecticut, 2002, italics added).

Inductive coding revealed recommendations in many diversity action plans to make changes in their policies, in order to reflect the changing population. Such recommendations include adding sexual orientation to the non-discrimination policy (Auburn University, 2004; Pennsylvania State University, 2004); extending health benefits to domestic partners (Ohio State University, 2000; University of Illinois, 2002); implementing a "religious accommodation policy and procedures that will provide an opportunity for academic and non-academic staff to address issues related to religious diversity" (Cornell University, 2004; also University of Connecticut, 2002); and developing "new 'family friendly’ personnel policies for the benefit of all faculty and
staff, [and] particularly important for women and minorities" (Ohio State University, 2000; also Pennsylvania State University, 2004; University of Idaho, 2004; University of Illinois, 2002; University of Maine, 2003).

Analysis identified that most reports articulate concerns about the absence of content about diverse individuals and groups in curricular offerings and delineate strategies to "infuse diversity into the curriculum" (University of Connecticut, 2002) and "transform and diversify the curriculum" (University of Maine, 2003). Penn State’s plan heralds their Curriculum Infusion Project "undertaken ... to analyze and enhance diversity content in classes throughout the college curriculum" (Pennsylvania State University, 2004). Many other diversity action plans echo the need to incorporate "diversity" in their curricula, as shown by these quotes.

Ensure that the rich and varied perspectives of a diverse university and society are reflected in our curriculum (University of Arizona, 2003).

Broaden the University curriculum to include Global Studies, Africana Studies, Hispanic-American studies, Asian-American studies and Women's studies, and other initiatives. ... Expand curriculum in all disciplines to include scholarship by and about people of color, women, and other diverse groups (Auburn University, 2004).

Bring diversity and human rights content to the curriculum and community, including workshops, speakers, and classroom exchanges with other departments and universities (University of Idaho, 2004).

Develop new curricular emphases on diversity, cultural studies and multiculturalism (University of Nebraska, 1999).

Increase disability content in the curriculum (University of Illinois, 2002). Contribute to the development, integration, and implementation of curriculum that reflects a diverse global society (Oklahoma State University, 2004).

Broaden curriculum and course offerings to provide choices that would appeal to a wider array of students and faculty, such as Border Studies, Hispanic Studies, or Middle Eastern Studies (Texas A\&M University, 2002).

Analysis identified the increasingly diverse population on campus as the reason for necessary curricular changes. However, one document, citing a report by the Educational Testing Service, also observes that the proportion of white students will drop from 71\% in 1995 to $63 \%$ in 2015, requiring a "shift in perspective about what it means to educate a more diverse student population and adjustments in curricula and programs to reflect this diversity" (University of Connecticut, 2002).

An accounting of the problem of inadequate representation of diverse persons corresponds with setting specific and measurable goals. For example, one report sought a " $20 \%$ increase of diverse persons (ethnicity, race and gender) in teaching and research programs through out the OSU system" and to bring "2-3 under represented minority and women academicians/semester in all disciplines to the campus for presentations in their discipline" (Oklahoma State University, 2004; also University of Maine, 1999). A primary mechanism articulated by most policies by which to set goals for adequate representation is to strive for proportional representation, using an external standard, such as regional, state, or national populations as a guide.

Representation goals for students and staff are established by evaluating the geographical region's population. Representation goals for faculty and
administration are developed by thorough evaluation of the total population from which possible recruitment would take place. Representation goals are driven down through the institution at the department, college and school level (Auburn University, 2004, italics added).

UI shall undertake to establish critical masses of under-represented groups in the University, thereby achieving a body of students and alumni/ae more nearly reflecting the diverse state and regional population (University of Idaho, 2004, italics added; also North Carolina State University, 1999).

Increase the number of faculty, academic staff, classified staff and administrators of color, so that they are represented in the UW System workforce in proportion to their current availability in relevant job pools (University of Wisconsin, 1999, italics added).

The University of Connecticut must build a student body reflecting the demographics of the State, and hire a faculty representing the student body and an administration and staff representing the faculty and students (University of Connecticut, 2002).

Yet, as noted by one report, simply adding diverse individuals to the campus is not a panacea for the problem of inequity. ${ }^{39}$

We estimate, given present hiring rates as well as currently projected opportunities for hiring, and assuming continuation of present availability levels, that it would take some departments and programs several decades to achieve

[^30]representation equal to present availability for women and minorities (University of Connecticut, 2002).

This analysis reveals some diversity action plans that testify to their universities’ gains, noting achievements in representation when campus demographics are more reflective of local or national demographics. For example, one report professes that "39\% [of senior leadership] are women, including the provost, representing the most senior level academic position in the university, and $11.1 \%$ are minorities" and "women and minorities lead some of the most prestigious committees on the board" (Cornell University, 2004). Yet, even a boast of progress sustains the image of diverse persons as outsiders, marked by difference from a rarely acknowledged standard. Few reports, for example, observe over-representation of men in certain roles as a problem, and none of the reports question how this reality has emerged or the ways in which some groups have been systematically advantaged. For instance, one diversity action plan, while reporting results from a climate survey, observes "relative gender segregation of the classified workforce, with men more likely to be employed in certain roles (maintenance, skilled crafts, and higher level managerial roles) and women more likely to be employed in clerical, administrative, and paraprofessional roles" (Virginia Tech University, 2000). Another report notes "the university remains largely an enclave for the education of White students by White faculty," later adding "Honestly, we are a school of white, heterosexual, Christian students" (Texas A\&M University, 2002). Still another document, lamenting the "lack of diversity... at the highest level of the university's administration," observes a "vice-presidential level that is currently all white men" (University of Maryland, 2000, italics added). This same report later criticizes "a university
environment that both perpetuates racism, sexism and homophobia and gives privilege to white, heterosexual males" (University of Maryland, 2000, italics added). However, this critique is isolated and undeveloped, ${ }^{40}$ leaving the institutional conditions that privilege some and disadvantage others uninterrogated.

While analysis revealed few diversity action plans that write explicitly about the problem of attrition, a theme that emerges from coding is the identification by the policies of "obstacles" to retention (University of California at Berkeley, 2000), that "retention of these employees [of color] has been difficult," (University of Maine, 2003), and even that "a strategic approach to retention ...could eliminate and at best reduce the costs of recruitment" (Auburn University, 2004). Thus, analysis identified that improving retention is a critical solution.

All diversity action plans analyzed cite improving retention as a goal. The policy documents recommend creative programs and ideas to achieve this goal and address the problem of inadequate representation: offer rewards for improved retention (University of California at Berkeley, 2000); implement the Life Cycles Program (Cornell University, 2004); fund a dual career program (Cornell University, 2004; University of Arkansas, 2002; University of Nebraska, 1999); initiate living-learning programs in residence halls (Texas A\&M University, 2002); develop first-year experience courses (University of Connecticut, 2002); and identify and promote "best practices" for retention. As formalized in one diversity action plan:

Form a Retention Coordinating Council (utilizing individuals, faculty, and nonfaculty who have demonstrated a commitment to the retention of

[^31]underrepresented populations) for the exchange of information on existing retention strategies and for guiding the implementation of any new retention programs (University of Connecticut, 2002).

While the problem of inadequate representation is well-documented in reports (as previously described in the problems section), and the policy documents recognize the need to improve retention, analysis revealed that many diversity action plans sought to do this is through (further) assessment of the problem. For instance, one report states the university should "research retention rates for all University employees and the retention rates for all groups of diverse employees will equal or surpass those in every category" (University of Maine, 1999; also University of Connecticut, 2002). Another report, identifies improving retention of "underrepresented undergraduate students" as a goal, and recommends "Monitoring retention and graduation patterns of all undergraduate students, with focused attention on African-American students," adding "Improved fall-to-fall retention rate from 88.2 percent to 89 percent" as the measurement of success for the goal (Virginia Tech University, 2000). Yet another report seeks to "improve procedures for tracking progress and retention" (University of Arkansas, 2002). Still another intends to "determine where inequities occur which hinder ... retention" (North Carolina State University, 1999). Finally, another report intends to track "progress toward achieving race and gender equity" through analysis of "work force analysis data to track changes in departmental diversity," tenure and promotions, salary equity, and student retention data (University of Nebraska, 1999). Related, a few diversity action plans explain the need to administer campus climate surveys, recognizing that climate is linked to retention; I will discuss climate in the affirmation section.

Another approach that emerged from coding by which the reports describe their intention to improve retention is to support diverse individuals. As one report states: The support of students is particularly critical to the success of recruitment and retention. Faculty and staff will have to make diversity a higher priority than they have in past years. This means a time commitment on the part of virtually everyone on all the campuses (University of Connecticut, 2002).

Another report underscores the need to "Emphasize retaining and promoting high quality faculty and staff members from underrepresented groups" adding that "Efforts may include mentoring, staff development opportunities, and leadership development opportunities" (Pennsylvania State University, 2004; also Ohio State University, 2000; Virginia Tech University, 2000).

Leadership and staff development emerged from analysis as a strategy to increase retention and advancement of diverse individuals, ultimately improving representation. Succinctly stated by one report, when writing about retention of individuals from underrepresented populations: "Opportunities for promotion to leadership positions are crucial" (Pennsylvania State University, 2004). One document recommends to "Identify areas in which training and apprenticeship programs would aide in diversifying the staff population" (University of Arkansas, 2002). Another report, writing about "pipeline development" for promotion and tenure, proposes to "Create an open exchange among diverse faculty and those in positions of leadership and administration" (University of Arizona, 2003). Yet another report suggests to "Provide annual leadership training support for at least three minority and/or women faculty or managerial/ professional staff (University of Connecticut, 2002).

The diverse individual in this discourse is described as under-represented in many arenas of the university, from committees, to departments, to leadership, and from the curriculum. Diversity action plans delineate many strategies to increase the presence and prevalence of diverse individuals and profess the institutions’ commitment to move from "hardly noticeable" to "critical masses." These descriptions, made visible through a discourse of access, construct the diverse individual as an outsider to the university. Next, I will describe the discourse of affirmation, the third strand of the access discourse.

## Affirmation

The diversity action plans analyzed for this investigation call for diverse persons to be "valued," "welcomed," "appreciated," "recognized," "honored," "respected," "included," and "celebrated." These characterizations are made visible through a discourse of affirmation, supported by a dominant discourse of access. While the strand of representation focuses on recruitment, retention, and advancement toward the goal of increasing numbers, involvement, and participation, affirmation, the third strand of the access discourse, focuses on valuing and welcoming diverse individuals; calls for inclusive campuses; and is seen most prominently in descriptions of campus climate. Analysis identified many diversity action plans that broadly state their goals as increasing numbers (representation) and creating an inclusive climate (affirmation); as one report over-simplifies, achieving "the goal of a diverse, inclusive campus community" involves "changing the climate and the composition of the University" (University of Maine, 2003).

The diversity action plans stress the importance of creating a "diversity-friendly environment" (University of Idaho, 2004). Another report echoes this desire to create an
environment "that is welcoming and supportive of all people" adding that a "climate for success" contains "an affirmation of each individual's intrinsic value" and demands that "the campus must be more welcoming of difference" (Ohio State University, 2000, italics added). Still another policy repeats this sentiment, stating the campus must be "perceived as welcoming of diverse populations and perspectives" (University of Arkansas, 2002, italics added). Another document argues for "greater understanding and appreciation for difference" (University of Connecticut, 2002, italics added). Still another plan professes that "Institutions of higher education must extend their vigilance in not only recruiting and retaining a diverse student body, but also in cultivating a positive and inclusive climate" (Pennsylvania State University, 2004, italics added). Finally, one document calls for "establishing meaningful contact [with] students of color" and "making our campus so attractive to them that a large fraction of those offered positions will be eager to come here" (University of Wisconsin, 1999, italics added).

## Problems

Analysis identified various problems made visible by the discourse of affirmation, ${ }^{41}$ including a "chilly" campus climate and the institutional use of exclusionary messages and symbols. A "chilly" campus climate emerged most prominently in deductive and inductive coding related to the absence of-or rather, institutional struggles with creating-an inclusive community that is affirming of difference. As one report observes:

[^32]The workplace climate has been reported as "chilly" for minority staff. For example, in a recent examination of Black staff attitudes in the post-209 environment, the following conclusions were drawn:

- There is negative stereotyping of blacks by whites.
- Black staff receive inconsistent and unfair treatment.
- Black staff do not have sufficient access to training, development and promotional opportunities.
- Black staff sense an unsupportive work environment and a lack of respect and civility from their colleagues.
- Black staff believe that unfair hiring practices have been implemented in the post-209 environment (University of California at Berkeley, 2000).

Another document, reporting results of their 2002 climate survey, states:
The campus climate at the UI is good, but the extent to which it is inclusive needs improvement, especially with respect to certain populations. ...[S]everal groups among the students and staff, reported that they perceived the climate as less favorable to them, including African-Americans, Native-Americans, sexualminorities, and members of the LDS church and non-Christian religious minorities (University of Idaho, 2004).

Also reporting on results of their climate survey, one report writes:
Surveys of the NC State community indicate that women and people of color at NC State feel considerably less support than do white males, and report more experience with discrimination. Some women and people of color report feeling
marginalized, treated with disrespect, and unwelcome in many ways (North Carolina State University, 1999).

Still another policy, reporting on results of their climate survey, writes:
African-Americans were just as likely as others to believe that they have a chance to succeed at Virginia Tech (94 percent versus 95 percent) but were more likely (40 percent) than whites (21 percent) to feel that they do not fit in very well with other students at Virginia Tech (Virginia Tech University, 2000).

One report, reflecting on the diversity planning council’s formation, writes,
[we] focused our attention on the campus climate for groups that had been singled out in those attacks [hate crimes]--groups that had once been excluded and are still underrepresented on our campus due to legal, social, cultural, and political barriers based on race, ethnicity, religion, gender, sexual orientation, and different abilities (University of Maryland, 2000).

One report observes that "Students of color--in particular, African-American and American Indian--feel less safe and less welcome on our campus than majority students" (University of Wisconsin, 1999). Finally, one policy, quoting an African-American staff member, succinctly states: "We are a better place for diverse students than it is perceived; we are not as good for them as we think we are" (Texas A\&M University, 2002).

A few diversity action plans cite other problems related to affirmation, including symbols (e.g., the mascot), traditions, and a segregated past. For instance, one diversity action plan observes that the use of "a race-based figure [the mascot, Chief Illiniwek] to represent the university at sporting events can only divide a multiracial campus" and the
report recommends to "set aside the tradition ${ }^{42}$ while exploring new ways of bringing our community together" (University of Illinois, 2002). Similarly, another report observes that the university's "adherence to tradition can unintentionally exclude or marginalize individuals from other cultures, particularly ethnic minorities" and that "some expressions of institutional pride are perceived as unwelcoming" (Texas A\&M University, 2002). Still another document notes that "Symbols remain from [our] segregated past that affect the quality of interaction today" (University of Maryland, 2000). Thus, as the data quotes in this section illustrate, the predominant images of diverse individuals are that "they" are unwelcome, marginal, unsupported, disrespected, and excluded. Diversity action plans, then, delineate real and symbolic ways by which to assert their commitment to developing inclusive, affirming environments that value and respect diversity.

## Solutions

Analysis of diversity action plans revealed various solutions to the problem of an unwelcoming campus environment, or rather a "chilly" climate. These solutions, made visible by a discourse of affirmation, the third strand of the access discourse, include: professing an institutional commitment to diversity; creating recognition and awards ceremonies, and hosting cultural celebrations; developing diversity resource offices, delivering training and education on diversity; and conducting surveys to assess campus climate. I will describe each of these solutions in this section.

A call for colleges and universities to improve campus climates is pronounced in the scholarship (Gudeman, 2000; Hurtado, 1992; Smith \& Schonfeld, 2000), and the

[^33]diversity action plans analyzed for this investigation echo this call, seeking ways to establish a welcoming, inclusive, affirming environment that values diversity, as exemplified by this quote.

The necessity for creating a more inclusive, welcoming climate on college campuses is supported by several national education association reports ...[and] a primary mission of the academy must be to create an environment that ideally cultivates diversity and celebrates difference (Pennsylvania State University, 2004, my emphasis).

Another report, in its challenge to students, faculty, and staff to "be a friend to a student of diverse color and ethnic background ... [and] bring them as welcome guests to the University" states "[we must go] out of our way to make them feel welcome and valued" (University of Wisconsin, 1999, my emphasis).

Another solution identified during analysis is what I collectively coded as "honoring" diversity. Analysis revealed many policy recommendations to create recognition ceremonies and to present awards in honor of contributions to and participation in activities that focus on diversity issues (North Carolina State University, 1999; University of Georgia, 2002; University of Maryland, 2000). For instance, one report suggests issuing "lapel pin awards to employees who attend diversity training [and giving] prizes to individuals who wear the pins, using secret spotters" (University of Arkansas, 2002). Another report proposes a "Recognition Awards Ceremony [to] award honors [to] individuals (male or female) who deserve recognition for their contributions to the Cornell community, especially those who have influenced women and/or women's issues" (Cornell University, 2004). Another diversity action plan suggests providing
"rewards and incentives to those who further the advancement of diversity within their institutions, [e.g.,] a President's award for diversity leadership" (Auburn University, 2004). Yet, another document recommends: "make incentives and rewards available to individuals and units that develop successful models to achieve a diverse and inclusive community" (University of Idaho, 2004). Still another writes: "provide incentives and rewards to promote faculty scholarship related to under-represented and diversity issues" (University of Connecticut, 2002).

Another predominant solution that emerged from coding was to "celebrate" diversity. Student organizations, for instance, are encouraged to "present educational and fun programs celebrating our diverse cultures, races, religions, and lifestyles" (University of Arkansas, 2002). According to another report, administrators should solicit participation in "cultural celebrations" such "Latino Heritage Month, Black History Month, Asian Heritage Month" (University of Maine, 2003). One report recommends expanding holiday celebrations, conceiving the Holiday Unity Celebration "as a way to bring employees together to celebrate the diversity of the Cornell community at the holidays" (Cornell University, 2004, italics added). Other diversity action plans recommend implementing programs to honor historical and contemporary contributions and legacy of people of color, people with disabilities, and women to our campus, which may also include providing "culturally appropriate special meals and programs in recognition of minority history events" (Cornell University, 2004; also Texas A\&M University, 2002; University of Arizona, 2003; University of Arkansas, 2002; University of Illinois, 2002; University of Maine, 2003; University of Nebraska, 1999; University of Wisconsin, 1999).

Analysis revealed another prominent solution: the creation of a resource office, which serves as a symbol of institutional commitment to diversity and a strategy for creating a welcoming and supportive campus climate. For instance, one report, describing its recommendation to develop a resource center, observes that "the resource center affirms lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender identities and lives, and provides education, outreach, programming, program support, consultation, community development, visibility and advocacy" (Cornell University, 2004, italics added). Other plans echo the belief that the creation of a resource center and increasing the visibility of existing resources illustrates the institution's commitment to diversity and facilitates intra-group development (University of Arizona, 2003; University of Georgia, 2002; University of Maine, 1999, 2003; University of Nevada, 2002). One report observes that academic programs focused on race, class, gender, disability, sexual orientation (e.g., women's studies, ethnic studies, disability studies, GLBT studies) can serve a similar goal (University of Arizona, 2003).

This analysis revealed another solution cited by most diversity action plans: to gather data, or more specifically to conduct surveys, to (further) assess campus climate. Some had already administered climate surveys and the results informed the drafting of the diversity action plans. For example, Auburn University (2004) conducted a university-wide climate survey in 2003, and appended a summary of results in the policy; University of Idaho (2004) conducted the "respectful climate survey" in 2002 and recommends administering it every two years; University of Maine (2003) "conducted a student athlete survey this year to determine attitudes about campus and community climate" and recommends replicating it with all students; and Virginia Tech University
(2000) conducted a campus climate survey in 1998, and appended a summary of results (also North Carolina State University, 1999). Other diversity action plans propose administering a climate survey (Pennsylvania State University, 2004; University of California at Berkeley, 2000; University of Connecticut, 2002; University of Maine, 1999; University of Maryland, 2000), at times lamenting non-existent or dated information. For instance, one report writes that "crucial information about campus structures and life is lacking. For example, there has only been one survey of campus climate. Further, this study, done more than ten years ago was limited to African American faculty" (University of Maryland, 2000).

Finally, analysis identified "training" and "education"-what one report termed "diversity maturity" (Auburn University, 2004)—as a prominent mechanism by which institutions can create a more inclusive, welcoming, and affirming campus climate. Diversity action plans recommend implementing training sessions, like Maryland's Diversity Training for Higher Administration, to "heighten understanding of the most difficult and important issues emerging from our increasing diversity," enabling members of the institutions (especially supervisors) to be more responsive to diversity issues (University of Maryland, 2000). Another report proposes expanding the use of an Interactive Theater Project, which
has been used as a tool to increase faculty awareness of diversity issues in the classroom while focusing on the impact of classroom equity and the "chilly" climate. ... The goals are to create campus climate change, improve the quality of teaching, enhance fairness in the workplace through increased awareness and behavior change among individuals, and build a more tolerant community among
a diverse student body, staff and faculty (University of California at Berkeley, 2000).

Another report cites "workshops and education" as a tactic for "building a welcoming supportive community with diverse individuals" and creating "a campus climate where tolerance and respect are encouraged and modeled;" program recommendations include annual workshop on cultural climate for academic administrators, training series for managerial/professional and office/service employees on climate issues, freshmen orientation focused on the responsibility to respect the right of fellow students (University of Nebraska, 1999). Similarly, another report observes that ensuring "that the climate within the unit is welcoming to women and individuals from diverse backgrounds... may necessitate formal diversity training for faculty and staff" (Ohio State University, 2000; also Pennsylvania State University, 2004; University of Maine, 1999). Still another report recommends: "Facilitate the design, development, and/or implementation of a variety of training programs for all faculty, staff, and students to improve the university climate" (Virginia Tech University, 2000).

## The Outsider

Analysis revealed three strands of the discourse of access-entrée, representation, and affirmation-that coalesce to produce the diverse individual as an outsider. "Barriers" and "obstacles" that "routinely limit" access, retention, and advancement of diverse individuals are predominant images that emerged from analysis. Analysis identified most arenas of the university—in fact, the institution itself—as inaccessible. Diversity action plans propose to "feed the educational pipeline" to open access; to "widen the net;" to eliminate barriers and obstacles to increase the "presence" and
"prevalence" of diverse persons who "remain hardly noticeable." The emphasis in diversity action plans is on opening access for diverse individuals, supporting their entrance to and participation in the university, increasing numbers of diverse persons to achieve "critical masses." Once "inside" the institution, diversity action plans shift their focus to affirming and welcoming the presence of these "marginalized" groups. The insider/outsider binary is also visible through characterizations of diverse individuals as different from a "majority" and through descriptions of diverse individuals as different both from other diverse individuals who remain outside the institution (within-group difference) and from some diverse groups who have achieved insider status (amonggroup difference). Next, I will elaborate on each of these observations.

First, many reports utilize a majority (white and male) as the standard against which to measure "minority" progress and success, as illustrated by this data quote: "Close the gap in educational achievement, by bringing retention and graduation rates for students of color in line with those of the student body as a whole" (University of Wisconsin, 1999). Similarly, another report observes that African-American and Hispanic students had a lower graduation rate than white students, and recommends the development of "a plan to reduce the disparity in graduation rates between white and minority students" (Ohio State University, 2000). The majority, represented as the norm, whether white or male, serves to signal the ways in which diverse individuals are outsiders in important arenas of the university, as shown in the following quote: "Women are still not well represented in some colleges that have been traditionally dominated by men, and a significant disparity in graduation rates persists between undergraduate students of color and white students" (Pennsylvania State University, 2004).

Second, the diverse individual is marked as an outsider in relation to other diverse individuals (within-group difference). This difference is emphasized through descriptions of diverse individuals as "high achieving," "high profile," "high performing," and "promising" (Auburn University, 2004; Ohio State University, 2000; Oklahoma State University, 2004; Pennsylvania State University, 2004; University of California at Berkeley, 2000; University of Connecticut, 2002; University of Wisconsin, 1999). The exemplary diverse individual is the eligible candidate and target of diversity efforts. Thus, only some diverse individuals qualify to compete for insider status. A few reports offer assurances that the diverse individual's move from outsider to insider is not a consequence of any compromise in institutional criteria, as exemplified by these data excerpts.

The university has been systematically raising the standard for admission and plans to continue this process. This ambition must not be allowed to have a negative impact on the recruitment of minority students. ...African-Americans constitute the largest minority group in Ohio, and OSU appears to be recruiting a reasonable number of the existing pool of these high-ability high school graduates. OSU is recruiting $20 \%$ of this pool compared to recruiting $10 \%$ of the highest ability white students. ...OSU can and must recruit more of these highability students .... (Ohio State University, 2000).

Some faculty, however, see any consideration of diversity as a detriment to Berkeley's continued academic excellence. To pursue diversity as an end in itself will have no credibility with large numbers of faculty.... The University seeks to enroll... a student body that, beyond meeting the University's eligibility
requirements, demonstrates high academic achievement or exceptional personal talent, and that encompasses the broad diversity of cultural, racial, geographic, and socioeconomic backgrounds and characteristics of California (University of California at Berkeley, 2000).

Reports then, by attributing "insider" status to one’s elevated placement on a hierarchy of achievement, denote that not all diverse individuals are eligible (capable) of gaining insider status, further marking those who gain insider status as different. For instance, one report recommends: "identify high performing people of color, women and members of other under-represented groups in staff positions and develop a professional development track for them" (Auburn University, 2004, my emphasis). Another document recommends: "Emphasize retaining and promoting high quality faculty and staff members from underrepresented groups" (Pennsylvania State University, 2004, italics added). Still another report recommends raising funds "to expand undergraduate research programs for students of color to attract more promising prospective graduate and professional students" and to use Fellowships to attract "talented junior faculty of color" (University of Wisconsin, 1999, italics added). Finally, one report describes a program targeted at and designed to recruit "talented women and minority graduates ... back to the campus when they have achieved scholarly distinction" (University of California at Berkeley, 2000, italics added).

Finally, some reports also identify difference among diverse groups, namely identifying Asian-Americans as an exception. As observed by one report, the success of Asian-Americans in moving from outsider to insider status skews the diversity numbers, as the following data quote illustrates.

The University continues to face major challenges in the recruitment and hiring of faculty of color. For Fall 1997, faculty of color (all ranks) constituted only 10 percent (220) of the legal faculty (2171) - (nationally, faculty of color constitute an average of 12.9 percent of the faculty on campus; source: ACE 1997-8 Status Report). When Asian-American faculty are left out of our count, the number drops to 4 percent (100) (University of Wisconsin, 1999, my emphasis).

Another report suggests a similar assessment through its attention to only two racialethnic groups.

While there has been some increase in the representation of minorities at the University, by all accounts net increases in the employment of Black and Latino faculty have been minimal in eight years (University of Connecticut, 2002). Still another document observes that what appears to be diversity in the international student population is largely attributable to students from Asian countries; thus, "issues of diversity" remain.

There are issues of diversity within the international student population. Although 115 countries are represented in Texas A\&M’s international student population, 55 percent of these students come from only three Asian countries: India, China, and Korea (Texas A\&M University, 2002).

Finally, another report, in a comprehensive summary report of their climate assessment, implies that their diversity concerns do not include Asian-Americans: "The responses of Asian faculty members on many items did not differ significantly from white responses" (Virginia Tech University, 2000).

In sum, this analysis revealed predominant images of the diverse individual as "excluded," "under-represented," "marginalized," "unwelcome," "not well represented," and "hardly noticeable." These characterizations are made visible through the discourses of entrée, representation, and affirmation, supported by a dominant discourse of access, situating the diverse individual as an outsider. The insider/outsider binary is further reinforced by situating the diverse individual in comparison and opposition to a "majority" or "norm" (the white male). The diverse individual who achieves insider status is described in exceptional terms, marking the individual as different from other diverse individuals (within-group difference). Finally, the diverse individual is characterized as different from other diverse groups (e.g., Asian-Americans) who have already achieved insider status (among-group difference).

The diverse individual as outsider, an image produced by a discourse of access, also emerged in analysis as at-risk for not achieving insider status or losing it once acquired. This at-risk image is produced by discourses of disadvantage and discrimination, which I will describe next.

An Individual At-Risk

## Discourse of Disadvantage

Predominant images of "economically disadvantaged," "academically underprepared," "negatively affected," "low-income," "at-risk," "needy," "silencing," and "isolation" emerged from coding, and are made visible through a dominant discourse of disadvantage that constructs a diverse individual as at-risk. This analysis revealed descriptions of diverse individuals as at-risk for educational failure before entering
institutions of higher education, ${ }^{43}$ and remaining at-risk once a member of the university—at-risk for educational failure, non-promotion, no advancement, no tenure, attrition, discrimination, and harassment, among other things.

## Problems

Analysis of the documents in this sample revealed several problems made visible by the discourse of disadvantage. These include: the academic under-preparedness of diverse individuals; the financial needs of diverse individuals, most specifically student need for financial assistance; and the inequitable allocation of compensation and benefits. I will describe each.

Analysis revealed images of diverse students typically described as
"disadvantaged" and "under-prepared" before entering the university. One report states that "disadvantaged and under-prepared students" need "college preparatory and remedial courses" (University of Maine, 2003). Another report recommends: "Expand efforts with targeted middle and high schools to better prepare students for college [and] expand outreach efforts to parents of potential students from underrepresented groups" (University of Arizona, 2003). Yet another document suggests: "Enhance the academic summer program and introduce underrepresented, low-income youth to transportation career options" (University of Nebraska, 1999). Finally, another policy boasts the establishment of the "Pre-College Enrichment Opportunity Program for Learning Excellence (PEOPLE) to provide 3 years of summer enrichment for a new cohort of 100 inner-city Milwaukee high school students every year" (University of Wisconsin, 1999;

[^34]also University of Arkansas, 2002). This representation of diverse students as "academically under-prepared" situates them as dependent on the university and its’ programs to compensate for these deficiencies.

Both before and after university enrollment, analysis of the diversity action plans identified diverse students as "economically disadvantaged;" these characterizations are most prominent in recommendations to compensate for financial deficiencies, which will be discussed later under solutions. Further, once enrolled in the university, this analysis revealed diverse individuals as "at risk for non-retention and graduation" (Ohio State University, 2000, italics added; also University of Arkansas, 2002; University of California at Berkeley, 2000; University of Wisconsin, 1999). One report describes students "having undiagnosed cognitive or psychological disabilities" as "at risk of not being retained" (University of Idaho, 2004, italics added).

Employees representing diverse populations are similarly described in the reports as at-risk - for non-promotion and tenure, for attrition, for receiving inadequate or unequal benefits. One policy notes: "most frustrating, several minority faculty and staff have left the University after only one or two years of employment. Informal conversations and anecdotal evidence suggests that feelings of isolation, both on campus and in the wider community, contribute to the decision to leave" (University of Maine, 2003). This report later adds that "women faculty leave the University before achieving tenure in disproportionate numbers" (University of Maine, 2003). Another document observes that "At the executive and senior management levels, the minority and female share of the work force has decreased almost continuously" (University of California at Berkeley, 2000).

The analysis of diversity action plans also identified diverse individuals as at-risk for inadequate and unequal compensation and benefits. For instance, one report recommends that the institution "Offer health coverage for contraception for women faculty and staff" noting that, while available for students, "it is not offered for faculty, academic professionals and staff" (University of Illinois, 2002). Some diversity action plans identify salary inequities, at times "egregious inequities" (University of Arizona, 2003; University of Georgia, 2002; University of Nebraska, 1999). Further, "women faculty who give birth" are named by one report as disadvantaged by the tenure process (University of California at Berkeley, 2000).

Finally, analysis suggests that one's identity as a member of a diverse group may place an individual at-risk. One report observes the need to
examine the specific concerns of gay, lesbian and bisexual and transgender students, faculty and staff. The concerns ...are considerable. ...[T]he issues that have been identified ... indicate that the academic and work life of these individuals is being negatively affected by the campus climate as well as some policies and practices (Ohio State University, 2000; also University of Illinois, 2002).

## Solutions

In general, the predominant images that emerged from coding portray the diverse individual as needy, deficient, and at-risk. Various solutions, made visible by the discourse of disadvantage, emerged from analysis. Specifically, analysis revealed recommendations to compensate for deficiencies, through pre-college programs, mentoring opportunities, financial assistance, professional development, and assurances
of equity in compensation and benefits. I will describe each with supporting evidence from the data.

The primary solution to the problem of diverse individuals being at-risk in the university setting that emerged from analysis is to compensate for deficiencies. For students from diverse populations, summer programs are recommended in numerous diversity action plans as an intervention strategy to compensate for academic deficiencies (discussed above). More specifically, summer programs introduce disadvantaged youth to higher education (Texas A\&M University, 2002; University of Arkansas, 2002; University of Idaho, 2004), serve as a "bridge" between high school and college (Ohio State University, 2000; Pennsylvania State University, 2004; University of Maine, 1999; University of Wisconsin, 1999), and Summer Research Opportunity Programs give undergraduates and graduates from diverse groups an introduction to and experience with the research process (Oklahoma State University, 2004; University of Maine, 2003; University of Nebraska, 1999; University of Wisconsin, 1999). Implicit in these wellintentioned recommendations to develop and implement summer enrichment programs is that diverse individuals need-even require-enrichment and growth.

In response to the problem of "economically disadvantaged" individuals, a primary strategy emerged from analysis: compensate for financial deficiencies. For instance, one report suggests: "Seek an additional \$3.4 million for undergraduate scholarships and financial aid for minority and disadvantaged students" (University of Wisconsin, 1999). Another document recommends: "Increase access and amount of financial assistance available to students from underrepresented groups, including scholarships tagged specifically for transfer students, non-traditional students and
disabled Students" (University of Arizona, 2003). Yet another report offers: "Review whether current merit-based scholarship offerings adequately address financial needs of economically disadvantaged students" (University of Georgia, 2002, my emphasis). Still another report suggests: "Increase the amount of financial aid available to needy students and reduce their reliance on loans" (University of Wisconsin, 1999, italics added). Finally, one diversity action plan recommends: "Set aside monies for students from diverse backgrounds that do not qualify for full financial aid packages" (University of Connecticut, 2002).

Further, some diversity action plans propose to remedy inequities in compensation and benefits for employees from diverse populations (University of Arizona, 2003; University of Georgia, 2002; University of Nebraska, 1999). Some reports call for adjustments in the tenure clock for "childbirth and child-rearing needs" (University of Idaho, 2004; also University of California at Berkeley, 2000; University of Nebraska, 1999) and for "affordable, high quality childcare" for women faculty and staff (University of Illinois, 2002; also Cornell University, 2004; University of Idaho, 2004).

Another mechanism identified through the analytic process by which to reduce the risk of non-promotion, failure to advance, or attrition is to provide support, or more specifically mentoring, for diverse individuals. All except two reports explicitly noted the existence of or need to develop "vigorous mentoring programs" (University of Arizona, 2003) for diverse students, faculty, staff, and administrators. Most mentoring programs are described in broad, general terms, e.g., "create a mentoring program" (Auburn University, 2004); "develop mentoring teams" (University of Arkansas, 2002); "enhance faculty mentoring" (University of Maine, 2003); "implement a mentoring program"
(University of Connecticut, 2002). Some mentoring programs are very specialized, such as Cornell's Alumni-Student Mentoring Program, intended "to attract and graduate larger numbers of students who will contribute to the diversity of the university" (Cornell University, 2004), Texas A\&M’s Food Services Summer Placement Program to offer professional development for minority staff members and mentoring for diverse students (2002), University of Wisconsin's Mentor Program for Women Faculty (1999), and University of Arkansas’ (2002) peer mentoring program for students with disabilities. Another solution that emerged from analysis is to offer training. More specifically, professional development emerged from analysis as a primary way to overcome obstacles to advancement, as exemplified by this data excerpt:

Increase professional development opportunities and succession strategies for all faculty, staff, and administrators, especially including employees from underrepresented groups by:
a. Developing administrative internship programs for faculty and staff to encourage upward movement to administrative positions.
b. Providing release time for faculty, staff and administrators to participate in campus classes, committee work, training, and campus events.
c. Providing opportunities for faculty, staff and administrators to attend workshops and professional conferences.
d. Offering tenure clock adjustment for faculty.
e. Making flexible office hours and workplaces available to as many employees as possible....
f. Exploring alternatives to traditional tenure track arrangements (e.g., hiring tenure track faculty in part-time positions, sharing tenured faculty with other institutions, etc.).
g. Recognizing all faculty service activities as contributions toward tenure, including activities related to diversity and human rights activities (University of Idaho, 2004).

## Another report

Offers a number of programs to assist staff in lower pay grades to improve their skills and increase their eligibility to move up through the career ladder. These programs include English as a Second Language (ESL), an Adult Basic Education (ABE) program, which is a pre-General Educational Development (GED) program, and a GED preparation program (Texas A\&M University, 2002). These solutions focus on the identification of individuals' deficiencies, such as inadequate preparation or skills, and the need to develop programs and services to compensate for deficiencies (e.g., leadership and professional development, mentoring, support services). The underlying assumption from this (deficiency theory) perspective is that "some people, for whatever reason, lack the resources needed for ...success" (Massey, Charles, Lundy, \& Fischer, 2003, p. 5). Diverse persons through their acquisition of the necessary skills and resources will gain advantage (at least the playing field should be leveled); risk will be reduced; and diverse individuals will be more likely to succeed in higher education.

Diverse individuals are often described in the diversity action plans as at-risk for being victims of harassment and discrimination. These characterizations are made visible
by a discourse of discrimination, a strand of the discourse of disadvantage; this will be described next.

## Discourse of Discrimination

Throughout the diversity action plans analyzed in this sample, images emerged from coding that describe the diverse individual as a victim (both potential and actual) of "discrimination," "harassment," "intimidation," "bias incidents," "hate crimes," "unfair treatment," and "abuse." These characterizations are made visible through a discourse of discrimination, supported by a dominant discourse of disadvantage that situates the diverse individual as a victim, at-risk both inside and outside the institution, and dependent upon the institution for success in higher education. These findings resonate with Allan's (2003) analysis of discourses embedded in university women's commission reports, which identified women as vulnerable and dependent on university administration to provide for them and keep them safe.

## Problems

This analysis revealed several problems made visible by the discourse of discrimination. These include: isolation and oppression, discrimination, both historic and contemporary, harassment, hate crimes, bias, and unfair treatment. I will describe each, with supporting evidence from the data.

Analysis identified isolation, and, at times, overt oppression in many diversity action plans. As noted by one report, "feelings of isolation, both on campus and in the wider community, contribute to the decision to leave" (University of Maine, 2003, italics added). Another diversity action plan reports that "On-campus African-American faculty members perceived the climate for diversity, particularly outside their departments, as
racist, and they were deeply skeptical of the university's commitment to diversity in general and to the success of faculty members and students of color," later adding that "Approximately one third of all graduate students had heard derogatory comments or read insulting materials concerning racial/ethnic minorities, non-heterosexuals, and individuals from Appalachia" (Virginia Tech University, 2000, italics added).

Discriminatory acts, sometimes more euphemistically referred to as "potential problems (including hate crimes)" (University of Maryland, 2000), "climate issues" (North Carolina State University, 1999) or "obstacles" (University of Idaho, 2004) were described in most diversity action plans, as illustrated by these data quotes. [We need to conduct workshops on] how to deal with climate issues (stereotyping, preconceptions, harassment, cultural differences and styles of communication, errant or demeaning language and attitudes) (University of Nebraska, 1999, italics added).

Since the program's inception [in 2000], nearly 200 reports of bias incidents and crimes have been reported through the university's Bias Response Program. The bias activity has included graffiti, vandalism, verbal slurs, comments, inappropriate e-mail, and instant message correspondence (Cornell University, 2004, italics added).
[We need] to address the all too frequent expressions of racism in the student body as exemplified by student newspaper cartoons debasing various groups, attacks on international students, and comments from minority students concerning their treatment by other students and some faculty (Texas A\&M University, 2002, italics added).

Surveys of the NC State community indicate that women and people of color at NC State feel considerably less support than do white males, and report more experience with discrimination. Some women and people of color report feeling marginalized, treated with disrespect, and unwelcome in many ways (North Carolina State University, 1999, italics added).

International students were the group most likely to have been treated unfairly or harassed due to personal characteristics. This was due primarily to their being mistreated on the basis of ... their accent or dialect. ... [N]on-heterosexuals experienced unfair treatment based on sexual orientation far more often than heterosexuals ( 60 percent compared with 2 percent of heterosexuals). ... Women experienced discrimination or harassment more frequently than men (Virginia Tech University, 2000, italics added).

Another diversity action plan observes that the "presence of often highly visible and vocal representatives of the Aryan Nations and other militia groups elsewhere in the region" can impede "efforts to improve cultural diversity in the campus community" (University of Idaho, 2004). Still another policy reports that "People are regularly harassed and discriminated against because they fit gay or lesbian stereotypes" (University of Illinois, 2002). Finally, another report observes that "the inevitable consequence of this inaction [meaning the failure of the university to initiate change in the campus climate] is a university environment that both perpetuates racism, sexism and homophobia and gives privilege to white, heterosexual males" (Ohio State University, 2000).

Analysis identified that some diversity committees were convened following bias incidents and hate crimes on campus. For example, at one university, the president convened a Diversity Panel in January of 2000 on the heels of a fall semester plagued by a series of bias-related incidents, involving threatening letters sent to Black Student Union, Black Faculty/Staff Association, and other African American campus leaders (Cathcart, 1999; Ginther, Martin \& Dillon, 2004).

Although the president's charge was much broader than solving, or resolving, the hate crimes that plagued our campus in fall 1999, we kept in mind that these were the incidents that prompted the establishment of the panel, and focused our attention on the campus climate for groups that had been singled out in those attacks (University of Maryland, 2000).

Another university proposes the creation of the campus-wide committee to draft its diversity action plan following review by the Office of Civil Rights (OCR) that resulted in a university agreement with the OCR to clarify "several campus policies in regard to the prevention and remediation of [racial] harassment and discrimination" (University of Nebraska, 1999; see also NU, Office of Civil Rights, 1998). At another institution, a student coalition asserts that racial tensions are high and that the university is delinquent in fulfilling its anti-hate promises (Minority students say racism an issue, 2005; see also The Black Caucus, 2005); in 2001, the students
called for the Penn State administration to take a more aggressive and proactive stance in combating hate and improving race relations at the University. The administrators agreed that new initiatives needed to be put into place and
approved [in the next iteration of their diversity action plan] (Pennsylvania State University, 2004; also Swift, 2001).

Finally, another diversity action plan reports that the institution
has had to expend significant financial resources dealing with the problems caused by racist actions of some of its students and others. Auburn has also had to deal with the costs of a variety of diversity-related lawsuits and legal settlements in recent years. These costs include direct compliance costs as well as costs associated with losing high quality people who decide not to come to work or study at Auburn University because of this kind of controversy (Auburn University, 2004).

In addition to contemporary examples of harassment and discrimination, this analysis revealed descriptions of historic discrimination in diversity action plans. Some policies explicitly identify their "University's de jure segregated past" (University of Maryland, 2000), e.g., traditions (Texas A\&M University, 2002), mascot (University of Idaho, 2004), and other problems described earlier in this chapter (in the affirmation section); however, most describe the problem of discrimination as situated in a context much larger than the university. Some diversity action plans observe that discrimination is a broad social problem, with deep, historic roots.

Within living memory, our state government seized, closed, and locked public schools rather than to desegregate them in accordance with the orders of the United States Supreme Court. The harmful effects of those policies and actions on significant numbers of Virginia students serve as a powerfully compelling reason
for taking affirmative steps toward true equal opportunity both in our university community and in society at large (Virginia Tech University, 2000).

Few students, or faculty and other employees of the university, were raised in communities as diverse as our campus. Given the racialized housing patterns in the U.S., few of our students, faculty, or staff have attended schools with as diverse a population as exists on our campus; nor do public and most private high schools require students to live in such close contact (University of Maryland, 2000).

The University of Idaho recognizes that previous discrimination in employment based upon race, color, national origin, religion, sex, age, disability, or status as a Vietnam-era veteran has foreclosed economic opportunity to a significant number of people in the United States. ... UI pledges to eliminate all vestiges of policy that tended, intentionally or otherwise, to discriminate on the grounds proscribed by federal and state laws and, in order to eliminate all traces of discrimination, to take affirmative action to recruit, employ, and promote qualified members of those groups formerly excluded (University of Idaho, 2004).

## Solutions

This analysis identified various recommendations to address the problem of discrimination. These solutions include: identify and eliminate unfair practices and policies; offer support, (e.g., ombud services); deliver training and education; and facilitate inter-group dialogue. I will describe each with supporting evidence from the data.

A solution that emerged from coding is institutional expressions of commitment to eliminate unfair practices and policies. For instance, one report asserts: "Identify and eliminate all practices and policies that are expressed in ways that create unfair barriers, perpetuate negative stereotypes, prejudice, or guilt by association, or have other improper negative consequences for particular persons or groups, especially under-represented populations" (University of Idaho, 2004). Another policy strives to "Identify problem areas where women, persons of color, and gays and lesbians are not welcome, safe, and respected, and/or fairly compensated" (University of Maryland, 2000). Still another document observes the need for

Many new practices ... [to] deal more effectively with crimes of hate and prejudice. Most important are the initiatives intended to offer support to victims and other members of the targeted groups on- and off-campus. Also, significant steps have been taken to secure better cooperation and communication among administrative units that share responsibility for responding to hate incidents (University of Maryland, 2000).

A primary mechanism that emerged from coding by which diversity action plans profess to solve the problem of discrimination is to provide support services. For instance, one policy suggests "Create mechanisms to support and protect students who bring allegations of gender, sexual and racial discrimination in order to lessen their vulnerability, fears of reprisals and harassment" (Ohio State University, 2000, italics added). Another document notes that "Support is also needed to help individuals unlearn the messages received from society at large [about sexual identity] while simultaneously learning to be proud of their individuality" (University of Illinois, 2002).

More specifically, analysis identified the creation of ombud services as a key element of support. One diversity action plan, in addition to proposing the creation of the Report Hate Web site, and developing the Zero Tolerance for Hate Support Network, recommends creating the Web Ombudsman (Pennsylvania State University, 2004). Another report suggests: "Hire a University ombuds to provide an additional, informal mediation option for addressing potential student grievances within the university community" (University of Arkansas, 2002). Still another proposes to "expand campus ombud-services, ... [and] explore the viability of establishing a central campus ombud office to provide one visible locus of assistance for faculty, staff, and students" (University of Nebraska, 1999).

In addition to ombud services, analysis identified other support services suggested by diversity action plans. For instance, one report recommends: "expand and formalize the network of trained advocates that provide support for students who wish to report or discuss bias-related incidents" (University of Maine, 2003). This same document also suggests implementing "Sisters Supporting Sisters ... a support group for women of color ... to share and solve problems and concerns" (University of Maine, 2003). Another report recommends initiating the "Safe Place Project ... [to] help members of the LGBTQ community feel more accepted and appreciated" (Cornell University, 2004; also University of Maine, 2003). Still another report recommends amplifying the Speak-Up Program that works with a victim of harassment or discrimination to find some sort of resolution (University of Wisconsin, 1999). Finally, one report, writing about its Bias Response Program, notes that

A team of approximately 30 individuals throughout the university have been designated as "reporting team members" who are the first point of contact for reporting bias activity. The bias protocol therefore provides a "support system" for the individual who has experienced the bias, and an opportunity to develop proactive approaches to address challenges to diversity (Cornell University, 2004).

This analysis identified education and training as a strategy to address the problem of discrimination. For instance, one report recommends offering "sensitivity training for supervisors and administrators, [as well as] attention to identifying and dealing with sexual harassment" (University of Maryland, 2000). Another suggests: "educate the entire campus community that it is an individual's duty and responsibility to prevent discrimination and/or harassment" (University of Nebraska, 1999). Yet another policy proposes "compliance training session [for supervisors] held in conjunction with the university's legal department to address discrimination and sexual harassment issues in the workplace" (Cornell University, 2004). Still another document reports the benefits of "civility training" to educate "students about cultural sensitivity and cross-cultural communication techniques" (University of Maine, 2003). Other diversity action plans suggest faculty training "to examine curricula, course content and methods, classroom climate, teaching styles to eliminate bias of underrepresented groups and barriers to full participation" (University of Arizona, 2003; also North Carolina State University, 1999; Ohio State University, 2000; University of Idaho, 2004). Finally, other policies recommend training for student leaders "to deal with issues that arise in a diverse group" (University of Maryland, 2000; also University of Nebraska, 1999; North Carolina State

University, 1999). For example, one report created The Multicultural Ambassadors Project, "to train student leaders and provide cross-cultural conflict resolution in the residence halls is being expanded" (University of Maine, 2003).

Analysis revealed that diversity action plans, in an effort to reduce isolation and feelings of unease, recommend fostering formal and informal inter-group relationships, through which students "may develop close ties and an increased comfort level that would facilitate dealing with difficult issues" (University of Maryland, 2000; also University of Illinois, 2002; University of Wisconsin, 1999). ${ }^{44}$ As one report claims, the comfort level of minorities decreases as their length of time at the institution increases. Factors that create these feelings of uneasiness primarily stem from a generalized sense that the majority of the student body lacks an understanding of and sensitivity to the social needs of individuals who are not part of the majority culture (Texas A\&M University, 2002).

Another report suggests: "develop and support new and existing programming that encourages interaction across diverse groups" (University of Arkansas, 2002; also University of Georgia, 2002). Another report proposes "opportunities for students to engage in interfaith dialogue... [and] provide members the opportunity to nurture interorganizational relationships and professional dialogue" (Cornell University, 2004). Yet another plan recommends: "construct work groups in which students might enlarge their

[^35]social and learning networks to include students unlike themselves" (University of Maryland, 2000; also Texas A\&M University, 2002). Finally, one policy proposes the implementation of "Diversity Dialogues Group which is dedicated to the discussion of timely and sensitive issues that have university-wide importance" (University of Nevada, 2002; also Ohio State University, 2000).

Discrimination on university campuses is disturbingly prevalent, with very real costs and consequences (e.g., Bollag, 2005; Euben, 2005; Farrell, 2004; Nichols, 2004; Wilson, 2004), and the programs and services recommended by institutions are important and necessary. However, analysis revealed that descriptions of the problems and solutions regarding discrimination are primarily focused on diverse individuals’ needs, challenges, fears, and inability to remain safe (Allan, 2003). Through frequent use of passive voice, e.g., "Black staff receive inconsistent and unfair treatment" (University of California at Berkeley, 2000), the documents give little attention to the source of discrimination. Individuals at-risk for harassment and discrimination are advised to prepare to defend themselves against potential physical or psychological abuse: "LGBT people need to be provided with the tools to protect themselves from and to help educate the straight community" (University of Illinois, 2002). The bodies of disadvantaged persons are inscribed as "always already" victims of oppression (Heberle, 1996). From this perspective, institutions develop strategies to help "targeted groups" feel safe; rather than acknowledging the source of the harassment, discrimination, and acts of hate. Presented in this way, the origins of and systems that perpetuate discrimination are uninterrogated, and advantage remains unacknowledged.

## Summary

In this chapter, I provided evidence from the data of discourses of entrée, representation, and affirmation, three strands of a dominant discourse of access that situate the diverse individual as an outsider to the university. Analysis also revealed discourses of disadvantage and discrimination that construct an individual at-risk and as a victim (respectively). This discursive construction constitutes the diverse individual as both an outsider to higher education, at-risk before and after entering the university, and dependent upon the institution for support. Yet, evidence that identified the images of the diverse individual as at-risk, needy, and dependent emerged in contrast to images of the diverse individual possessing value and capital; the diverse individual both needs resources and is a resource. This characterization of the diverse individual possessing value will be described in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER V: FINDINGS: THE VALUE OF DIVERSITY

As described in chapter three, the analytic process employed for this investigation of 21 diversity action plans involved both deductive and inductive coding. A multiphased and layered approach enabled me to analyze the data on multiple levels, and from which emerged themes and categories. This iterative process revealed "problems" and "solutions" related to diversity, predominant "images" of diverse individuals, identified what discourses are employed to shape the predominant images, and what cultural realities are then produced for diverse individuals on university campuses.

This chapter provides evidence from analysis of 21 diversity action plans that reveals images of diverse individuals as objects possessing (economic) value that will contribute to the institution's ability to maintain or gain a competitive edge and achieve prominence in the academic marketplace. These characterizations are made visible by a dominant marketplace discourse and two discursive strands-excellence and managerialism-that that contribute to shaping the diverse individual as a commodity. Analysis also revealed a discourse of democracy that emerges as an alternative to the dominant marketplace discourse, producing an image of the diverse individual as a change agent for equity. Figure 5.1 provides a visual display of the discourses described in this chapter, relationships among them, and the subject positions produced by them.

Figure 5.1
Discourses and Subject Positions: Commodity and Change Agent


In this chapter, I provide a description of, and reporting of the data for, each discourse. First, I describe findings from analysis that identified a dominant marketplace discourse and two distinct strands within the marketplace discourse-excellence and managerialism - that contribute to shaping the diverse individual as a commodity. In the latter portion of this chapter, I describe a discourse of democracy employed to shape the change agent image. This chapter concludes with a discussion of the tension between the marketplace discourse and the discourse of democracy that gives rise to images of an entrepreneur. Using my research questions as a guide to structure the presentation of the data, I provide, for each discourse, evidence of the "problems" and "solutions" related to diversity in the diversity action plans, culminating in a description of dominant images shaped by the discourses.

## Marketplace Discourse

The diversity action plans analyzed for this investigation describe higher education as a "highly competitive market." The policies acknowledge "fierce competition" in the recruitment of diverse individuals, and strategize about how to maintain a "competitive edge" in response to "rapidly changing market conditions" and "a new demographic reality" in an increasingly "global marketplace." Further, in response to external pressures, diversity action plans describe the need for students to have "exposure to multicultural perspectives" in order to "compete" and "understand the concerns of a global workforce." These characterizations are made visible by a marketplace discourse.

The marketplace discourse is evidenced by an increasingly pervasive view of higher education as a marketplace: the degree is perceived to be the product, students and their parents are the consumers, and "the administrator rather than the professor [is] the central figure of the University" (Readings, 1999, p. 3, italics in original). Some scholars assert that the prevalence of this view of higher education as a marketplace is shaped by the decline in government support of higher education that contributes to increased attention to one's standing in relation to external forces (the "market") and a focus on the bottom-line (Eckel \& King, 2004; Gouthro, 1999; O’Meara, 2001; Readings, 1996). The marketplace then is characterized primarily by competition; indeed, "the ability to compete-for students, resources, faculty, and prestige-becomes a driving strategic force" (Eckel \& King, 2004, p. 16).

In the diversity action plans analyzed for this investigation, diversity ${ }^{45}$ (and by implication diverse individuals) is described as essential-"a key ingredient"-for achieving and maintaining a competitive edge. For instance, one document observes that Companies are doing business in an increasingly global economic system ...If Auburn University wishes to produce graduates equipped to take a prominent place in the world of business, these graduates must have

- been exposed to cultural diversity,
- learned to be accepting of people and ideas that are not their own,
- learned how to deal with diversity issues, and
- learned to be sensitive to cultural differences
- developed personal skills and demonstrated competencies in diversity (Auburn University, 2004, italics added).

Another report states that "Internal and external constituencies both expect to see visible signs of commitment to diversity reflected in the institution's leadership," adding that "major American businesses have made clear that the skills needed in today’s increasingly global marketplace can only be developed through exposure to widely diverse people, cultures, ideas, and viewpoints" (Pennsylvania State University, 2004, italics added). Yet another diversity action plan indicates that diversity "not only contributes to the academic vitality of the campus, but also makes us more competitive among our peer institutions," later adding that "Our alumni and our friends in the corporate community tell us that our graduates must be prepared to live in a multicultural

[^36]society and compete in a multicultural global economy. We must continue to make diversity at all levels of campus a high priority" (University of Wisconsin, 1999, italics added). Still another document, quoting U.S. Supreme Court testimony in Grutter $v$. Bollinger, notes:

Major American businesses have made clear that the skills needed in today's increasingly global marketplace can only be developed through exposure to widely diverse people, cultures, ideas, and viewpoints. High-ranking retired officers and civilian military leaders assert that a highly qualified, racially diverse officer corps is essential to national security. Moreover, because universities .. represent the training ground for a large number of the nation's leaders, ... the path to leadership must be visibly open to talented and qualified individuals of every race and ethnicity (University of Idaho, 2004, italics added; also quoted in Pennsylvania State University, 2004).

Another policy observes:
Industry is placing increasing attention to diversity in its hiring practices. ... [and] has put pressure on the professional schools to produce more women and minority graduates. And it is not uncommon for industry leaders to express dissatisfaction with these schools' graduation rates for women and minorities (University of California at Berkeley, 2000).

Further, one report declares:
Our graduates are expected to be both technically and interpersonally effective as contributors and leaders in their chosen professions. Therefore, ... we must guarantee that our students have an opportunity to develop competencies in
interpersonal relations and to broaden their knowledge and skills through positive exposures to multicultural perspectives (Virginia Tech University, 2000, italics added).

This same report further contends:
The globalization of U.S. industry and the changing demographics of the U.S. population both suggest that our future will differ greatly from our past. ... To assume the responsibilities of leadership, one must be able to understand the concerns of a global workforce -one consisting of many different races and of even more cultures and religions, a workforce that must effectively include both men and women in productive activities and decision making (Virginia Tech University, 2000, italics added).

Finally, one plan notes: "If we are to be successful in the future, we must tap the rich potential of all our citizens by incorporating them into our faculty, staff, and student body" (University of Wisconsin, 1999, my emphasis).

## Problems

Several problems, made visible by the marketplace discourse, emerged from coding. These include: an inability to compete; an inability to respond to changing market conditions; and scarce resources. In this section, I will describe each.

The marketplace discourse is primarily characterized by competition. Thus, the predominant problem identified in analysis of the diversity action plans, and made visible by the marketplace discourse, is an institution being ill-equipped or unprepared to compete in the marketplace. Specifically, the (real or perceived) inability to acquire diverse individuals, a commodity for which there is demand, results in "fierce
competition." For instance, one diversity action plan observes: "Despite gains, there is concern about the inability to recruit and hire more minority faculty members. One factor believed to be significant is that there are relatively few minority group members available for our positions, and fierce competition for those who are exceptional (University of Idaho, 2004, italics added). Another report states, the institution "seeks to remain a world class institution of higher learning in an era where the demands for diversity present enormous challenges. ... Institutions that are less-equipped to meet the diversity challenge stand the risk of falling short of their mission" (Auburn University, 2004).

This analysis of diversity action plans identified another problem made visible by the marketplace discourse: inattention to or lack of preparedness to respond to "a new demographic reality." For example, one report notes:

As U.S. institutions, including those in higher education, endeavor to "recast" themselves in response to a new and rapidly changing demographic reality, it is critical that they not neglect to both consider and address the implications of our largest and fastest growing minority constituency, forty-nine million Americans with disabilities (University of Illinois, 2002, italics added).

Another document states: "One of the greatest challenges facing colleges and universities today involves creating and maintaining a campus community that reflects the rich diversity of this country. This committee recognizes that this is as much a problem at The Ohio State University as elsewhere" (Ohio State University, 2000). This same policy adds that:

The overall goal of our recruitment should be to have the student body mirror Ohio's projected demographics in ten years. By 2010, it is projected that the proportion of ethnic minorities will be: African-American, 13.8\%; Asian, 2.2\%; and Hispanic, 2.9\%. ... [However,] much more needs to be done if the university is to realize the goal of becoming a leader in the state and the nation in the areas of increasing the pool of college bound minority students, retaining a larger percentage of those recruited and establishing a graduation rate for them that is at parity with non-minority students (Ohio State University, 2000, italics added).

Another diversity action plans observes,
If we are going to reflect the population - three years or thirty years from now we have to plan to get there. ... We must look at the demographics, where our students are coming from. We must look at the composition of the Admissions staff. We must understand the barriers - competition, campus environment, geography et al. We must make diversity part of the culture (University of Connecticut, 2002, italics added).

Still another document remarks "student enrollment must begin to reflect these demographic changes now if we as a public university expect to benefit from [predictions of enrollment] growth" (Virginia Tech University, 2000). Yet another policy observes challenges related to recruitment and retention of diverse faculty and staff.

Just at the time that the available pool of women and minorities who are qualified to enter the academic job market is increasing, Berkeley is seeing a reduction in their numbers on our faculty. ... Here much of the problem is a reflection of rapidly changing market conditions. To recruit and retain underrepresented
minority staff is increasingly difficult, especially in technical and professional fields such as information technology, health, financial services and management. Current compensation, prospects for upward mobility, recruitment and hiring practices, and Berkeley's image as an employer all militate against a more diverse work force (University of California at Berkeley, 2000, italics added).

Finally, one report queries: "What do we need to do to become more competitive in attracting students, faculty and staff from under represented populations?" (North Carolina State University, 1999).

This analysis identified scarce resources as a problem, typically linked with descriptions of an institution's (in)ability to compete, or described as an immediate or potential inhibitor of the institution's diversity efforts. For instance, one diversity action plan notes: "Our challenge is to compete successfully with the top private universities in the nation given our limited resources and conditions" (University of California at Berkeley, 2000). Another document observes, "The level of our current salaries severely impacts our ability to recruit from the national pool of highly sought after well qualified minorities (University of Idaho, 2004, italics added). Still another policy considers, "As the University allocates its very scarce resources, it must do so with an eye toward supporting its diversity goals and maintaining the momentum of diversity, which has begun here, but which necessarily needs acceleration" (University of Connecticut, 2002, italics added).

In a few reports, analysis revealed descriptions of a link between the universities’ financial challenges and declining public (government) support. For example, one diversity action plan remarks,

Continued progress will require that we overcome new challenges such as those presented by increasing tuition necessitated by shrinking state support and increases in the costs of delivering high quality education ... Making funds available to support diversity initiatives is a difficult challenge in our current fiscal environment in which inadequate levels of public support have become the norm (Pennsylvania State University, 2004, italics added).

Another report recommends, continuing existing and initiating some new pre-college and recruitment programs, scholarships, fellowships, curricular changes, faculty and staff hires, assessment, all of which cost money. We do not want to rob the programs we already support, some of which have serious budget shortfalls. We must continuously work to obtain funds from the State Legislature for the UW System Plan 2008 budget...The Plan is seriously under-funded. ... Yet we will not omit a recommendation because it may not be funded. We have been guided by optimistic realism in planning the phasing in of new money (University of Wisconsin, 1999, italics added).

Still another diversity action plan observes: "This document has been prepared at a time of financial stress at the UI and in public education throughout the U.S. ...Some of the recommendations made in this document could not be carried out immediately for lack of funding; however, many can be" (University of Idaho, 2004, italics added). Finally, one report claims "Legally and financially, there is a significant risk associated with lack of efforts toward increasing diversity," adding that

All expenditures of federal monies on campus are directly tied to the demonstration that Auburn complies with all the requirements of Equal Opportunity legislation. The stakes are large. ... Auburn University would also be at risk of losing millions of federal dollars ... Clearly, Auburn University stands to lose significant financial resources if diversity issues are not addressed in a positive manner (Auburn University, 2004, italics added).

Descriptions of funding, namely the strategic use of monies to realize diversityrelated goals also emerged from the analytic process as a solution to problems shaped by the marketplace discourse; these will be discussed next.

## Solutions

Analysis of diversity action plans reveals various strategies suggested for institutions to gain or retain their standing in the marketplace. These include: the strategic use of funding to advance diversity-related goals; developing or elevating certain diversity-related programs, initiatives, and research that are perceived to have stronger market value; developing partnerships and contracts with financial potential; emphasizing efficiency and productivity, enabling universities to compete in the marketplace; and giving significant attention to establishing and promoting one's reputation. I will describe each with supporting evidence from the data.

As noted above, funding is cited as a significant problem in diversity action plans related to supporting diversity efforts and the ability to compete in the market. The reports delineate numerous recommendations to address these fiscal challenges. For instance, one document recommends:

The Dean of Graduate Studies should monitor changes in the financial packages offered by competing universities and notify higher administration of these changes together with a recommendation for adjustments that would place the university in a competitive position (Texas A\&M University, 2002, italics added). Another report proposes:

Financial resources will be targeted during the next two years toward the recruitment of undergraduate students of color. The Office of Undergraduate Admission will be provided \$5,000 annually in FY 04 and FY05 for dedicated recruitment materials (print or web based) and recruitment ... These materials and activities ... will focus out of state recruitment on areas where there are high concentrations of diverse students. Approximately $\$ 6,000$ per year will be allocated to support the activities of Operation Breaking Stereotypes, ... This program has already resulted in the application and admission of several talented students of color at The University of Maine (University of Maine, 2003, my emphasis). ${ }^{46}$

Yet another report proposes to "Implement a broad-based approach to strengthen diversity... [that] could include the establishment of privately funded faculty positions for women and minorities" (University of California at Berkeley, 2000; also University of Arkansas, 2002). Another diversity action plan proposes to "Increase scholarship funding for undergraduate students with disabilities" adding the following rationale: "The

[^37]economic impact of a $U$ of I education on the status of graduates with disabilities noted earlier augurs best for the importance of this action" (University of Illinois, 2002). Still another document suggests securing "additional funding from extramural sources to expand undergraduate research programs" and proposes to "combine (leverage) fellowships with assistantships" observing the need to establish a better mix of fellowships and assistantships for graduate students of color. A disproportionate number of these graduate students are funded exclusively by the Advanced Opportunity Fellowship, which constitutes less than five percent of the funding available for student support. In addition to providing financial support, an AOF should be coupled with assistantships for access to teaching, research, project assistantships or traineeships. In this way, the AOF will provide for the recipients' full integration into the academic life of their graduate programs, ensuring them a competitive edge in applying for jobs upon graduation (University of Wisconsin, 1999, italics added).

Finally, a few diversity action plans recommend developing partnerships and contracts with financial potential and utilizing these funds in the service of diversity initiatives. For example, one report observes: "Through the funds available from the Coca-Cola pouring rights contract, we have set aside $\$ 1.5$ million in cash and endowment funds to support innovative academic and student initiatives related to diversity" (Ohio State University, 2000). Similarly, another report, writing about an existing pouring rights contract with PEPSI, notes,

A modest amount of funding is provided through the PEPSI Diversity fund to Afrikan Peoples Union (APU), Asian Students Association (ASA), Mexican

American Students Association (MASA), and University of Nebraska Inter-Tribal Exchange (UNITE) to help these student organizations maintain operating budgets and increase their ability to program campus activities and events (University of Nebraska, 1999).

Another document proposes to "Develop collaborative programs with foreign governments and international funding agencies (e.g., the World Bank, U.S. Agency for International Development, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Ford Foundation, etc.) for the education of foreign students" (University of Idaho, 2004).

This analysis identified numerous recommendations in diversity action plans to institute programs that will contribute to the institution's ability to compete. As Eckel and King (2004) state, a result (or consequence) of marketplace-inspired thinking "is that activities and research in certain fields ...become higher institutional priorities because they have stronger market value" (p. 15). For instance, one report advocates "enroll international students, particularly from diverse nations of strategic importance to Texas, as an important and effective way to diversify the overall climate of the university" (Texas A\&M University, 2002, italics added). Academic initiatives, e.g., developing research institutes and implementing changes in the curriculum, are often recommended to respond to market demand. One report, for example, proposes to "Reward faculty for revising their curriculum to reflect the changing demographics in the academic culture" (Oklahoma State University, 2004). Another document recommends "Institute curricula and research initiatives that provide students with the skills and orientation to function effectively in multicultural workplaces and social environments" (Pennsylvania State University, 2004). Still another report suggests,

Broaden curriculum and course offerings to provide choices that would appeal to a wider array of students and faculty, such as Border Studies, Hispanic Studies, or Middle Eastern Studies ... Faculty members should integrate a deeper appreciation of the value of diversity into the curriculum so that students may capitalize on, rather than be constrained by, increasing diversity (Texas A\&M University, 2002, italics added; also North Carolina State University, 1999). Yet another document recommends,

Focus greater curricular attention on countries that are important commercial trading partners to the state of Idaho, including Mexico and Canada, and establish strong working relationships with universities in those countries, including joint research and faculty/student exchanges (University of Idaho, 2004, italics added). Further, analysis revealed other academic initiatives and non-academic programs characterized as possessing market value. For example, one diversity action plan considers,

Some single group should be charged with making the work of all our [diversity research] centers and projects known to each other, to the wider campus community, and to a scholarly audience beyond our campus. With enhancement funds to initiate collaborative work and to widely publicize all the research on diversity that our campus produces, the Consortium can be an effective means to get more mileage from our already existing efforts (University of Maryland, 2000, italics added).

Another report observes "Texas A\&M’s quest for national excellence clearly requires it to integrate a global perspective into its teaching, research, and service programs and ...

The Office of University Relations should clearly articulate and promote Texas A\&M’s strengths in global research and development" (Texas A\&M University, 2002).

Another solution that emerged from coding is the development of diversity training programs, in response to market demand or to introduce a new "product" into the marketplace. For instance, one document proposes to "Facilitate the development of courses, programs, and research projects (both on campus and off) that support diversity training and multicultural education for working professionals in government, industry, and education" adding that achievement of this goal will be measured through the "Creation and marketing of at least two courses, programs, and/or research projects for targeted audiences/clients in government, industry, and education" (Virginia Tech University, 2000). Another report states

The Cornell Interactive Theatre Ensemble (CITE) ... was formed in January of 1992 as a unique resource for human relations training, serving a wide variety of client groups, including employees and students, professional conferences, and corporations. CITE training workshops explore how to work together effectively and appropriately in a workplace characterized by differences (Cornell University, 2004).

One diversity action plan insists that "students will be exposed to the new frontier associated with learning about diversity" (North Carolina State University, 1999, italics added). This assertion is later followed by a question: "Should curricular and pedagogical transformation at NC State seek to...provide the skills to be competitive in the global marketplace?" (North Carolina State University, 1999). Analysis revealed that for many, the answer to this question is yes (as illustrated above). To achieve this goal (educating-
or training-students to be competitive in the global marketplace), another mechanism that emerged from coding is to create international experiences for students (e.g., study abroad programs) and faculty (e.g., exchange programs), and increase enrollment of international students (see North Carolina State University, 1999; University of Idaho, 2004; University of Wisconsin, 1999; Virginia Tech University, 2000). For instance, one diversity action plan professes a commitment to creating an environment in which all students experience the benefits and understand the value of globalization. In addition to the international education programs, such as study abroad and exchange programs, the on-campus international student population offers one of the best ways for US students to experience globalization as part of regular on-campus activities (Texas A\&M University, 2002).

Another report proposes, Strengthen student international opportunities and actively recruit students from other nations. Enhance the role of the Canadian American Center to take advantage of our geographic position relative to Canada as the gateway to international expansion of economic, academic and cultural connections and opportunities (University of Maine, 2003, italics added).

Finally, the standardization of multicultural competencies, ensuring the marketability and portability of skills in the global economy, was identified during the analytic process in a few documents. This solution was most evident in recommendations to develop a (or strengthen an existing) General Education (competency) requirement. For instance, one diversity action plan recommends: "Strengthen the General Education

Intercultural/ International Competency requirement to focus on preparing students for life and work in today's multicultural world" (Pennsylvania State University, 2004). Another report advises

The University should make every effort to see that undergraduates acquire understandings and competencies that will enable them to work and live in a multicultural world. ... The Executive Vice President and Provost will propose a general education requirement focused more specifically on diversity (multicultural understanding and competency) to the Faculty Senate (University of Maine, 2003).

Analysis of diversity action plans revealed two other strategies recommended for institutions to gain or retain their standing in the marketplace: emphasize efficiency and productivity, enabling universities to compete in the marketplace; and give significant attention to establishing and promoting one's reputation. Each of these is made visible through discourses of managerialism and excellence (respectively), distinct strands within the dominant marketplace discourse. These two discursive strands will be described next. Discourse of Excellence

This analysis revealed images of "reputation," "prominence," "high standards," "world-class distinction," "high regard," "first-class," and "prestige" made visible by a discourse of excellence carried by diversity action plans. The discourse of excellence is characterized by a focus on quality and performance, on success and reputation. According to Readings (1996), the quest for excellence is evident in all aspects of higher education, from scholarship to parking. It is also dominant in diversity action plans.

Excellence is one marker of an institution's ability to compete, and diversity is described in the reports as inextricably linked to excellence. As succinctly stated by one report: "diversity and excellence are mutually reinforcing" (University of Maryland, 2000). Another policy observes that "diversity in student recruitment and retention" is "a key element for achieving the institutional goal of becoming a 'Residential Campus of Choice in the West’" (University of Idaho, 2004).

Analysis identified that numerous diversity action plans link reputation and status in the higher education market with an institutional commitment to diversity. For example, one document observes:

When the Auburn family is at its operational best, it is providing leadership along the proposed high tech I-85 Corridor, developing and supporting peak of excellence research areas, receiving major grants to upgrade K-12 students math readiness, ... Yet, none of these accomplishments will protect Auburn from the court of public opinion or the "tragedy of the commons" if we fail to make diversity an institutional core value (Auburn University, 2004, italics added). Another report contends "Penn State’s successful transformation into a truly 'pluralistic learning community characterized by excellence,' a leader in higher education in the twenty-first century, will be built upon continued commitment to integrated [diversity] efforts" (Pennsylvania State University, 2004, italics added). Still another policy asserts, Diversity and civility are essential for NC State's continuing world-class distinction as a progressive land-grant institution committed to excellence and equity. ... NC State can achieve excellence through the value it places on a diverse, vital, and quality community. Like quality, diversity must become an
integral part of the institutional culture (North Carolina State University, 1999, italics added).

Quality and performance are key characteristics of a discourse of excellence. One diversity action plan asserts "quality is another important area of focus for us" adding that Our commitment for the new century to position this university among the top 30 institutions of its kind is not only an appropriate goal, but also a fundamentally necessary one. Continued support by parents, employers, donors, and policymakers will depend in large part on our ability to demonstrate value to a variety of constituencies. One indicator of excellence used by these constituent groups is the type of student we graduate. ... Our students will be poorly prepared for the global economy if they do not have multicultural competencies (Virginia Tech University, 2000, italics added).

Finally, one document observes,
Not only is [diversity] research cutting-edge in most disciplines and therefore beneficial to the department's reputation for scholarly excellence, but also this would add to the University's reputation as a center of excellence in research on diversity and thus heighten the attractiveness of our institution to minority faculty, even those whose research does not focus in this area (University of Maryland, 2000, italics added).

## Problems

This analysis revealed few problems made visible by the discourse of excellence (in some ways it is counterintuitive to have excellence problems). However, a few reports cite concerns about a perceived overemphasis on diversity and that an increase in
diversity could compromise institutional excellence, and undermine one's standing in the market. For instance, one report remarks,

For many on the Berkeley campus, "diversity" is perceived as a compromise with academic excellence or a "trade-off" between academic rigor and political correctness. ... Efforts to promote diversity at the expense of this norm [scholarly distinction], we believe, will be deeply resisted by the faculty and have little effect (University of California at Berkeley, 2000).

Another document, reporting findings from its campus climate survey, states
[Forty] percent of on-campus faculty members felt that Virginia Tech was placing too much emphasis on diversity; 56 percent felt that one problem with diversity was the admission of under-prepared students; and 44 percent were concerned that affirmative action would lead to hiring less qualified faculty members (Virginia Tech University, 2000).

Conversely, one report expresses concern that an increase in excellence could undermine efforts to recruit diverse individuals: "For the past decade, the university has been systematically raising the standard for admission and plans to continue this process. This ambition must not be allowed to have a negative impact on the recruitment of minority students" (Ohio State University, 2000).

## Solutions

Analysis of diversity action plans revealed several solutions made visible by a discourse of excellence. These include: emulating other reputable programs; employing benchmarking as a strategy to measure the quality of diversity initiatives; developing
performance indicators to measure success - all in an effort to establish and promote one's reputation in the marketplace. In this section, I will describe each.

A primary strategy identified during the analytic process by which diversity action plans purport to measure the success and quality of diversity initiatives, and equally the universities' status in the market, is through performance indicators. ${ }^{47}$ These indices enable institutions to judge their progress in relation to themselves and their peers. For instance, one diversity action plan boasts a grade of "B" for its commitment to diversity.

In the September 24, 2003 edition of DiversityInc Online Magazine, the Ivy
League universities' web sites were graded for their demonstration of a commitment to diversity and Cornell's web received a grade of " B " - the highest grade received by any of the Ivy League universities (Cornell University, 2004, italics added).

One report suggests to compare its "diversity efforts with those at national and peer institutions" (Texas A\&M University, 2002). Another document recommends "Assess how the UA undergraduate curriculum compares to other universities in the offering of multicultural courses" (University of Arkansas, 2002, my emphasis). Another policy compares the diversity of its board to Fortune 500 companies: "Of the 64 members, $31.3 \%$ (compared to $13.6 \%$ in the Fortune 500) are women and $17.2 \%$ are minority" (Cornell University, 2004). Still another report notes: "As to our peer institutions, the comparative data make it apparent that we are no worse than our peers. The data also

[^38]highlight the need to identify institutions with better numbers as our target/benchmark for progress" (University of Connecticut, 2002). Finally, one policy considers,

When we examine those universities recognized in national rankings as among the best in the country, they are generally more diverse in their faculty, staff and student body than is Auburn. We must at least consider the possibility that their diversity contributes to the high regard that people have for these institutions. We must also consider the opposite effect, that the lack of diversity at Auburn University contributed to a less favorable impression among people who make decisions that can affect Auburn (Auburn University, 2004, italics added). A predominant solution that emerged from coding is benchmarking. ${ }^{48}$ This process is enables institutions to measure their progress, identify the "industry" leaders, and develop plans to adopt "best practices," again, in order to gain a competitive edge in the market. One report, noting several factors that "make apparent the need for a diversity plan," observes "benchmark institutions [citing University of Wisconsin (1999) and University of Maryland (2000)] have undertaken similar diversity-related planning, which has enhanced their ability to create diversity-friendly campus communities" (University of Arkansas, 2002). Another report notes the institution "enrolls approximately 3,400 international students from 115 countries, statistics comparable to those of our benchmark universities" (Texas A\&M University, 2002). Yet another document observes "While strategic indicators suggest that OSU has made slow progress in increasing diversity relative to benchmark institutions, the university should and must do better" (Ohio State University, 2000). Still another policy appends to its diversity

[^39]action plan a 5-page report of best practices gleaned from a "benchmarking process" involving 16 universities ${ }^{49}$ and two national associations (Auburn University, 2004). Another report notes "many initiatives exist at Penn State and peer institutions that can serve as benchmarks for units as they strengthen their own recruitment and retention programs" (Pennsylvania State University, 2004, italics added). Yet another diversity action plan recommends,

Monitor progress among all employee groups by collecting and publishing reliable comparison data for use in establishing benchmarks, keeping units informed of gender/ethnicity/race representation among their staff, faculty, and administrators, especially with respect to new hires, and comparing progress with peer institutions (University of Idaho, 2004, my emphasis).

Finally, one diversity action plan cites aspirants and peer institutions as rationale for making changes in employee benefits: "Extend health benefits to domestic partners ... all Ivy League universities, major state universities, and 6 Big Ten schools subscribe to such plans" and "Offer health coverage for contraception for women faculty and staff ... Eight of the Big Ten Schools as well as the University of Illinois Springfield and University of Illinois Chicago offer this benefit" (University of Illinois, 2002).

This analysis also identified some diversity action plans that recommend emulating specific programs and initiatives at other universities. For instance, one report cites the University of Washington's [faculty] toolkit as a model for the development of an academic program aimed at increasing gender equity (University of Idaho, 2004); another document drew upon University of Illinois' definition of diversity when drafting its own (University of Arizona, 2003); still another institution states "The Summer

[^40]Institute at the University of Michigan is a model program which the university will study, to determine the feasibility of adopting it on this campus" (University of Wisconsin, 1999); and yet another report, writing about the development of its interactive theatre training model, mentions Cornell University's Interactive Theater Ensemble (University of California at Berkeley, 2000). Analysis revealed a few diversity action plans that even recognize other diversity action plans as exemplars for their planning efforts. For instance, University of Connecticut (2002) cites Michigan State's IDEA: Institutional Diversity, Excellence in Action, and University of Arizona (2003) and University of Illinois (2002) cite Ohio State University’s (2000) diversity action plan as examples worthy of their attention.

Ultimately, in their search for and identification of ultimate ideals in the field, analysis revealed that diversity action plans also strive to become such exemplars for others. For instance, one report proclaims: "This great university can become even greater by aspiring to the highest standards of community. We can be, and will be, $a$ model for others to emulate" (Ohio State University, 2000, italics added). Another document proclaims its intention to be "A global institution of higher learning in a new millennium capable of being recognized as a best practice model for diversity" (Auburn University, 2004, italics added). Still another policy states its ambition to establish the university "as a national and international model in creative ways to address diversity and equity issues in an academic setting" (University of Georgia, 2002, italics added).

Generally, this analysis identified diversity—and diverse individualscharacterized as a "rich resource" (Texas A\&M University, 2002) and "an essential source of excellence and a defining character of our community" (University of Idaho).

Another report describes "underrepresented communities" as "valuable resources to draw upon as we work to achieve our diversity goals" (Pennsylvania State University, 2004). Still another document contends that "diversity is a key component to educational excellence in the $21^{\text {st }}$ century" (Auburn University, 2004). These characterizations are made visible by a discourse of excellence, supported by a dominant marketplace discourse, and contribute to shaping the diverse individual as a commodity for achieving the goal of elevated institutional standing within the marketplace. A university's commitment to diversity is part of institutional strategy to compete in the market-for students, faculty, funding, and prestige. Analysis revealed the discourse of excellence as closely aligned with the discourse of managerialism, which will be discussed next. Discourse of Managerialism

Predominant images of "efficiency," "productivity," "accountability," "coordination;" "using all available management tools" to develop a "business case" for "managing and leveraging diversity" emerged from coding, and are made visible by a discourse of managerialism, supported by a dominant marketplace discourse. While the discourse of excellence values quality, success, and performance, the discourse of managerialism values efficiency, productivity, and progress, and is characterized by an emphasis on effectiveness, accountability, monitoring costs and effects, and quality assurance, enhancing a university's ability to compete in the marketplace (Eckel \& King, 2004).

Responding to economic cut-backs and to public and governmental pressures to compete, universities are increasingly adopting business tactics ${ }^{50}$ and, more specifically,

[^41]employing management strategies in the university culture (Meadmore, 1998; Miller, 1998). For instance, one diversity action plan argues for "organizational changes (e.g., streamlining business processes) [to be] instituted to improve efficiency and productivity, ensuring competitiveness in market" (University of California at Berkeley, 2000). Another policy observes that in order for "diversity initiatives [to] be made permanent" the University must commit to "long-term fiscal investments; comprehensive, public, and meaningful systems of accountability; and an efficient and collaborative infrastructure," further adding "If we truly believe that diversity is as important in today's world as technology, new budget and development strategies must be employed to secure our diversity priorities" (Pennsylvania State University, 2004, italics added). Yet another document suggests: "Develop and disseminate a business case for embracing diversity and improving campus climate, focusing on the costs associated with employee turnover and the benefits of an extended recruiting pool for employees and students" (University of Idaho, 2004). Still another diversity action plan presents a "business case" as part of its rationale for "effectively managing and leveraging diversity for the entire campus" (Auburn University, 2004). Finally, one report acknowledges: If [the University] conducts all its activities with a view to their impact on diversity concerns, if it acts as a responsible citizen, it can advance equality and the cause for diversity in the course of conducting its daily business [purchasing, construction, finance and investments, athletics, real estate, housing, et al.] (University of Connecticut, 2002).

Diversity action plans attest that greater progress could be made if the organization was more efficient. While these reports acknowledge limited resources,
especially financial (discussed earlier in this chapter), the discursive strand of managerialism shifts the focus from an absence of resources to wasted resources: practices, programs, services, and mechanisms that are of lesser or little benefit to realizing diversity-related goals. The emphasis is on monitoring costs and effects associated with diversity, to maximize the educational benefits of diversity for minimal cost. This view also presupposes that it is possible—and essential—to systematically evaluate diversity-related practices and programs in order to enhance or eliminate them.

## Problems

Some scholars critically observe the seemingly universal promotion of the values of managerialism as the preferred mode of governance in educational organizations: management is considered inherently good, and better, efficient management is presumed to solve any problem (Pollitt, 1990; Rees, 1995; Sachs, 1999). Thus, the "diversity challenge," made visible by a discourse of managerialism, is characterized by poor management or lack of leadership, insufficient accountability, absence of coordinated efforts, and inadequate progress or achievement of diversity-related goals. These problems will be described in this section.

Analysis revealed "progress" typically described as a measure of success. Diversity action plans, by definition, are a plan of action for achieving diversity-related goals. Implicit, and often explicit, in the identification of strategies for change is the delineation of targets, milestones, and markers of progress. Yet, for most diversity action plans, analysis identified that (sufficient) progress is not being made. Numerous reports state that "the pace of change has been far too slow" (University of Arkansas, 2002; also Ohio State University, 2000); "progress has been slow and irregular" (North Carolina

State University, 1999; also Pennsylvania State University, 2004; Texas A\&M University, 2002); "uneven" (University of Wisconsin, 1999); "sporadic...[change] was initiated but faltered" (University of Maine, 2003); and "overall progress ...has been too modest. .... We continue to fall short" (Virginia Tech University, 2000). The diversity action plans, then, turn their attention to ineffective processes. As one report concludes: "Consistently poor results in almost every corner of the university attested to the fact that no effective processes or practices were in place" (Virginia Tech University, 2000).

The discourse of managerialism emphasizes hierarchical, top-down, command-and-control management used to get things done, like communicate vision, build community, and accomplish change (Alvesson \& Willmott, 1996, p. 161). Thus, poor management or a lack of leadership, at times characterized as an absence of coordinated diversity efforts, is another problem that emerged during the analytic process, and made visible in diversity action plans by a discourse of managerialism. As one report states "if senior administrators lack the will to hold individuals accountable by utilizing all of the management tools (e.g., budget, merit increases, reappointment) available to them, the goals of this plan will not be met" (Ohio State University, 2000, italics added). Another document asserts "We look to the President to break the logjam holding up completion of projects too long studied, and too long relegated to a back burner" (University of Maryland, 2000).

This analysis identified other diversity action plans that observe the need for senior administrators to utilize their "authority to promote diversity and hold units accountable for their performance" (University of California at Berkeley, 2000; also Texas A\&M University, 2002). One report expresses frustration with the interim
president's elimination of "the position of the Special Assistant to the President for Diversity and Human Rights" and recommends the incoming President "designate a University office or officer to work with them in overseeing the implementation of the Plan," later adding that "achieving or enhancing [diversity] remains a challenge ... [and] requires a personal commitment by University leaders" (University of Idaho, 2004). Yet another policy expresses
surprise to discover that nobody on this campus has a handle on the multitude of campus programs that are intended to improve the climate for diversity...Nor are there adequate mechanisms for encouraging communication or collaboration among interested units, especially the academic departments. The result is that programs spring up everywhere, but most reach only small audiences and have poor visibility and little impact (University of Maryland, 2000)
"This structure," this same report further observes, "is not optimal for an integrated approach. We recommend the system be restructured" (University of Maryland, 2000, italics added).

Coordination is considered essential to good management of diversity efforts. However, this analysis revealed that diversity action plans express concern over what is described as inadequate-or sheer lack of-coordination. For instance, one report detects,

The University already hosts a number of centers of research and curricular programs whose focus is the scholarship of diversity. However, there is little coordination and cooperation among the researchers, and the net effect of all this work ... is much less than might be (University of Maryland, 2000, italics added).

## Another document states,

There are numerous efforts already in place at NC State with the purpose of improving the climate and achieving diversity. These efforts reside in central administration and the local College/School and departmental or unit level. Although each of these efforts may contribute to the diversity effort, they tend to be disconnected and many have not been systematically assessed (North Carolina State University, 1999, my emphasis).

Still another policy echoes this concern,
There is limited overt attention to the issue [of diversity] in many academic units. There is insufficient analysis to determine how well or how poorly units are promoting diversity, and there is no mechanism currently in place to provide incentives for units to enhance their diversity (University of California at Berkeley, 2000).

And later illustrates this lack of coordination, The University has a number of exemplary programs and procedures to promote the hiring and retention of a diverse faculty. But these capabilities are not widely known on campus and they are consequently not well integrated into the normal hiring and promotion practices of departments and other academic units (University of California at Berkeley, 2000, italics added).

Another report recommends breaking "The traditional pattern of committees working through the academic year to produce recommendations that may or may not receive the attention of appropriate leaders at some unknown point in the future" (University of Nevada, 2002). Finally, one diversity action plan states,

Nearly all organizations, including institutions of higher education have adopted goals which indicate diversity is important for achievement of the university's mission. Few, however, have followed rhetoric with action, which requires full commitment by the institution's leadership and full accountability (North Carolina State University, 1999, italics added).

Attention to accountability-or rather, the lack thereof-also emerged during the analytic process as a problem, made visible by a discourse of managerialism. Numerous diversity action plans are critical that "There is no accountability for lack of progress in implementing diversity on our campus" (University of Maryland, 2000; also North Carolina State University, 1999; Ohio State University, 2000; Pennsylvania State University, 2004; University of California at Berkeley, 2000; University of Wisconsin, 1999). The one institution in this sample that issued two diversity action plans in a fiveyear period makes no mention of accountability in its first report (University of Maine, 1999); however, it delineates numerous statements regarding accountability in its second report (University of Maine, 2003). In particular, this document observes,

Probably the greatest impediment to the implementation of the Diversity Action Plan continues to be a diffusion of responsibility and accountability for diversity efforts. ... While opportunities for participation in these efforts abound, accountability for progress toward diversity goals is limited. There are very few positive or negative consequences for doing or not doing diversity work. This accountability problem has been addressed in [this report] (University of Maine, 2003, italics added).

At another institution that expects departments to prepare "Diversity Accountability and Implementation Plans" (DAIPs), the diversity action plan describes the "utter ineffectiveness" in their use, elaborating that

Every administrator with whom we discussed the DAIPs expressed frustration that these reports represented a lot of bureaucratic paperwork, but seemed to end up nowhere. We confirmed this: the collection of so much statistical data alone would take any department many worker-hours to gather. However, what happens with these reams of data is unclear. How they are digested and evaluated is unclear. What actions are taken on the basis of the data-gathering is unclear (University of Maryland, 2000).

## Solutions

This analysis of the diversity action plans revealed several solutions, made visible by the discourse of managerialism. In particular, policies purport to resolve the "diversity challenge" through efficient management; enhanced coordination of diversity efforts; improvement of processes, procedures, and practices; routinization of assessment and evaluation; establishing mechanisms for quality assurance; and embedding accountability into the system to ensure progress and success. Central to the achievement of these recommendations and to the realization of diversity goals in general is better management. In this section, I will describe each of the solutions named here, with supporting evidence from the data.

Analysis identified assurances of better management evident in both the identification and appointment of an individual who will "have a specialist's knowledge of the research on diversity, a track record of successful implementation of diversity
programs, and, of course, the clout to hold others accountable" (University of Maryland, 2000; also Cornell University, 2004; Pennsylvania State University, 2004; University of California at Berkeley, 2000; University of Georgia, 2002; University of Idaho, 2004; University of Illinois, 2002; University of Maine, 2003; University of Wisconsin, 1999) and through organizational change that enhances and facilitates coordinated and collaborative diversity efforts, as exemplified by this quote:

Create a UA diversity resource office and clearinghouse staffed to coordinate, maintain, and assess certain diversity initiatives; research best practices; provide assistance and collaboration; provide "diversity facilitation"; and centralize diversity efforts by gathering and maintaining a knowledge base and inventory of all UA diversity-related programs, resources, and initiatives (University of Arizona, 2003; also Cornell University, 2004; Pennsylvania State University, 2004; Texas A\&M University, 2002; University of Georgia, 2002; Virginia Tech University, 2000).

If quality is a central value in the discourse of excellence, then quality assurance is a core value in the discourse of managerialism. These assurances are evident during the analytic process in calls for systematic routinization of diversity efforts. As exemplified by one diversity action plan: "'What gets measured gets done’ becomes the motto for executing a plan" (Auburn University, 2004). One report recommends "Collect and organize data to create databases in order to systematically and effectively assess progress and align/realign programs to achieve diversity goals....The creation of these databases is essential in order to mark progress over time in achieving greater diversity" (Ohio State University, 2000). Another document suggests,

Update and institutionalize an initial diversity assessment and establish a continuous improvement process, characterized by periodic faculty, staff, and student surveys; diversity programs inventories; and other assessments that provide information on areas needing improvement and areas of success (Virginia Tech University, 2000, italics added).

Another policy advises, Monitor progress... Collect and organize data to systematically and effectively assess diversity progress in all units ...Ensure all annual reviews of administrators, deans, unit heads, faculty, managers and supervisors include diversity expectations, documentation of progress toward diversity goals, and rewards and recognition for progress toward achieving diversity goals (University of Idaho, 2004, italics added).

Still another document identifies "success" as a factor to be "considered in annual evaluations of key administrators" adding that an oversight committee should be appointed by the president to "Monitor the collection of data to chart progress made on the meeting of diversity goals" and "Foster collaboration and coordination between the various initiatives" among other duties (Ohio State University, 2000). Finally, a diversity action plan notes "program directors must identify measurable outcomes that constitute success and then track these outcomes among students who participate in their programs" (Pennsylvania State University, 2004).

A predominant solution that emerged from coding is accountability. Analysis identified accountability as a key mechanism by which diversity action plans profess to achieve diversity goals-or rather, monitor progress toward the achievement of stated
goals. Its absence is a problem (discussed above); yet, analysis also revealed it remains a panacea for failed progress in the achievement of diversity goals. For instance, one report recommends "Assign accountability to achieve the progress envisioned in this action plan" (Ohio State University, 2000; also Oklahoma State University, 2004; Pennsylvania State University, 2004; University of California at Berkeley, 2000; University of Idaho, 2004; University of Maine, 2003). Another report maintains "that an institutional plan is needed in which people are held accountable. Otherwise we guarantee the status quo" (University of Connecticut, 2002). This same document later portends "If we are going to reflect the population - three years or thirty years from now - we have to plan to get there. ... We must establish metrics, an objective system of accountability" (University of Connecticut, 2002). Yet another policy observes the need to "more effectively hold individuals throughout the campus accountable... for progress made in advancing [diversity] goals" (University of California at Berkeley, 2000). Still another report professes to "create a work environment where administrators are held accountable for cultivating a diverse workforce" (North Carolina State University, 1999). Another diversity action plan states "The entire campus community must assume responsibility for advancing the university's goal of increasing diversity... and all senior level administrators must be held accountable for progress (or lack thereof) made in advancing the goals of increasing diversity and changing the campus climate to a more inclusive and supportive one" (Ohio State University, 2000). Yet another diversity action plan observes,

As we move progressively forward implementing the plan's strategic recommendations, the document will squarely beam the accountable spotlight on
individuals and units who are ultimately responsible for meeting the diversity challenge at Auburn. ... Without accountability, only those individuals who due to their own personal beliefs will proactively drive initiatives which will yield a more inclusive climate (Auburn University, 2004, italics added).
"Using all available management tools," one diversity action plan states the need to "hold each administrator and unit accountable for progress in implementing their action plans and contributing to progress with regard to the University's diversity goals, making clear the expectations and consequences" (Ohio State University, 2000). Finally, one report credits accountability as a reason for the institution's success in achieving diversity goals: "One of the reasons for Virginia Tech’s success to date is our ability to be thoughtful about what we want to do, to take responsibility for getting it done, and to hold ourselves mutually accountable for making reasonable progress over a specified period of time" (Virginia Tech University, 2000).

Developing and utilizing measures of performance and success are also prominent solutions made visible by the discourse of managerialism that emerged during the analytic process. For instance, one diversity action plan suggests "establishing performance standards that recognize efforts to enhance diversity" (University of Arkansas, 2002). Another report proposes "Performance evaluations for the unit heads and deans will include assessment of their achievements in diversity and human rights" (University of Idaho, 2004). Yet another diversity action plan asserts "Hold deans, department chairs, and directors accountable for diversifying applicant pools and hiring decisions by instituting new review and accountability measures and ensure that performance and results are reflected in merit raises and reappointments" (University of

Connecticut, 2002). One report recommends developing a "diversity scorecard" as a means to "track the institution's key initiatives" (Auburn University, 2004).

The identification of best practices, described earlier in the description of benchmarking, also emerged from analysis as a mechanism for measuring progress, effectiveness, and ultimately success in achieving diversity goals. For instance, one report suggests "disseminate information about ‘best practices’ diversity models that other units may seek to emulate" and identify "the '10 best departments to work for at Berkeley' in which criteria devoted to diversity would be highlighted and promoted" (University of California at Berkeley, 2000). Another policy, writing about "best practices" at the university, notes "some very promising progress, innovative approaches, and effective mechanisms for fostering diversity" (Pennsylvania State University, 2004). Still another document recommends "prepare an annual report on progress toward achieving the diversity plan's goals, including strategies for addressing any unsatisfactory trends...The 'report card’ will summarize University efforts and identify the 'best practices' across departments and divisions of the University" (University of Connecticut, 2002). Finally, as one diversity action plan succinctly states: "A measure of our success is when diversity becomes a part of the everyday business of the institution" (North Carolina State University, 1999).

## The Commodity

Analysis of diversity action plans identified diversity as a "rich resource" and diverse individuals described as "valuable resources to draw upon." These policy documents assert that "diversity increases educational possibilities" and, in order to "capitalize on" diversity, they recommend to "make effective use of all our citizens" and
"take full advantage of educational benefits of diversity;" they propose the "diversification of academic offerings" and the "effective utilization" of diversity. Further, diversity action plans demand "effectively managing and leveraging diversity" to "promote the value and benefits of diversity" $\mathrm{in} / \mathrm{by}$ the institution to maintain (or gain) a competitive edge and to achieve prominence in the academic marketplace. These characterizations are made visible by the marketplace discourse and the two discursive strands-excellence and managerialism-that coalesce to produce the diverse individual as a commodity which (who) has value to the university. The commodity subject position is exemplified in an excerpt from one report that articulates the use of diversity in athletics and academics in order to achieve national prominence:

The institution long ago made the decision to recruit athletes from diverse backgrounds and cultures because it wished to have nationally and internationally prominent athletic programs. Auburn University's goals are to win athletic championships not only in the Southeastern Conference, but also national championships. Achieving prominence in the absence of diversity is just as improbable in academics as it is in athletics (Auburn University, 2004, italics added).

Analysis identified the diverse individual as useful; the institution can utilize the diverse individual to its advantage, (e.g., to advance the university's reputation). For instance, numerous diversity action plans describe the use of diversity-diverse individuals-in promotional materials to market the university's commitment to diversity and the "value and benefits of diversity." One report states "The Visitor Center should have ... depictions of people from diverse cultures in illustrations, publications, video
programs, and artwork" (Texas A\&M University, 2002, italics added). Another report echoes this symbolic use of diverse individuals in its suggestion to develop "materials that promote the value and benefits of diversity" and to "focus on diversity and multicultural images and 'messages' in publications and other marketing media" (Virginia Tech University, 2000). A data excerpt from another report exemplifies this commodification in the promotion of its diversity vision: the institution's diversity vision statement-Open Doors, Open Hearts and Open Minds—was "distributed to new employees, in the form of a bookmark, and to new students, in the form of a mouse pad. In addition, posters of the statement are displayed throughout the university" (Cornell University, 2004).

Diversity—indeed, the diverse individual—is also used as a pedagogical tool to increase educational possibilities in the classroom. In an appendix entitled "research evidence regarding the benefits of educational diversity," one report states "diversityrelated programs and courses can have positive effects on students’ learning and development" (University of Arkansas, 2002). Research cited earlier in this text indicates that students who interact during college with others who are different from themselves report positive effects on personal development. Cognizant of this use-value, many diversity action plans propose the "diversification of academic offerings" in order to "appeal to a wider audience" (Texas A\&M University, 2002; see additional cites on curricular changes in the previous chapter, in the representation section). One report delineates its strategy to achieve these intrinsic benefits of diversity: "develop small group curricular activities and place students into these groups with attention to diversity," later adding that faculty should "construct work groups in which students
might enlarge their social and learning networks to include students unlike themselves" (University of Maryland, 2000).

The diverse individual, discursively shaped as a commodity, also has exchange value, or economic value. This exchange value is most evident in linkages in diversity action plans between the acquisition of diverse individuals and subsequent financial gains. For instance, numerous reports note that "increasing diversity" is "directly tied" to "expenditures of federal monies" (Auburn University, 2004; additional illustrations can be found in descriptions of funding earlier in this chapter). The exchange value of the diverse individual is also obvious in descriptions of the relationship between diversity and a university's reputation, status, and ultimate standing in the market. Thus, the university who successfully acquires (or becomes the owner of) this commodity-the diverse individual—enjoys elevated status in the marketplace and benefits from enhanced purchasing power to acquire other/more diverse individuals, as well as other related commodities.

However, as described in the previous chapter, not all diverse bodies have equal value. Diversity action plans emphasize the industry demand for "talented," "promising," "high-achieving," "exceptional," "outstanding" and "highly qualified" diverse individuals. This demand is both within higher education-the "fierce competition" for diverse students and employees-and from the workplaces for which universities prepare graduates. Thus, in order for this commodity to have value, universities must be responsive to industry demand and produce diverse, multiculturally competent individuals that adhere to industry standards.

In sum, the diverse individual-"no less than books, computers, and classrooms" (University of Idaho, 2004) and "as important in today's world as technology" (Pennsylvania State University, 2004)—is constructed by discourses circulating in diversity action plans as a commodity in the "merciless marketplace" (O’Meara, 2001, p. 3) of higher education for which universities must compete. Strategic use of this commodity enables universities to acquire or maintain a competitive edge in the market.

Analysis revealed that the marketplace discourse does not stand alone in normalizing particular diversity practices and strategies. This discourse is supported by other discourses carried by diversity action plans. For instance, the discourses of excellence and managerialism, supported by the dominant marketplace discourse are closely aligned with discourses of quality, efficiency, and productivity, circulating within institutions of higher education and in broader Western society (Bensimon, 1995; Readings, 1996). The marketplace discourse also intersects and competes with a discourse of democracy, which I will discuss next.

## Discourse of Democracy

This analysis of diversity action plans reveals institutional calls for "inclusion and opportunity," "civic responsibility," "commitment to freedom, equity, and reason," "deliberative dialogue," and professes a "moral imperative" for "justice, fairness and equal access," and social equality and respect for the individual within a community. These characterizations are made visible by a discourse of democracy, which emerges during the analytic process as an alternative to and challenges the constitutive power of the dominant marketplace discourse and the discursive strands of managerialism and excellence.

According to Giroux (1993), "democracy is both a discourse and a practice ... informed by the principles of freedom, equality, and social justice." These principles are pronounced in diversity action plans. For instance, one diversity action plan observes the need to "Create and foster an inclusive environment in the City of Auburn that supports and values a commitment to justice, fairness and equal access, thus enhancing the quality of life for all" (Auburn University, 2004, italics added). Another report proclaims "The university can become an inclusive community that demonstrates its’ recognition of the inherent value of each of its members if it develops a culture where mutual concern leads to equitable treatment" (University of Nevada, 2002, italics added). Still another document professes "we seek to create an environment characterized by equal access and respected participation for all groups and individuals irrespective of cultural differences and, more importantly, where the multiplicity of characteristics possessed by persons are not simply tolerated but valued" (Pennsylvania State University, 2004, italics added). Yet another report states "We live in a pluralistic and global society, in a nation predicated on the political and social notion of equality for all ... Our lives are intertwined... our diversity is our strength, that in fact it is our greatest commonality" adding that the university must prepare "our students to be enlightened citizens in the pluralistic and globally interdependent world of tomorrow" (University of Connecticut, 2002, italics added). Another report emphasizes "the university's commitment to diversity and globalization by encouraging a campus climate that values and nurtures collegiality, diversity, pluralism, and the uniqueness of the individual within our state, nation, and the
world" (Texas A\&M University, 2002, italics added). Finally, one diversity action plan states,

The UI supports and promotes diversity because it acknowledges the important civic role it must play in the preparation of an educated citizenry and the next generation of leaders. For the United States to be an effective and vital democracy meaningful participation and practice of deliberative dialogue between and among all segments of society must be practiced and a sense of civic responsibility must exist among its entire people. The UI has a responsibility to help instill, nourish and model such attributes. The integrity and stability of the democracy depends on ensuring that the communities in which people live are fair and just (University of Idaho, 2004, italics added).

Equality-a cornerstone of democracy-emerges during analysis as a moral issue in a few diversity action plans. For example, one report asserts, The UI supports and promotes diversity simply as "the right thing to do" in the context of the state's and the nation's unfinished business with respect to equality and equal opportunity for all. ... The UI recognizes that historical inequalities have produced current inequalities. A level playing field for all has yet to be reached, and UI policies and goals must reflect that reality (University of Idaho, 2004, italics added).

Another report proclaims "it is a moral imperative that we provide an environment which recognizes the talents of everyone and encourages their full development" (Auburn University, 2004, italics added; also University of Arkansas, 2002). Finally, one document states diversity
is an imperative from both a moral and an academic perspective. It is a moral imperative because all individuals in the community can strive to reach their fullest potential when their identities are valued. It is an academic imperative because a multiplicity of perspectives may lead to a fuller understanding of the truth we all seek (University of Connecticut, 2002, italics added).

Democratic ideals of public, participatory, and egalitarian decision-making processes are evident during analysis in descriptions of the formation of the diversity planning committees that authored the diversity action plans and their policy-making processes. Many diversity planning committees "endeavored to stimulate an extensive dialogue," exhibited "cooperative and collaborative spirit," and represented "truly a consensus of our best thinking" (Virginia Tech University, 2000; also Auburn University, 2004; Cornell University, 2004; University of Arkansas, 2002); the diversity action plans are the result of "intense discussion" and reflect a commitment to an "open process" (University of Wisconsin, 1999; also University of Maine, 1999). The membership of the committees is appointed with intentionality, to ensure representation. For instance, one document asserts the committee must "Ensure that diversity committee membership is representative of constituent units, including students and senior administration" (Pennsylvania State University, 2004, italics added). Another report states, with much greater specificity, that "The panel itself represented these 'diverse views and experiences'--including undergraduate (6) and graduate (2) students, faculty (8), and exempt (1) and non-exempt (4) staff, of whom nine are African American, eight are European American, three are Latino, and two are Asian American" (University of Maryland, 2000). The inclusion of students is underscored by a few documents that
emphasize the need for assurances "that student voices would be heard," with one report noting "a number of students pulled together for a useful set of focus groups" that informed the policy-making process (University of Maryland, 2000; also Auburn University, 2004; Cornell University, 2004). Another report echoes the call for all voices to be heard as it proclaims "This endeavor is guided by the principle that identifiable campus constituencies and interest groups should have a voice in the process of crafting a series of diversity-related initiatives" (University of Nevada, 2002, italics added). Finally, one plan asserts the committee must "Ensure that all facets of diversity are equally represented" (Auburn University, 2004, italics added).

These inclusive and participatory democratic principles also emerged during analysis in the vision that undergirds the diversity planning process. One document writes the diversity action plan "was developed in recognition of the need to prepare all students for life and work in a civil democracy in the twenty-first century" (Pennsylvania State University, 2004, italics added). Another document states the diversity planning committee, and the university, is "committed to the principles of truth and honesty, and we will be fair, equitable, impartial, and professional" (Oklahoma State University, 2004, italics added). Still another diversity planning committee, speaking on behalf of the university community, expresses "our commitment to strengthening the University by securing the benefits of diversity, protecting human rights, promoting equal opportunity, and nurturing a climate of respect for all" (University of Idaho, 2004, italics added).

Evidence of a commitment to democratic ideals was also identified during analysis in descriptions of a university's land-grant tradition and institutional mission in a few diversity action plans. For instance, one report proclaims "In the best traditions of the
land-grant college ideal, [the diversity action] plan will make our 132-year-old 'people’s university' more inclusive, tolerant, welcoming, and abundant with opportunity for people of any and all races and backgrounds" (University of Arkansas, 2002, italics added). Another document adds "As a land grant institution, Penn State is charged to make education available to the sons and daughters of the working classes" (Pennsylvania State University, 2004). Still another report states "As a community dedicated to scholarship, research, instruction, and public service and outreach, we recognize the importance of respecting, valuing and learning from each other's differences while seeking common goals" (University of Georgia, 2002, italics added; also University of Idaho, 2004). Yet another report imparts "The founders of the university believed - and 150 years later we still share that belief - that a diverse campus is central to the educational experience. ... UW-Madison must 'embody, through its policies and programs, respect for, and commitment to, the ideas of a pluralistic, multiracial, open and democratic society'" (University of Wisconsin, 1999, italics added). Finally, one diversity action plan states "Cornell University’s enduring commitment to inclusion and opportunity ... is rooted in the shared democratic values envisioned by its founders. ... Our legacy is reflected in the diverse composition of our community ... and the depth of our commitment to freedom, equity, and reason" (Cornell University, 2004, italics added).

These "shared democratic values," prominent during analysis of the diversity action plans, are exemplified by calls for equity and equality. In large part, the purpose for diversity planning and policy development is to address inter-group inequities. These problems will be discussed next.

## Problems

This analysis identified several problems, made visible by a discourse of democracy, including: inequality, historical and contemporary inequities, and an institutional failure to be inclusive. Each will be described in this section.

The discourse of democracy emphasizes equality, justice, and fairness. Thus, inequality ${ }^{51}$ emerged during analysis as a prominent problem in diversity action plans in the realization of democratic ideals. For instance, one diversity action plan "recognizes that previous discrimination in employment based upon race, color, national origin, religion, sex, age, disability, or status as a Vietnam-era veteran has foreclosed economic opportunity to a significant number of people in the United States" (University of Idaho, 2004, italics added). Another plan expresses concern
about the real hardships imposed on some families by the State's current domestic partnership policy, which looks more and more retrograde ... [and] the clear inequity between regular State employees and contract employees ... Although these distinctions would be unfair no matter who was affected, we also point out that persons of color are significantly over represented among the contingent employees and challenge our attempts to overcome our history as a racially segregated university (University of Maryland, 2000, italics added). Yet another document asserts: "Diversity contributes to the redress of historical inequities that continue to plague our nations" (University of Nebraska, 1999).

[^42]Finally, one report states,
The harmful effects of [inequitable] policies and actions on significant numbers of Virginia students serve as a powerfully compelling reason for taking affirmative steps toward true equal opportunity both in our university community and in society at large. ...The long-term goal of affirmative action is to redress the inequities resulting from past and present discriminatory practices as a means of facilitating the attainment of equal opportunity for everyone (Virginia Tech University, 2000, italics added).

Equality as a concept has been a cornerstone of democracy; yet, this concept has been contested throughout history, and this struggle is evident as well in the diversity action plans analyzed for this investigation. This analysis revealed an acknowledgement of historical and contemporary inequalities, and an assumption that a remedy can and will be found. A solution to inequality, not unique to land-grant universities, is the use of law to ensure equal treatment; more specifically, the use of equal opportunity laws and taking affirmative action. As one diversity action plan succinctly states: "Affirmative action is a tool used to facilitate equal opportunity" (Virginia Tech University, 2000; also University of Idaho, 2004).

Analysis revealed, however, that the use of this "tool" is often characterized as a problem in diversity action plans. Consistent with popular, scholarly, and legal debate in society, this analysis identified the use of affirmative action as contested. Further, as explicitly stated in two documents that appended climate survey results in their diversity action plans, some faculty, staff, and students associate the use of affirmative action with a reduction in standards. For instance, one document reports that $94 \%$ of the population
surveyed agrees that diversity is good for the university; however other climate survey statements received far less support:

- $40 \%$ agree that Virginia Tech is placing too much emphasis on diversity.
- $56 \%$ agree that diversity may lead to admission of underprepared students.
- $44 \%$ agree that affirmative action leads to hiring less qualified faculty and staff.
- White males hold these opinions in significantly higher proportions than women or faculty of color (Virginia Tech University, 2000; also Auburn University, 2004).

Analysis of diversity action plans revealed characterizations of "debate" and "controversy" surrounding affirmation action. While a few diversity action plans seemingly breathe a sigh of relief as they cite the U.S. Supreme Court's 2003 rulings in the two cases surrounding the University of Michigan's admissions practices, they also proceed with caution, prefacing strategic declarations with qualifiers such as "by means supported by law" (University of Idaho, 2004), "legally permissible" (Pennsylvania State University, 2004) or "as required by federal and state law" (University of Nebraska, 1999). Evidence of this contestation of affirmation action, and uncertainty about the institutional use, even the availability of this "tool" (Ohio State University, 2000; Texas A\&M University, 2002; University of California at Berkeley, 2000; Virginia Tech University, 2000), is exemplified by one diversity action plan that writes in the introduction that its initial diversity planning efforts in 1996 were "amid a national climate challenging the constitutionality of affirmative action and diversity initiatives" (Pennsylvania State University, 2004). This same report later adds that its 2004 plan is
authored at a time when "regressive forces have been marshaled to stem progress." Two states represented in this sample have eliminated the use of affirmative action, though federal compliance is still expected, further contributing to confusion about conformity with federal nondiscrimination mandates, while also adhering to state resolutions that prohibit the use of affirmative action programs (Texas A\&M University, 2002; University of California at Berkeley, 2000).

The centripetal force of historical (and contemporary) inequities also emerged from analysis as a challenge to the realization of democratic principles. As one diversity action plan observes "Learning with and from people whose backgrounds and assumptions are different from our own is enriching, but given our national history of separation, it is difficult" (Auburn University, 2004). Another plan remarks

Some say that we have become a federation of interest groups rather than a union of diverse people. The reasons for this may be partly rooted in university organization, biases, and, of course, in our history as a university and a nation. Or it may be that we, individually and collectively, have simply not been sufficiently determined to bring ourselves together (University of Maryland, 2000).

A failure to be inclusive and facilitate dialogue was identified during the analytic process as a problem that undermines democratic ideals. As one plan asserts, diversity goals "can only be achieved when no voice is silenced or marginalized" (University of Connecticut, 2002). Another report is self-critical in its observation that "the committee has not had the opportunity to hear most of the many voices existing on this campus and to build a consensus among those voices for solving some of our more difficult problems" (University of Illinois, 2002). Thus, analysis of diversity action plans reveals assertions
that open debate and deliberative dialogue are critical to achieving the principles of democracy.

Unfortunately, the affirmative action debate has deflected public discourse away from consideration of the range of qualities that make individuals potentially valued participants in a learning community. The controversy has portrayed racesensitive admissions policies and other programs to create diverse campus environments as antithetical to academic quality, when the evidence in fact supports Justice Powell's assertion in Bakke that racial and ethnic diversity contribute to the "robust exchange of ideas" that characterizes intellectual excellence on college campuses. Finally, the discussion has ignored the educational value of a diverse learning environment to all students ... The time has come to return the focus of the debate to where it ought to be: how to provide a high-quality college education to all Americans (Virginia Tech University, 2000, italics added).

Facilitating this "robust exchange of ideas" is one of the solutions described in diversity action plans; these solutions will be discussed next.

## Solutions

"Inclusion," "representative" process, "cooperative and collaborative," "consensus," and "dialogue" are all characteristics that emerged from analysis, and made visible by a discourse of democracy. Various solutions to the problems that undermine the achievement of democratic ideals were identified during the analytic process. The predominant theme that emerged from coding is the facilitation of open, public dialogue and participatory decision-making. More specifically, analysis identified the use of town
meetings, inter-groups dialogue, and presidential commissions as key strategies. In this section, I will describe each, with supporting evidence from the data.

For all of the historical and contemporary inequities that operate to limit and constrain access and equality, presenting challenges to individuals and institutions, diversity action plans profess "the academy must remain free to educate all the nation, opening doors of opportunity to all our fellow citizens" (Pennsylvania State University, 2004). Acknowledging the limitations of "legally appropriate Affirmative Action and other means supported by law" (University of Idaho, 2004), diversity action plans delineate strategies to achieve equality as a result. ${ }^{52}$ Analysis identified that paramount among these strategies is a call for (more) open dialogue and participatory decisionmaking. For instance, one diversity action plan recommends the university should promote rigorous dialogue about diversity among students, staff, faculty and administration. Every member of the University community should be involved in this effort. Such a campus-wide dialogue should promote a campus culture that values open examination of difficult yet critical issues affecting the campus and society in a civil and respectful manner. The richness of ideas such a dialogue will evoke should serve the core values and mission of NC State University (North Carolina State University, 1999, italics added).

Later this same report adds,
The faculty at NC State must begin this critical institutional dialogue which will forge the agenda for change. It is the faculty who will frame the questions [and] establish priorities ... The process of decision-making should occur in a forum

[^43]which promotes open debate and academic rigor (North Carolina State University, 1999, italics added).

Another plan suggests "Initiate programs and activities which ... [create] opportunities for campus education, constructive dialogue and honest reflection on diversity. ... Create more open forum discussion opportunities for students, faculty and staff to come together" (Auburn University, 2004, italics added). Numerous plans had similar program recommendations. One diversity action plan recommends developing a "Diversity Dialogues Group which is dedicated to the discussion of timely and sensitive issues that have university-wide importance" (University of Nevada, 2002). Another report suggests "Institute 'Theme Quarters' with multiple events and organizations to provide dialogues on diversity ... [and] develop collaborative programming aimed at exploring diversity issues and promoting dialogue among people of all backgrounds" (Ohio State University, 2000, italics added). Still another policy argues for intellectual exchange across groups ... A dialogue among faculty members should be initiated in which consistent and engaging discussion can serve as a model to spur further diversity discussions at interdepartmental levels ... The Provost and the Vice President for Student Affairs should encourage an ongoing dialogue between administrative officials and student leaders who represent selected student organizations (Texas A\&M University, 2002, italics added). Another document suggests to offer "students an institution-wide forum for an ongoing dialogue about intercultural relations in a diverse community" (University of Connecticut, 2002, italics added). Several diversity action plans recommend convening regular "town hall" meetings as a mechanism for fostering and facilitating open and
public dialogue (Auburn University, 2004; Cornell University, 2004; University of Arizona, 2003; University of Connecticut, 2002; University of Idaho, 2004; University of Illinois, 2002).

This analysis revealed a few reports that recommend extending the dialogue beyond the campus boundaries into the local community, in an effort to strengthen relationships with the community in which the university resides. For instance, one report advocates for the "local community to identify and prioritize issues" adding that "It is important community leaders be provided an equal voice during all phases of any project" (University of Illinois, 2002, italics added). Another report recommends that a "University/Community Relations subcommittee" facilitate "dialogues with local merchants and vendors centered on addressing the needs of a diverse community" (University of Maine, 1999). Finally, another report, observing that "because Texas A\&M is the 3,000 pound gorilla, we may not be as friendly or as open in our communications with the local community as we could be," recommends to "improve our relationship with the diverse population in Bryan-College Station [so that together we] can be positioned as a desirable community for minorities to live and raise their families" (Texas A\&M University, 2002).

Scholars attest to the need for and benefits of cross-difference dialogue, and more specifically engaging "dangerous discourses" (Nieto, 1999; also Boler, 2004; Bonnell \& Hunt, 1999; Tierney, 1992). Yet, these recommendations to facilitate dialogue (and the potential for dialogue to be employed as a change-making strategy) are less prominent in diversity action plans than are other solutions (e.g., those made visible by the discourse of access). Recommendations for dialogue are typically a student program, e.g., residence
hall "theme quarters" or dialogues with student leaders; or a pilot program with no continuation funding (such as the interactive theatre program at University of California at Berkeley, 2000); or are a hopeful and optimistic plea to faculty and administrators to initiate dialogue. These recommendations, however, are situated in opposition to or in the shadow of calls for expert hierarchy, leadership, and centralized decision-making. This tension will be discussed later in this chapter.

Another strategy for achieving one's vision of equality, fairness, and social justice that emerged from analysis is the use of presidential commissions ${ }^{53}$ to document the status and address the concerns of identity-based groups. Many institutions in this sample had one or more presidential commissions prior to the drafting of a diversity action plan. These serve as a mechanism by which to "initiate and sustain a dialogue around the value of diversity and multiculturalism within the university community" (Virginia Tech University, 2000, italics added). A few reports recommend the creation of one or more such groups. For instance, one report recommends the formation of a

Task Force on the Status of LGBT People [which] would say powerfully to the LGBT student/faculty/staff community that the University cares about its needs and that it is willing to engage in the investigation of those needs and provide the support essential to create an environment in which LGBT people will thrive (University of Illinois, 2002).

[^44]The unique role of these presidential commissions is exemplified by this data excerpt. In part advisory to the President, in part advocacy groups for their constituencies, their role is ...to serve as a mechanism for their faculty, staff, and student constituencies to make their concerns known at the highest levels of administration, and the reverse--for the administration to gather information that might guide the administration in setting policy or implementing programs. But the Commissions do not themselves set policy or establish programs; members of the Commission have no power to assure adherence to campus equity policies; ... They [Presidential Commissions] are more like "grass-roots" organizations, and their value lies exactly in their independence from the administration (University of Maryland, 2000, italics added).

This analysis identified presidential commissions as a symbol of alliance and solidarity and possessing the potential for collective change-making action. As one report notes "each of the organizations [presidential commissions] ... will strive to model the importance and viability of alliances" (University of Nevada, 2002, italics added). Other reports echo this call for and recognition of the importance of working and standing together. For example, one report proclaims "there is a commonality that comes from working together to effect constructive change" (University of Connecticut, 2002). Another document argues "Collaboration between all of the units within the university will help to make the goals of these plans reality" (Texas A\&M University, 2002). Similarly, another report argues for "long-term, sustainable collaborative projects that promote positive and supportive relationships between students and individuals from majority, underrepresented, and international groups" adding that this goal will be
achieved through the "Establishment of at least one new strategic alliance" (Virginia Tech University, 2000, italics added). Yet another report indicates their goal for a "diverse community" will be realized if "the entire university community [works] toward supporting the institutional changes envisioned in on-going UW System and Regent edicts, UW-Madison campus initiatives, and grassroots actions by faculty, students and staff" (University of Wisconsin, 1999, italics added). Finally, one diversity action plan writes,

We recognize that changing these [employee benefit] policies is beyond the President's power, but we nonetheless urge the President to press the Board of Regents to address these concerns. Articulating this position publicly will make clear that the campus stands together in support of all its members (University of Maryland, 2000, italics added).

## Change Agent

"Working together," "the right thing to do," "collaborative spirit," "alliance," and "grassroots action" are all characteristics made visible by the discourse of democracy that constructs an individual as a change agent. The following excerpt from one diversity action plan serves to illustrate the emancipatory aim of the change agent:

Through the efforts of one of the university's student-elected trustees, the university has also established a collaborative class on race that is intended for first- and second-year students, focusing on race in America and at Cornell, and discussing topics such as the concept of race, the social dynamics of race, the politics of race, and race and culture (Cornell University, 2004, my emphasis).

Another diversity action plan describes
a coalition of Penn State students, who referred to themselves as "the Village," [and] called for the Penn State administration to take a more aggressive and proactive stance in combating hate and improving race relations at the University. The administrators agreed that new initiatives needed to be put into place and approved a new "Plan to Enhance Diversity" (Pennsylvania State University, 2004).

Change-making possibilities exist within both the individual and the collective. As the quotes above illustrate change can be inspired and enacted "through the efforts of one" or through a coalition.

Further, the change agent subject position is not solely inhabited by or available to the diverse individual. To the contrary, in keeping with the democratic ideal of equality, all individuals are invited to assume the change agent subject position. As one diversity action plan broadly states: "Be a catalyst for systemic change regarding the value of diversity" (Oklahoma State University, 2004). In another report, the Chancellor, in the document's introduction, states "it is now up to us to choose some portion of the plan to which we can each commit our own efforts" (University of Wisconsin, 1999). The Associate Vice Chancellor, later in this same report, adds "with everyone pitching in, we can continue to make good progress in providing a diversity of individuals, perspectives and experiences that will enrich the quality of education and the educational experience for everyone on this campus" (University of Wisconsin, 1999). Preceding a lengthy list of opportunities for students, faculty, staff, and alumni to be involved in the implementation
of the diversity action plan, this same document asserts:
Every one of our faculty, students, academic and classified staff is invited to take responsibility for building a community that truly welcomes and values diversity. To achieve a campus respectful of difference, no person can "pass the buck." Every person on campus should be involved (University of Wisconsin, 1999). Yet, analysis revealed that this call for individual and collective initiative and action to enact change is often juxtaposed, at times in the same stretch of text, with characterizations made visible by managerial and marketplace discourses. For example, one document hints at grassroots initiative when it states "Within several colleges there is some movement to incorporate relevant diversity issues, topics, and perspectives throughout the curriculum" (Pennsylvania State University, 2004, italics added). However, in the next sentence this "movement" is elevated to "best practices" as the diversity action plan promote innovation and inspire an entrepreneurial spirit.

One such initiative cited in the best practices is the Curriculum Infusion Project undertaken by the College of Agricultural Sciences in cooperation with the Office of the Vice Provost for Educational Equity to analyze and enhance diversity content in classes throughout the college curriculum. ... However, there is continued opportunity for expanding and strengthening curricular integration approaches, especially in upper level and graduate courses (Pennsylvania State University, 2004).

The above data excerpt serves to illustrate contradictions produced by competing discourses-the discourse of democracy and the marketplace discourse-carried by diversity action plans. Further, the dominance and greater weight of the marketplace
discourse likely undermines the change-making possibilities of the discourse of democracy. Next, I will elaborate on the tension evident between these discourses.

## Competing Discourses

When the discourses of democracy and the marketplace coalesce, images of the change agent, possessing individual and collective capacity to act and strategize for change, give way to images of an entrepreneur, encouraged and rewarded for individual initiative and the development of innovative programs that ensure the university a competitive edge in the market. The use of incentives and rewards described in diversity action plans serve to encourage entrepreneurial endeavors rather than (individual and structural) change-making efforts. For example, one diversity action plan recommends that "The Deans and Academic Affairs will provide incentives to units that successfully diversify their staffs. Incentives could include enhanced equipment funds or enhanced travel funds" (University of Nebraska, 1999). Another report proposes

Units be rewarded that have demonstrated success in enhancing faculty/staff diversity. For example, academic units successful in recruiting women and minority faculty could receive additional faculty lines or budgetary resources from the campus ... to cover the first two years of faculty salary for new hires, permitting them to use theses funds for other needs (University of California at Berkeley, 2000).

The dominance of the marketplace discourse gives rise to a competitive, rather than a collaborative ethos. The democratic ideals of public, participatory, and egalitarian processes (made visible by a discourse of democracy) are co-opted by managerial principles of efficiency, productivity, and accountability (produced by discourse of
managerialism, supported by a dominant marketplace discourse). As one diversity action plan boasts "One of the strongest aspects of Penn State's diversity progress is a system of accountability that is comprehensive, participatory, and public" (Pennsylvania State University, 2004).

The grassroots, bottom-up activism is eclipsed by top-down, expert hierarchy. The strongest evidence for this is the use of presidential commissions, described in most reports, to "initiate and sustain a dialogue around the value of diversity" (Virginia Tech University, 2000). While the intentions in their use are democratic—facilitate a robust exchange of ideas—presidential commissions are elitist by definition; membership is rarely open to the campus community, instead representatives are appointed by a senior administrator. Consequently, achievement of democratic ideals of deliberative dialogue and social equality are compromised by situating "grass-roots" activism in entities that are not open to the public, reside within central administration, and "have no power to assure adherence to campus equity policies" (University of Maryland, 2000, italics added).

The discourse of democracy stresses open, public dialogue and decentralized (decentered) communication processes, whereas a discourse of managerialism calls for centralized, hierarchical communication. For instance, one report observes: "diversity fosters inclusiveness, encourages the exchange of new ideas, improves decision-making, and broadens the scope of problem solving" only later to recommend that "Communications regarding diversity objectives will come directly from Central Administration and/or campus Chancellors to the campuses" (University of Nebraska, 1999). Another diversity action plan strives "to strike a balance between centralized
activities where collaboration and efficiency are maximized.... For this structure to operate optimally, we must ... enhance coordination between centralized and decentralized units" (Pennsylvania State University, 2004). Finally, one document suggests "Promote and encourage participatory decision-making by soliciting, respecting, and thoughtfully considering the contributions of faculty, students, staff, administrators, and all segments of the broader community" (University of Idaho, 2004, italics added). Yet, this same report may undermine the goal of openness in participatory decisionmaking when it asserts "provide an administrative structure that assumes a leadership role in promoting, funding, coordinating, and monitoring diversity efforts in all areas of university life" and states that "standard qualifications for all leadership positions" must be "demonstrated skills in managing diversity" (University of Idaho, 2004, italics added).

These examples illustrate contradictions produced through multiple and competing discourses carried by diversity action plans. The diverse individual situated as a commodity, a subject position produced by the marketplace discourse, is used strategically by the university to achieve institutional effectiveness, quality, and excellence, in order to acquire or maintain one's reputation and competitive edge in the academic marketplace. In stark contrast, the change agent, an identity produced by a discourse of democracy, empowers diverse individuals to contest and resist normalizing powers, and actively construct alternatives (Giroux, 1993). However, the dominance of the marketplace discourse may (unintentionally) undermine the change-making possibilities of the discourse of democracy. The competing discourses carried by diversity action plans may situate the change agent as a resource to be exploited for what is "good" and "common" and "shared" and "normal" (Carlson \& Apple, 1998, p. 13) and
may inspire entrepreneurial endeavors that respond to market demand and serve the institution, more often than change-making activism that challenges the status quo. In the next chapter, I offer my interpretations of the findings described in chapters four and five and examine the implications of these findings for equity policy-making efforts in higher education.

## CHAPTER VI: DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

This chapter presents a discussion of my analysis of the discursive framing of diversity in 21 diversity action plans produced at 20 U.S. land-grant universities. Here, I extend an interpretive discussion of the findings described in the two previous chapters, and offer some new ways of thinking about diversity and community in higher education. I draw recommendations for future research, implications for higher education practitioners, especially for policy-makers, from the discussion. Finally, I will provide some personal reflections with regard to this study and offer some concluding remarks. Summary of Findings

Guided by the research questions outlined in chapter one, the goal of this investigation was to understand how university diversity policies frame ideas about diversity and what realities are produced by the discourses carried in these documents. Through my analysis of the 21 diversity action plans issued between 1999 and 2004 at 20 land-grant universities, I was able to examine:

- problems and solutions related to diversity described in diversity action plans;
- predominant images of diversity that emerged from the diversity action plans;
- the discourses employed to shape these problems, solutions, and images; and
- the subject positions constructed by these discourses.

Described in chapters four and five, this investigation employed policy discourse analysis to investigate the construction of problems, solutions, and images of diversity in diversity action plans. I will provide a brief summary of the findings in relation to the research questions.

As described in chapter four, analysis of 21 diversity action plans reveals a dominant discourse of access, evident in attention to and improvement of recruitment, retention, and advancement practices to enhance the entrée and representation, and create a campus culture affirming of diverse individuals (see Table 6.1). Analysis identified three distinct strands within the access discourse: a discourse of entrée, evident in calls for diverse persons to be permitted to enter and participate in the university; a discourse of representation, apparent in attention to greater involvement, full participation, and increased retention and advancement; and a discourse of affirmation, visible in calls for diverse persons to be valued, welcomed, and celebrated by the campus culture. These discourses coalesce to produce the diverse individual as an outsider to the university, particular arenas within the institution, and the dominant culture.

Table 6.1

Summary of Findings: Discourses of Access

| What discourses are employed? | How are problems represented? | How are solutions represented? | What are predominant images? |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| DISCOURSE OF Access | - Significant barriers to entrance and advancement <br> - Discriminatory practices <br> - Obstacles to full participation | - Increase the presence and prevalence of diverse individuals <br> - Remove obstacles and barriers <br> - Redress inequities | Outsider <br> "excluded" <br> "marginalized" <br> "under-represented" <br> "unwelcome" <br> "hardly noticeable" |

Table 6.1, continued

| Discourse of Entrée | ```- Poor selection processes - Ineffective and inequitable recruitment practices and processes - Untrained search committees - Limited pool of candidates and difficulty attracting diverse persons - Inadequate compensation and benefits - Inaccessible facilities``` | -Improve recruitment and selection processes (e.g., advertising, strategic hiring) <br> - Improve search committees <br> - Identify diverse pools (e.g., precollege programs, partnerships with MSIs) <br> - Strategic use of funding (e.g., scholarships, wages) <br> - Accessible facilities | "inaccessible" <br> "lack of applicants" <br> "difficulty attracting minorities" <br> "relatively few" <br> "inability to recruit and hire minorities" "excluded or routinely limited" "eliminate barriers and obstacles" "feed the pipeline" |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Discourse of Representation | - Inadequate representation, supported with quantifiable data; <br> - Poor recruitment; attrition; <br> - Slow to no advancement; <br> - Gaps in curriculum | - Increase numbers, especially leadership <br> - Improve retention (e.g., through mentoring, professional development) <br> - Revise policies <br> - "Infuse diversity into the curriculum" | ```"women are not well represented" "women and minorities are under-represented" "remain hardly noticeable" "increase prevalence" "widen the net"``` |
| Discourse of Affirmation | - "chilly" climate <br> - Exclusionary messages and symbols (e.g., mascot, traditions, segregated past) | - Profess commitment to diversity <br> - Create recognition and awards ceremonies; host cultural celebrations <br> - Develop resource office <br> - Deliver education and training <br> - Conduct climate surveys | "(un)welcome" <br> "(under)valued" <br> "(un)appreciated" <br> "(dis)respect" <br> "celebrate" <br> "recognize" <br> "honor" <br> "exclude" "include" |

Also described in chapter four, analysis revealed descriptions of diverse individuals as at-risk for educational failure before entering institutions of higher education, and remaining at-risk once a member of the university-at-risk for educational failure, non-promotion, no advancement, no tenure, attrition, discrimination, and harassment, among other things. These characterizations are made visible by a discourse of disadvantage, along with a discursive strand of discrimination that constructs the diverse individual as an at-risk victim (see Table 6.2). Framed in this way, differences in educational outcomes are generally attributed to lack of academic preparation, deficiencies in skills, and inadequate support. The diverse individual, discursively constituted as at-risk before and after entering the university, is also dependent on the university—represented by an administration that is predominantly white and male-for access to and success in higher education, as well as for remediation, skill development, safety and support.

Table 6.2
Summary of Findings: Discourses of Disadvantage

| What discourses are employed? | How are problems represented? | How are solutions represented? | What are predominant images? |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| DISCOURSE OF Disadvantage | - Educational failure <br> - Non-promotion, no advancement, no tenure <br> - Inadequate and unequal compensation and benefits | - Offer summer programs to compensate for deficiencies <br> - Professional development <br> - Create mentoring programs <br> - Offer financial aid, scholarships <br> - Ensure salary equity | At-risk "economically disadvantaged" "academically under-prepared" "needy" |
| Discourse of Discrimination | - Isolation and oppression <br> - Historic and contemporary discrimination <br> - Hate crimes <br> - Harassment <br> - Bias <br> - Unfair treatment | - Eliminate unfair practices and policies <br> - Offer support services (e.g., ombuds) <br> - Deliver training and education <br> - Facilitate intergroup dialogue | Victim <br> "unsafe" <br> "abused" <br> "silenced" <br> "insulted" <br> "harassed" <br> "targeted groups" <br> "discriminated against" <br> "threatened" |

As described in chapter five, analysis further revealed a marketplace discourse, characterized by "fierce competition" and "rapidly changing market conditions" and the need for "multicultural competence" in the "global marketplace." Two distinct strands emerged within this discourse: a discourse of excellence, evident in a focus on success and reputation, quality and performance; and a discourse of managerialism, apparent in the emphasis on effectiveness, accountability, monitoring of costs and effects, and quality assurance (see Table 6.3). These discourses contribute to shaping the diverse individual
as a commodity: possessing economic value that can enhance the university's status, and an object to be managed.

## Table 6.3

Summary of Findings: Marketplace Discourses

| What discourses are employed? | How are problems represented? | How are solutions represented? | What are predominant images? |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Marketplace Discourse | - Inability to compete <br> - Unprepared to respond to "changing market conditions" <br> - Scarce resources and declining public support | - Develop diversity programs with market value <br> - Strategic use of funding | Commodity "capitalize on... increasing diversity" "take full advantage ...of diversity" "make effective use of" diversity "as important...as technology" |
| Discourse of Excellence | - Overemphasis on diversity could compromise institutional excellence | - Establish and promote reputation <br> - Develop performance indicators to measure success <br> - Benchmarking | "world-class <br> distinction" <br> "prominence" <br> "high quality" <br> "prestige" <br> "first-class" <br> "high standards" <br> "exceptional" <br> minorities |
| Discourse of Managerialism | - Poor management or lack of leadership <br> - Insufficient accountability <br> - Absence of coordinated efforts <br> - Inadequate progress or achievement of diversity goals | - Efficient management <br> - Enhance coordination <br> - Improve processes <br> - Routinization of assessment and evaluation <br> - Establish mechanisms for quality assurance <br> - Ensure accountability | "efficiency" <br> "productivity" <br> "accountability" <br> "coordination" <br> "managing and <br> leveraging <br> diversity" <br> "effective <br> utilization" of diversity |

Analysis revealed a discourse of democracy, evident in calls for inclusion and opportunity, civic responsibility, commitment to equity and equality, and open, participatory, and deliberative dialogue (see Table 6.4). This discourse contributes to shaping a change-agent identity, visible in individual and collective efforts to produce social change and equality as a result. The discourse of democracy emerges as an alternative to the marketplace discourse; however, the dominance and greater weight of the marketplace discourse undermines the systemic change-making possibilities of the discourse of democracy. Instead, out of the tension evident between the discourses of democracy and the marketplace, images of the change agent give way to images of entrepreneurial endeavors: individuals encouraged and rewarded for initiative and the development of innovative programs that ensure the university a competitive edge in the marketplace.

Table 6.4
Summary of Findings: Discourse of Democracy

| What discourses are employed? | How are problems represented? | How are solutions represented? | What are predominant images? |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| DISCOURSE OF Democracy | - Inequality <br> - Historical and contemporary inequities <br> - Failure to be inclusive | - Facilitate open, public dialogue and participatory decision-making (e.g., town meetings, presidential commissions) | Change agent <br> "right thing to do" <br> "alliance" <br> "solidarity" <br> "collaborative <br> spirit" <br> "grassroots action" |

Discussion and Interpretations
In this section, I offer my interpretations of the findings of this investigation, again using the structure of "problems," "solutions," and "images" as a useful framework
for organizing the discussion, and conclude with the articulation of an alternative framework for thinking about diversity in higher education.

## The Diversity Problem

"Water, water, every where,
Nor any drop to drink"
~ Samuel Taylor Coleridge
A prominent problem described by diversity action plans, and made visible by the discourse of access, is the challenge of recruiting and retaining diverse individuals. This challenge is most evident in descriptions of "pools" and "pipelines" into which institutions may tap. In addition to the identification of existing "pools" of diverse individuals, diversity action plans are cognizant of the "rapidly changing demographic reality" that signals continued increases in ethnic minority populations in the next decade. ${ }^{54}$ Yet, even as they acknowledge the existence of diverse "pools" and recommend "pipeline" development, the policies decry their inability to attract and retain diverse persons.

Alongside this framing of the problem of access as "limited pools" and too few diverse individuals entering the "pipeline," are descriptions of the diverse individual as disadvantaged and deficient, excluded and below par. The problem of access, then, is located within the diverse individual, constituted as an at-risk outsider by discourses of disadvantage and access. Predominant solutions, thus, focus on correction and remediation of individuals in order for diverse persons to gain access to the university,

[^45]arenas within the institution, and to the dominant culture. Further, the diversity action plans lament that once acquired, the pipeline leaks; ${ }^{55}$ attrition rates for diverse individuals exceed the "norm." These outsiders struggle and strive to achieve insider status; yet, they are also situated against the norms of the institution: under-represented, disadvantaged, and failing to achieve parity with the majority.

The dominance of the discourse of disadvantage that shapes the diverse individual as at-risk (and by implication a risk to/for the university) gives way to a qualification of the problem of access: more precisely, the problem is difficulty recruiting certain diverse individuals-high ability, high performing, and high achieving, those with little or lesser risk. The policies suggest there are very few of the 'right' diverse individuals (the pools are shallow) and the competition for 'them' is fierce.

Inextricably linked to the problem of access are inadequate resources, another predominant problem described in the diversity action plans. The diverse individual, economically at-risk, is situated as disadvantaged and financially needy by the discourse of disadvantage. This image emerges in contrast with the diverse individual as a commodity, possessing economic value to the university. Concomitantly, emerging from tension between discourses of disadvantage and the marketplace are images of the institution assuming risk in its efforts to acquire this valuable commodity. For instance, one report observes: "Making funds available to support diversity initiatives is a difficult challenge in our current fiscal environment" (Pennsylvania State University, 2004, italics added). However, institutions will allocate their "very scarce resources"--to recruit and retain diverse individuals, to develop new curricular offerings, and to establish resource

[^46]centers--in order to support "diversity goals and [maintain] the momentum of diversity" (University of Connecticut, 2002). Further, the policies observe financial risks associated with failure to achieve diversity goals. As exemplified by one data excerpt: "Legally and financially, there is a significant risk associated with lack of efforts toward increasing diversity" (Auburn University, 2004, italics added).

However, institutional commitment to diversity goals in the face of scarce resources is not attributable solely to "the right thing to do;" rather, universities acknowledge the potential economic gains, justifying the return as greater than the investment. To counter the real and perceived drain on resources, diversity action plans emphasize the benefits (dividends) of acquiring and investing in this commodity (diverse individuals). "Adding" diversity infuses more resources (human capital) into the university than it drains. While some may contest this claim (e.g., resistant faculty who perceive diversity as a "compromise" or "trade-off"), opponents are usually drowned out by the rallying cries for the educational (and marketplace) benefits of diversity, especially as a key ingredient for excellence.

The linkages between (in)effective recruitment and retention efforts with (in)ability to compete in the academic marketplace illustrate the tension between the discourses of disadvantage, access and the marketplace that respectively situate the diverse individual as an at-risk outsider and a commodity—a valuable resource, possibly the elixir of the university's life, that is hard to acquire, and at times deficient. Operating at a seemingly frenetic pace to gain or maintain a competitive edge in efforts to acquire this (rare) commodity, the diversity action plans propose numerous strategies to correct, support, and accommodate the at-risk outsider. Predominant solutions, made visible by
the commingling of a discourse of managerialism with the discourses of access and disadvantage, include the development of risk factor models and criteria for improved identification of risk to enhance the delivery of intervention and support services. Yet, the problems of access and disadvantage remain located in the diverse individuals, namely in their deficiencies and how to compensate for these or accommodate them, on their disadvantaged status and how to support them. With only a very few exceptions (reported in Chapter 4), the policies fail to identify privileging conditions and practices that advantage some (namely white males) and marginalize others; they fail to question what produces a risky institution for some more than others.

Diversity action plans also describe poor coordination of diversity programs and services as a problem, made visible by a discourse of managerialism. Corresponding solutions are improved coordination, strengthening leadership, and gathering more information. Framed in this way, universities "manage diversity." Illustrative of this discursive representation are descriptions of "area studies" (e.g., women's studies, ethnic studies). These interdisciplinary, academic programs hold the promise to transform curriculum, redesign the criteria for evaluating scholarship in tenure and promotion decisions, and "engender fundamental structural change" (Hu-DeHart, 2000, p. 41). One report proclaims: "The strength of the Institute for Ethnic Studies and the Women’s Studies Program manifests the University's commitment to racial and gender diversity" (University of Nebraska, 1999, italics added). However, recommendations to realize the transformative promise of these programs include proposals for "cluster hiring," "shared visiting positions," "joint recruiting strategies," and "better coordination of priorities." Thus, the greater weight of the discourse of managerialism undermines the systemic
change-making potential of "area studies" and the broader, liberatory goals of the diversity action plans. The development of "area studies" programs creates a place to point to as evidence of diversity progress and provides a (the) source of diversity knowledge to satisfy efforts to diversify the curriculum (meaning, courses are now available to satisfy the multicultural general education requirement, and upon completion of the requirement students are assumed 'multiculturally competent'). Further, the dominance of the marketplace discourse reshapes change-making efforts into entrepreneurial endeavors. Area studies programs confront narrow options of competing for limited resources or collaborating to share faculty lines (joint appointments), office space, and fund-raising campaigns. The marketplace discourse employed to shape this competitive ethos erodes the alliances and solidarity made visible by a discourse of democracy.

The problem of discrimination serves as another example of how the "diversity problem" is located within the diverse individual. In the policies, and in appended climate assessment reports, diverse individuals are described as harassed, disrespected, marginalized, and excluded - victims. In response to problems of hate crimes, bias, discrimination, and harassment, diversity action plans propose the creation of "zero tolerance networks," "diversity advocate positions," "resource centers," "support services," and "report hate web sites." While this focus is important to ensure the identification of diverse individuals in need of support services and to develop intervention and assistance programs, it falls short because systems of privilege remain unquestioned. For instance, some policies describe GLBT persons as marginalized and targets of discrimination. Solutions to this problem center on providing support services,
tolerance and sensitivity workshops, and even, as one policy proposes, education for GLBT persons to "unlearn the messages received from society at large while simultaneously learning to be proud of their individuality" (University of Illinois, 2002). Instead of highlighting homophobia and heterosexism as the problem to be solved, diverse individuals, constructed as "always already" victims of discrimination, are situated as dependent upon the institution for protection and may likely feel disempowered.

In addition to these solutions, another prominent policy recommendation to address the problem of discrimination is to increase awareness through diversity workshops and sensitivity training that emphasize tolerance, civility, and safety. These proposed solutions are not wholly ineffective. Scholarly literature attests to the benefits of cross-cultural interactions, and the psychological significance of implementing advocacy and support services. Yet, increased awareness has not led people to challenge the underlying causes of the "morally reprehensible"56 behavior (hooks, 2000). Policy recommendations to address the problem of discrimination fail to examine the (dis)advantaging structures and systems (e.g., tenure and promotion process) ${ }^{57}$ that sustain discriminatory practices and power imbalances.

The problems of, and solutions to, discrimination are typically oversimplified and situated dichotomously. Many policies describe hate as the problem, and correspondingly, recommend for students, faculty, and staff to "be a friend to a student of diverse color" (University of Wisconsin, 1999). As exemplified by one report: "We need to educate ourselves so that we can create a campus environment that is welcoming and

[^47]healthy and that has positive and productive responses to the discrimination they face" (University of Illinois, 2002, italics added). Lost in the descriptions of problems and solutions is a discussion of the institutional factors that contribute to the production of an unwelcoming campus environment. For instance, plans are devoid of recommendations for education and awareness about heteronormativity-the ways in which the institution and its policies reinforce certain beliefs about what is "normal" (e.g., through an examination of embedded assumptions within "family friendly" personnel policies that may benefit straight women but further marginalize GLBT persons). A potential strategy for change would be to reframe the problem of discrimination to focus on the problems of sexism, racism, homophobia, patriarchal violence-what hooks (2000) calls the "white supremacist capitalist patriarchy" (p. 46). As Hu-DeHart (2000) critically observes, until the university interrogates its' privilege, "the diversity project as we know it on our campuses [will remain] complicit in perpetuating the racial order as historically constructed" (p. 42).

This proposed strategy—to reframe the problem, to influence discursive shifts must be accompanied by two caveats. First, individuals do not "stand outside of discourse and choose when, where, and how to take up particular discourses to produce some intended and predictable effect" (Allan, 2003, p. 65). Thus, policy-makers cannot simply rewrite policy by finding and replacing certain words with others, such as searching a document for "disadvantage" and replacing it with "equality" in order to shift from a deficit to an equity focus. However, individuals can be more informed and critical of the ways in which such documents are discursively constituted. Through their awareness, members of diversity councils can consider how their work could result in discursive
shifts, meaning they may call upon alternative or different discourses. For instance, in addition to the reframing of the problem of discrimination as suggested above, diversity action plans could shift their emphasis to make alternative discourses more prominent. To draw upon an example described in chapter five, the marketplace discourse undermines the change-making potential of the discourse of democracy. The latter is further thwarted by an emphasis on inclusion, unity, tolerance, and sensitivity (described in chapter four and above). Despite the best intentions of these efforts, they are likely to unwittingly reinforce the inequity they seek to change. Instead, diversity councils could model open, public, participatory dialogues and decision-making; suspend a rush to affirm and unite across difference; facilitate difficult dialogues; and "lean into" conflict and dissonance. In this way, diversity councils may inspire opportunities for different discourses to be taken up. This "strategic deployment of discourse" (Allan, 2003) can lead to meaningful conversations about the problem of diversity, enabling policy makers to disrupt the status quo and destabilize the regulatory tendencies of dominant discourses.

A second caveat is that drawing upon alternative discourses will likely bump up against dominant power structures. Fuller and Meiners (2005) describe this problem in their reflective essay on their decision-making process while writing a grant proposal. They observe that successful grant proposals originate "from a positivistic and a (mythic) politically neutral epistemological terrain" (p. 169). Thus, they determine that in order to acquire funding, they must "eliminate language that could be perceived as postmodern ... to pass with a 'neutral ideology'" (p. 169), adding that "nonconformity with no money
[is] unproductive" (p. 170). ${ }^{58}$ Individuals, then, working for social change must consider the consequences of deploying particular discourses, both alternative discourses (This policy may not be approved by legal counsel.) and dominant discourses (I am more likely to acquire grant funding.). Further, individuals must consider how participation in "mainstream discursive and epistemological paradigms" may constrain possibilities for change; and determine how to access the resources to fuel social change yet also resist the power of dominant discourses (Fuller \& Meiners, 2005, p. 174). I will suggest some strategies for practitioners later in this chapter.

The Solutions: What has been produced?
Diversity councils are endowed with the knowledge and responsibility to document the status of diverse persons, study problems related to diversity, and propose solutions to these problems. Their station within the senior administration serves to illustrate a university-wide commitment to diversity; yet, it also may reinforce inequities that the councils, and their respective diversity action plans, seek to change. In this section, I will discuss the ways in which diversity action plans deploy the use of expert hierarchy and normalizing judgments as predominant strategies, which may reinscribe the very problems the policies seek to alleviate. This discussion also offers a reply to the final research question: what realities do these problems, solutions, and images construct?

First, however, I will recap and punctuate the significance of Foucault's work (1977/1995, 1978/1990) for this investigation, in order to foreground my discussion. As explicated in chapter two, this inquiry draws upon the work of Foucault and others (Allen, 1999; Gore, 1998; Mills, 1997; Sawicki, 1991; Weedon, 1997) who

[^48]reconceptualize power as a productive force, meaning-through discourse-it constructs social identities (subjectivities) and produces particular realities. Foucault describes this form of power as "disciplinary power," because it disciplines individuals’ ways of thinking and acting through self-regulation; in part, through "an increase of obedience and allegiance" to a perceived norm, but more so through "ordering and organizing" practices and relationships (Simola, Heikkinen \& Silvonen, in Popkewitz \& Brennan, 1998, p.68). This "disciplinary power," according to Foucault, is deployed through "techniques of power," such as surveillance, (self)regulation, normalization, and classification, among others (in Gore, 1998).

For the purposes of this discussion, I define these terms as follows. Surveillance is evident in the use of experts (e.g., senior administrators, presidential commissions) to supervise, oversee, and monitor diversity efforts, and through the dissemination of knowledge by those who are senior in rank, authority, or expertise. While surveillance can be seen to have regulating effects, (self)regulation focuses on the explicit use of regulation to invoke a rule, often through use of rewards and punishment; through training, the rule "occupies" individual bodies who self-regulate and discipline, are compliant and obedient (Foucault, 1977/1995). Normalization is apparent in comparisons between "minorities" and "the majority," sometimes framed as "them" and "us" respectively; these comparisons serve to invoke or require conformity to a standard (that which is "normal"). Related to normalization is classification which is evident in the ways in which groups and individuals are differentiated from one another through sorting and ranking of identity statuses. Next, I present a discussion of the use of these "techniques of power" in diversity action plans.

## Surveillance

A predominant solution described in diversity action plans is what I refer to as the use of expert hierarchy. Diversity action plans propose the appointment of senior administrators, faculty, and presidential commissions (e.g., diversity councils) to serve as monitors of diversity efforts, possessing instrumental knowledge. This view reinforces assumptions that anyone not endowed with privileged knowledge, expertise, or organizational stature (e.g., those in lower ranks) is dependent upon those who are.

An illustration of this use of expert hierarchy is the pronounced use (or proposed development) of mentoring programs. The goal of such programs is to pair "knowledgeable" and typically senior persons as guides and to provide counsel and advice to diverse persons who are described as at-risk and in need of support. This strategy serves to help diverse persons with their "adjustment" and to ease their "transition;" this approach acculturates the diverse person to institutional policies and practices that may otherwise appear foreign. Exemplified by one report: "junior faculty... immediately upon his or her arriving on campus, [will be assigned] a senior faculty mentor, and advocate, who will offer both encouragement and useful advice ..." (University of Maryland, 2000). Another report, describing a peer mentoring program for international students, identifies its goal "to help students assimilate into the university community" (Texas A\&M University, 2002).

Overwhelmingly, the mentor is senior to the mentee (e.g., senior faculty mentoring junior faculty or upper-class students mentoring first-year students). On a few occasions peer-to-peer partnerships were described; however, these relationships are usually still hierarchic. For instance, a current staff person will be assigned to mentor a
new staff person. Each is a peer to the other, but the current staff person has greater length of employment, and thus, more knowledge to offer the new employee. No documents propose "bottom up" mentoring, which would assume that those in "subordinate" positions might possess knowledge that could benefit or inform senior persons. This surveillance, or more specifically hierarchical observation (Foucault, 1977/1995), provides for the (possibility of) supervision of inferiors by superiors (or even by peers).

A few diversity action plans consider the ways in which existing practices may benefit some more than others. For instance, one policy asserts that

New approaches to evaluating diversity scholarship must acknowledge the scholarship inherent in research, teaching, and service without relying on narrow and unquestioned rubrics. ... Diversity-related research and teaching initiatives [should] be supported and appropriately valued in tenure and promotion decisions (Pennsylvania State University, 2004; also Texas A\&M University, 2002; University of Idaho, 2004; University of Illinois, 2002; University of Maryland, 2000; Virginia Tech University, 2000).

However, diversity action plans are devoid of specific interventions to "trouble" the ways existing practices advantage some and disadvantage others. Instead, experts "clarify criteria," helping diverse "others" to navigate existing practices. Thus, the criteria remain unchallenged. Diverse individuals, discursively constructed as at-risk outsiders, do not possess the knowledge of the knower; are likely disempowered; and are dependent upon experts from whom they acquire essential knowledge "in order to gain a foothold in mainstream postsecondary education" (Tierney, 1992, p. 109). Further, the use of expert
hierarchy fails to challenge universalizing systems and dominating social structures (Tierney \& Dilley, 1998). While diversity action plans seek to contest monocultural perspectives and disrupt assimilationist approaches, they may inadvertently reinscribe such views through surveillance (e.g., mentoring programs).

## (Self)Regulation

Linked with the use of expert hierarchy, or rather Foucault's hierarchic surveillance is the explicit use of regulation-the invocation of rules-that "occupies" individual bodies that self-regulate, ensuring compliance. Regulation is pronounced in solutions made visible by the discourse of managerialism that contributes to (self)regulatory behaviors. This discourse is characterized by efficiency, productivity, accountability, and coordination. Managerial practices serve to monitor, supervise, watch, and regulate. Individuals are deferent to the authority of "superiors"-whether mentors, administrators, faculty, or even an ombuds-person, and subjected to surveillance. Aware of the consequences and motivated by incentives, individuals are regulated by others and ultimately self-regulate their behaviors to achieve a diverse and inclusive community.

Regulation is clearly evident in calls for accountability. Most reports recommend specific strategies to ensure compliance with the goals of the plan, including the creation of overseers to "monitor implementation" (University of Idaho, 2004), e.g., committees or the appointment of "someone who sits on the President's cabinet" (University of Maryland, 2000). One document identifies "specific individuals... to serve as 'point persons' [who are] responsible for taking the lead or overseeing implementation of and reporting the progress on the key strategies" (University of Connecticut, 2002). Resonating with Foucault's illustrative use of the Panopticon as a surveillance
mechanism, enabling an observer to watch and monitor without individuals being able to tell if they are being observed, another diversity action plan proposes to "squarely beam the accountability spotlight on individuals and units who are ultimately responsible for meeting the diversity challenge" (Auburn University, 2004).

A prominent regulatory strategy is the use of performance evaluations. Diversity action plans assert that employees are expected to "demonstrate helpfulness, consideration, and flexibility ... with respect to all foreign students" and their performance will be evaluated (at least annually) on "progress toward achieving diversity goals" (University of Idaho, 2004). More specifically, one report delineates elements of "a diversity and inclusiveness component" to be added to the annual performance review that includes "show respect for differences" and "promote cooperation and a welcoming environment" (Cornell University, 2004). "Skills in managing diversity" are also considered "standard qualifications for all leadership positions" (University of Idaho, 2004).

Regulation occurs on an institutional level, a departmental (or unit) level, and on a personal level. Personally it is most evident through the use of performance evaluations, which, notably, form "the basis for annual salary increases" (North Carolina State University, 1999). Through an emphasis on "personal accountability" (University of Idaho, 2004), individuals, then, are not only observed by "experts" (e.g., supervisors, senior administrators), but also self-regulate to ensure compliance with diversity goals. Regulation, requiring conformity to a standard, is linked with normalization, which is discussed next.

## Normalization

Normalization is most pronounced in the use of a "majority" in diversity action plans as the standard for success, progress, and quality. For instance, climate assessments differentiate white male responses from their "diverse" counterparts, e.g., white males don't perceive the campus as sexist or racist, whereas women and African-Americans do (Virginia Tech University, 2000). Similarly, numerous plans use retention and graduation rates for whites as the benchmark of achievement by which to measure the progress of "minority students." Normalization imposes homogeneity (Foucault, 1977/1995), not only between the majority and the minority, but also among minorities (diverse groups). An emphasis on unity, inclusion, and integration, along with the use of the collective signifier "diversity," constitute individuals as compliant with the norms that shape and define the dominant culture.

Diverse individuals, "them," are compared with and measured against a standard, "us," that is implicitly defined as normal. This "normalizing judgment" that "hierarchizes qualities, skills and aptitudes" (Foucault, 1977/1995, p. 181) is most prominent in characterizations made visible by discourses of access and disadvantage, which produces the at-risk outsider and enables comparisons to be made between "us" and "them." The use of training (e.g., professional development) and correction (e.g., programs designed to compensate for deficiencies)—predominant solutions to problems of disadvantageensure conformity to a standard "that is at once a field of comparison, a space of differentiation and the principle of a rule to be followed" (Foucault, 1977/1995, p. 182).

Throughout the diversity action plans, diverse individuals (them) are discursively constructed in binary opposition to a majority (us). One report observes: "Diversity is the
recognition, value, and acceptance of ... how we are similar to or different from others" (University of Arizona, 2003). Another documents states "the campus community [must] learn how best to interact with and support LGBT people" (University of Illinois, 2002). The solution to this us-them divide is through inclusion and integration, while affirming and celebrating difference. As one policy considers "The existence of diversity within our university community provides us with an opportunity to discover ways to integrate all individuals and groups into the larger community in a manner that respects and values their uniqueness" (Virginia Tech University, 2000, italics added). The diverse individual, then, must shed "otherness" in order to conform to the norm, "so that they might all be like one another" (Foucault, 1977/1995, p. 182). However, a seemingly paradoxical conclusion is that while diverse individuals must be the same as the majority, in order to be included and achieve insider status, they must also sustain their difference, an exotic otherness that enables the majority and the institution to benefit from their presence. This illustrates the tension that exists between the discourse of access that demands the acculturation of the outsider to an insider (emphasizing sameness) and the marketplace discourse that commodifies the (ornamental) value of the diverse individual (emphasizing difference). As exemplified by one report that recommends facilitating "learning opportunities available through interaction with international students," adding that "through these efforts, U.S. students will begin to understand the importance of having international students on campus and why they [U.S. students] should be part of the welcoming process for incoming international students" (Texas A\&M University, 2002).

## Classification

In addition to producing norms, differentiating "us" from "them" is also a form of classification. Nearly every diversity action plan defined diversity early in the document sorting individual identities in component parts: race, gender, sexual orientation, age, disability, among other identity statuses. Some examples of this classification in diversity action plans are provided:

Women are still not well represented in some colleges that have been traditionally dominated by men, and a significant disparity in graduation rates persists between undergraduate students of color and white students (Pennsylvania State University, 2004).

For African American and Latino/Chicano students, the Berkeley freshman class of 1999 was less representative of the California high school graduate population than the freshman class of 1997. ... The African American work force declined from $17.1 \%$ to $14.9 \%$... Latinos and American Indians made only modest gains. (University of California at Berkeley, 2000)

An optional Franco American designation ... has now been added to the UMS application. Beginning with the Class of 2004, we will have an indication of the number of Franco American students, in addition to the numbers of federally designated minority students, on campus (University of Maine, 2003). The one flaw I can point out about A\&M is that people of minorities (whether a religious minority, a racial minority, or a minority based on sexual orientation) are not necessarily encouraged to come here by what they see. Honestly, we are a school of white, heterosexual, Christian students (Texas A\&M University, 2002).

The classification of individuals and groups reinforces an us-them binary. It also serves to arrange, separate, and rank diverse groups from each other. As described in chapter four, the diverse individual who achieves insider status is described in exceptional terms, thus ranked as different from other diverse individuals. Some diverse individuals who the reports describe as having achieved insider status (e.g., AsianAmericans) are also classified as different. Further, the attention to identity statuses occupied by diverse individuals implies that the majority are without race, gender, sexual orientation, enabling those who occupy privileged identity categories (e.g., straight white males) to remain oblivious to their complicity in the systems and structures that produce and maintain (dis)advantage (Johnson, 2005). In the next section I explore an alternative way of framing diversity and difference. First, however, I close this section by querying the taken-for-granted goodness of most of the solutions offered by diversity action plans.

A Foucauldian analysis helps to reveal the assumptions of goodness embedded within most of the solutions represented in diversity action plans, and even the acceptance of the 'naturalness' of diversity itself. Diversity, and all the solutions (e.g., mentoring programs) recommended to produce "more diversity," are assumed to be good and valuable. Yet, the inherent goodness of these solutions demands suspicion. Who determines 'best’ practices? In what ways are the criteria for benchmarking culturally projected? How are individuals "constituted and regulated with the claims of appropriate practice and learn to judge themselves as 'good’ or ‘bad’" (Grieshaber \& Cannella, in Rhedding-Jones, 2002, p. 107)? My point is not to deny the growing scholarship on the educational benefits of diversity or the positive contribution many of the proposed solutions will have for a university toward achieving its diversity goals. Rather, my intent
is to illuminate the unquestioned assumptions of goodness and challenge practitioners to interrogate the very taken-for-grantedness of the assumption of what is good.

## Un/Doing the Images of Diversity

In chapter two, I observed the risk involved with the broad use of identity signifiers, such as race-ethnicity, gender, and even my use of diverse individuals as a collective referent. These "identity pools" (Ibarra, 2001, p. 40) collect differences like rain barrels collecting rainwater. The streams, estuaries, and tributaries of identity flow into the larger body: diversity. While the use of a single referent (diversity) for multiple identity groups is convenient for oral and written communication, problems emerge from its use. Diversity signifies that which is not; diversity becomes the one, true difference (Phelan, 1994). In this section, I discuss the ways in which diversity action plans, through their use of identity categories situate diverse persons as one-dimensional and further reinforce the outsider/insider binary. Drawing upon the scholarship of others who analyze the construction of identity, I offer alternative ways of thinking about diversity.

The diversity action plans purport to define diversity by delineating the numerous identity categories to which the term refers: race, gender, sexual orientation, disability, and so on. This reification of categories fails to contest the fixity of diversity or give attention to how groups are constituted (Bacchi, 1999; Hall, 1990); it fails to examine the mechanisms of language that position us as different and produce our identities and experiences (Baez, 2000, p. 47). Further, the reports fail to challenge homogeneity in the framing of identity.

As noted in chapter two, I view identity as socially constructed. Identity is "not simply an individual characteristic or trait but something that is accomplished in
interaction with others" (West \& Fenstermaker, 1995, p. 23). Further, individuals are held accountable to "prevailing normative conceptions" of identity through institutions (e.g., education) that contribute to "the reproduction of social structure" (West \& Fenstermaker, 1995, p. 21). The "prevailing normative conceptions" of identity that are predominant in diversity action plans are narrow and limiting. They fail to illuminate the "the plurality in each of us" (Lugones, 1987, p. 3), the "interlocking categories of experience" (Andersen \& Collins, in West \& Fenstermaker, 1995, p. 13), and the multidimensionality of identity (Reynolds \& Pope, 1991; Rutherford, 1990). Further, the collective use of the term "diversity" to represent a "laundry list of 'differences' that need to be managed" (Hu-DeHart, 2000, p. 42) renders invisible the ways in which systems of domination (e.g., sexism, racism, classism) converge to construct unique experiences of oppression for individuals "at the intersection" of identity (West \& Fenstermaker, 1995, p. 13; Crenshaw, 1991). Finally, clumping all diverse individuals into one category (diversity) maintains a focus on individual needs, rather than on systems, and consequently yields greater bureaucratization: better management of diversity.

A change in language, then, is necessary and "gestures to that in each of us which is irreducible to categories" (Phelan, 1994, p. 11). Rather than more identity categories or "bigger" theories so everyone fits, we need what Phelan (1994) calls "specificity." Specificity recognizes the individual's social and historical position, and understands "the interlocking or simultaneous grids of oppression and hierarchies" experienced by individuals as members of multiple groups (Phelan, 1994, p. 12). From this perspective, difference is not an individual experience to be remedied, but instead involves a "structural analysis of particular differences" (Phelan, 1994, p. 8). Identity is not a static
and essential trait, but must be understood as multiple, constructed, dispersed, and shifting; this conceptualization is consistent with discourse theory's contention that subjectivity and subject positions are "neither unified or fixed," but viewed as a "site of disunity and conflict" (Weedon, 1987, p. 21).

I recognize that my proposition to disrupt identity categories and achieve specificity is abstract and an articulation of clear alternatives is desirable. However, neat and certain directions for practice oversimplify the complexity of a disruptive proposition that involves "tearing down this categorical infrastructure" (Yanow, 2003, p. 207). What I can do is suggest that, from growing awareness, practitioners may engage in inter-group dialogue and interrogate the construction, existence, and use of identity categories. As Yanow (2003) notes, "we are genetically far more alike one another than we are different" so the use of identity labels creates "artificial boundaries" that may serve more as a "proxy for economic and behavioral problems...[and] continue to perpetuate inequality" (p. 211). Rather than accepting identity labels or tags without question, or giving a cursory nod to their limitations, practitioners can commit time and energy to determine who and what are served by these classifications and categorization; born out of this curiosity, practitioners can ask new questions about identity and difference. ${ }^{59}$

Notably, just changing terminology is insufficient; additionally, discussions of diversity must extend to include awareness of privilege and power.

## Re/Thinking Communities

In addition, and related to, the proposed shift in policy language from "diversity" to "specificity," I suggest that it is necessary to "trouble" dominant notions of

[^49]community. The diversity action plans emphasize "common ground," "shared values," "integration," and "inclusion." A commitment to an "inclusive campus community" pervades the policies. Through training and education-to "build a more tolerant community"-and facilitation of inter-group dialogue-to "develop close ties and an increased comfort level" (University of Maryland, 2000)—and many other efforts to create a "diversity-friendly environment," diversity action plans proclaim to do better including (adding) others to "a dominant cultural frame of reference" (Tierney, 1992, p. 50). Exemplified by one plan's commitment to move "from diversity to community" (University of Maryland, 2000), the emphasis on integration and inclusion throughout the reports erases individuality and homogenizes difference. Further, the aspiration to integrate "diverse groups" into one community will likely fall short since, as Clifford (1994) notes, groups that maintain important cultural allegiances and practical connections cannot be assimilated.

The findings of this study point to the need to resist and contest dominant conceptions of communities as inclusive, welcoming, and friendly environments. I propose re/thinking about community in higher education. Informed by Phelan's (1994) critical analysis of community, and drawing upon Huber, Murphy \& Clandinin’s (2003) concept of a curriculum of diversity as a liminal space, I posit that those involved in diversity policy-making efforts aspire for "liminal communities."60

Liminal communities are an alternative to "communities of difference" (Tierney, 1993), which some critique as a "multiplication of communities" (Phelan, 1994, p. 95). Consistent with the suggestions above for rethinking about identity, and within the

[^50]theoretical framework for this study, liminal communities are not fixed; they are not something one joins, or becomes a part of or something into which one is integrated, or to which "others" are added. Rather, they are a "process" (Phelan, 1994, p. 87; Huber, Murphy \& Clandinin, 2003); nomadic and fragmented, and offering change-making possibilities. Individuals move in, through, and out of communities; some physical or geographic (e.g., campus community), others rooted in ideas, interests, or emotion (e.g., feminist community, fellowship).

Liminal, according to Turner (1969), is "neither here nor there" but rather "betwixt and between" (p. 95). It is a "state of necessary in-betweenness" (Heilbrun, 1999, p. 98). Thus, liminal communities are "never designed for permanent occupation" (Heilbrun, 1999, pp. 101-2), but are a place in which individuals "participate in the creation of new ways of being" (Huber et al, 2003, p. 351); it is "a place of possibility" (Barbatsis, Fegan \& Hansen, 1999). Kennedy (2001) writes that:

Liminal space is the in-between space, the space between what was and what might be, where one engages with future possibilities. Its apparent lack of structure is both its strength and its weakness, a strength because of what it offers to those who engage with it and its weakness because in the structured society in which we live, there is a fear of the chaotic (in Huber et al, 2003, p. 351).

These liminal communities contest the dominant conception in the diversity action plans of communities as welcoming, affirming, and inclusive. The community of inclusion "pays attention to that old adage that we must learn to live together" and emphasizes democratic ideals of equality constructed through "that politics of polarity" (Rutherford, 1990, p. 26)—sameness/difference, majority/minority, insider/outsider—that
unwittingly reinforce practices that support exclusion and inequity. A conception of community as liminal disrupts the center/margin dichotomy that sustains the insider/outsider binary in dominant views of community.

Liminal communities provide "free spaces" (Phelan, 1994, p. 88) in which people may turn their attention to acts of relationships rather than pre-given forms of identities; to share individual histories and expectations and connect multiple communities. It is from this threshold-the border and the intersection of our individual and collective identities-that dialogue may occur; not the tolerant, sensitive, affirming, homogenizing dialogue described as important for communities of inclusion, but coming together for the purpose of understanding each other and our stories.

For diversity councils, this demands a move away "from the certainty and arrogance of knowing to the uncertainty and humbleness of not knowing" (Huber et al, 2003, p. 353). Specifically, for the work of equity policy-making groups, individuals can engage in rich dialogue to explore the ambiguities, contradictions, and tensions inherent in identities and communities. This involves negotiation of understanding, attention to silences, and will likely generate "moments of discomfort, feelings experienced as we hover on the threshold between certainty and uncertainty, knowing and unknowing as we step out of familiar and into unfamiliar story lines" (Huber et al, 2003, p. 359). One report hints at this in its description of the diversity council's formation: "we were not only able to learn from each other, but perhaps even more important, we were never permitted to delude ourselves that we instinctively knew what others, situated differently, had experienced on our campus" (University of Maryland, 2000). Liminal communities "provide opportunities to stay with the story of our experience" and demand we suspend
the rush to knowing the other (Kennedy, in Huber et al, 2003, p. 353). Further, this posits that we "acknowledge our own participation in the meanings of the differences we assign to others" and challenge the communal space that is consequently generated (Yanow, 2003, p. 228).

While I intimate steps that diversity councils and other educational practitioners can employ, liminal communities are, in many ways, only imagined, theoretical notions about community. However, viewing communities through this conceptual lens invites practitioners to re/consider and interrogate the dominant ideology that undergirds prevailing conceptions of community and produces fixed, essential cultural realities into which "others" must conform. This theoretical proposition is thus challenging to enact, for few higher education practitioners and policy-makers, especially senior administrators, charged with (or delivering the charge of) increasing diversity, will find comfort in liminality. Yet, it is the potential and possibilities of liminal communities that provide space for the multiplicity of individuals' lives, and is the place of tension and uncertainty from which we may negotiate new ways of living together.

## Recommendations for Research

This examination of the discursive framing of diversity was a narrowly focused and contextually bound study of diversity action plans generated by 21 "1862 land-grant" universities during a 5 -year period (1999-2004). The findings add to the current scholarship in many ways and have implications for practice (which will be discussed in
the next section). However, they also indicate the important need for future research. The following recommendations are proposed for further study. ${ }^{61}$

1. This study was limited to one type of institution-"1862 land grants," which are typically predominantly white campuses. Further studies examining diversity policies generated at different types of institutions (e.g., community colleges, liberal arts colleges, religiously affiliated, historically black universities, or tribal colleges) are warranted to expand understanding of the discursive framing of diversity.
2. The 20 universities represented in this study are located throughout the United States, representing northern, southern, mid-western, south-western, and west cost regions of the country, and urban and rural campuses. However, this study did not explore regional distinctions. A comparative study would provide useful contributions to the literature.
3. The reports collected for this investigation were generated during a five-year period (1999-2004). Recognizing the limited time frame, a historical analysis is warranted to examine changes over time.
4. The data for this investigation are written texts exclusively. Another proposed study could involve an in-depth case analysis of one or more universities to understand the administrative and organizational factors that contribute to the generation and implementation of diversity policies.
5. Many of the diversity action plans analyzed for this study propose or already conducted climate assessments, and some of the "1862 land-grants" not included

[^51]in this sample were conducting climate assessments, the results of which would inform the development of a diversity action plan. Scholar-practitioners (e.g., Rankin \& Associates) who assess campus climate, generate reports, and recommend interventions designed to create a campus climate inclusive of diversity are making important contributions to the literature on campus climate and culture (Rankin, 1998, 1999, 2003; Rankin \& Reason, 2005). A future study might analyze climate assessment reports and examine the congruence of findings with those revealed by this investigation.
6. The sample for this inquiry was limited to diversity action plans-institutional policies authored by university committees charged by a senior administrator. Investigations of additional equity policies developed by similarly situated and associated groups (e.g., presidential councils on disability, LGBT issues, women, and race) would be a logical extension of this research. Further, an examination of university strategic planning documents could enhance understanding about how these institutional policies contribute to shaping understanding of diversity and particular cultural realities.
7. The diversity action plans in this sample call for assessment of progress on recommended action items. Analyses of "progress reports" could offer insights about the efficacy of these equity policies as a change-making strategy and might inform future practice.

These proposed suggestions offer new opportunities to examine universities' strategies, namely the use of policy, to create inclusive and equitable climate for all members of campus communities. These recommendations for future research would add
to the growing literature on diversity in higher education. The next section offers suggestions and discusses implication of the findings of this study for practice.

## Recommendations and Implications for Practice

The goal of this research is to enable individuals engaged in the policy-making process (drafting diversity action plans) to be more aware of the discursive effects of their efforts to inform change and achieve equity in U.S. higher education. In this section, I describe how practitioners might use the findings of this research to improve their work. Specifically, I suggest recommendations for improving the practice of diversity planning councils and similar policy-related equity groups.

## Forging Resistance: Working With and Against

Audre Lorde (1984) argues that "The master's tools will never dismantle the master's house. They may allow us temporarily to beat him at his own game, but they will never enable us to bring about genuine change" (p. 112). Applied to this analysis of diversity action plans, the current diversity planning process may better serve the existing structures and constrain efforts to enact social change. Individuals who serve on diversity councils and engage in the policy-making process, then, face a dilemma of how to work within the system they are trying to change.

One option is to not work within the system. For instance, individuals who currently serve or are asked to serve on diversity councils and committees can refuse to do so. Rather than a muted abandonment of the process, individuals could work collectively to deploy a coordinated effort to contest and boycott the policy-making process. Further, the time and energy that would have been committed to diversity planning as a member of a presidential commission could be transferred to community
organizing and grassroots activism, engaging strategies for change. However, many individuals may be cautious about abandoning the existing structure, recognizing that it will not crumble simply because one, a few, or even many walk away. Thus, alternative modes of resistance must be conceived and enacted, subversive efforts deployed, and new and different uses for existing tools must be forged (Fuller \& Meiners, 2005). ${ }^{62}$ Next, I offer a few possible strategies.

One suggestion is to increase awareness of the existence and production of diversity discourses. While the discursive construction of diversity may initially appear to be too abstract or theoretical, these concepts can be translated into practice through the use of illustrations, images, and discussion of dominant narratives about diversity. Evident in my reading of diversity action plans, diversity councils typically expend large amounts of time reviewing past reports and scholarship on diversity. In light of this study, it would seem that also including reading about discourse theory and the discursive construction of diversity as background for members of diversity councils can increase awareness and provide a different lens through which to view diversity.

Another recommendation is to educate diversity councils on privilege and power through reading, training, and discussion. Such education and training should not divert attention from the material realities of oppression and disadvantage, but rather extend discussion to include awareness of the privileging conditions that construct both oppressive and empowering realities for individuals. Further, this awareness may offer insights on how discourses can both constrain and liberate. An expanded focus from diversity, disadvantage, inequality, and deficiency, to include privilege, power, and

[^52]individual and institutional oppression may also lead to a renaming of these councils; rather than councils on diversity, they could be renamed as councils on privilege and disadvantaging systems.

Another possible strategy is to change the composition and structure of diversity councils. Participation can be open, even transient, rather than convened by a senior administrator who appoints members. For instance, individuals may participate as "informants" offering stories, insights, beliefs, and even artifacts; other individuals may express interest in a particular issue or may offer specific expertise and then may adjourn from the process. Rather than operating as a "council" or "committee" or "task force," individuals could operate as a "self-organizing network"-participants decide who takes part and what the boundaries are around their activities (Stacey, 1992, pp. 183-4). Rather than naming a chair or deferring to a senior administrator, individuals could serve as "action researchers," gathering information from multiple viewpoints, interpreting the "data," and then moving to action (planning, implementing, re/evaluating).

Diversity councils could alter the approach. In their current form, diversity councils generally approach their work from a discovery framework: a problem exists out there, must be identified, classified, and evaluated, and solutions must be proposed. Typically, the councils review prior reports and documents generated by the university (e.g., strategic planning documents and prior diversity plans), peer institutions (e.g., diversity action plans), and professional organizations (e.g., ACE/AAUP Report Does diversity make a difference?), to gain knowledge and guide their decision-making. Yet, these institutional documents are only one piece of data, offering only partial perspectives. From an alternative—action research—approach, multiple viewpoints are
communicated and discussed (Glesne, 1999). An illustration of these multiple views that could be solicited will be described later in this section.

Another recommendation is to gather more information and ask different questions. One means by which universities are trying to gather more information is through climate surveys. Typically, the findings from climate surveys are compiled in an executive summary drawing attention to particular points of concern (e.g., X population perceives the climate to be unsupportive). Further, these findings usually draw comparisons between "majority" and "minority" populations. In addition to the survey (quantitative) data, the self-organizing network (diversity council) should also gather qualitative information. This provides more information and demands that different questions are asked. Further, an analysis of this information, reported in its entirety without comparison between certain groups (e.g., female advancement compared with male), may provide opportunities to interpret data differently.

## Re/Writing Policy

A goal of this research is to increase the awareness of diversity policy-makers of the discursive effects of their efforts. The use of such awareness is complicated; as discussed previously in this chapter, a discourse is not one word or stretch of text that one can "find" and "replace." For instance, a policy-maker cannot search a policy for the word "marketplace" and replace it with another (e.g., democracy) to produce different effects. As defined in chapter one, discourses are bodies of knowledge, made visible through written and spoken words, through which individuals construct their experience—not in the sense of constructing a physical thing, like a house; rather, discourses influence the way individuals act and think, and through which one constructs
a sense of self (Mills, 1997; Weedon, 1997; Wilkinson \& Kitzinger, 1995). While policymakers cannot insert or delete discourse into a policy recommendation, individuals working to produce equity policy documents can, through awareness of the ways in which such policies are discursively constituted, consider how their work could result in discursive shifts, meaning they may call upon alternative or different discourses. I offer a few suggestions.

Consider how the articulation of "solutions" in policy corresponds with the stated "problems." When I summarized the findings in relation to my research questions, I was struck by the frequent lack of relationship between many problems and solutions. For instance, the problems made visible by a discourse of discrimination are harassment, bias, racism, sexism, homophobia; solutions include to offer support services to those who are victims, deliver training and education, and facilitate inter-group dialogue. These solutions are important, but fail to sufficiently address the "source" of the problem: the individuals or systems that are discriminatory, racist, sexist, and homophobic. Examining the (in)congruence between problems and solutions, coupled with an awareness of the discursive construction of diversity can provide a different lens through which to view diversity. Employing "double-loop learning" engages a process through which practitioners can question assumptions about a problem (Stacey, 1992), and such a "cognitive shift" (Bensimon, 2005) may inspire discussions about different solutions and deploy the tactical use of discourse.

Change the name from diversity action plan to equity action plan. Diversity action plans, as they are currently discursively constituted, may undermine their own goals. The focus on the representation of differences evident in demographic (and institutional)
characteristics is made visible through access and marketplace discourses, constructing the diverse individual as an outsider and a commodity, and contributes to generating solutions that celebrate difference, expose majority groups to "other" populations, diversify the curriculum, among others. The focus on deficiency and inadequacy, made visible through discourses of disadvantage and access, constructs the diverse individual as an at-risk outsider, and contributes to generating solutions that include compensatory programs, support services, remedial courses, among others. A focus on equity shifts attention to institutional practices and the production of unequal educational outcomes (Bensimon, 2005).

Disaggregate the problem. Diversity action plans refer to diversity "problems," "challenges," and "issues," lumping together multiple identity-based groups under the heading of "diversity" and assigning concerns to all. Solutions, in turn, are assumed to apply to everyone as well. Disaggregating the problem enables individuals (e.g., administrators, policy-makers) to see the patterns of inequalities that exist and examine unequal outcomes (Bensimon, 2005). Displaying and discussing the problem in this way, enhanced through the analysis of disaggregated data, "can intensify learning, confirm or refute untested hypotheses, challenge preconceived ideas, motivate further inquiry, and provide the impetus for change" (Bensimon, 2005, p. 106).

## Dismantling the Hierarchy

As discussed earlier in this chapter, a predominant strategy deployed in diversity action plans is the use of expert hierarchy, evident in the use of presidential commissions to develop diversity policies, calls for senior administration to lead diversity efforts, and mentoring programs to support at-risk individuals. Linked with the use of expert
hierarchy are regulation and surveillance, evident in managerial practices and an emphasis on accountability, which serve to monitor and watch. However, emphasizing expertise and seniority privileges some knowledge (and people) over others. A recommendation for practitioners, then, is to identify ways to dismantle the hierarchy, value more forms of knowledge, and hear other voices. I will offer some suggestions.

Facilitate dialogue. Scholarly literature supports the benefits of inter-group and cross-group dialogues; however, the promise of such programs may be under-achieved. Practitioners must avoid using inter-group dialogue to help "us" learn from "them." Instead, the designers and facilitators of these programs must engage debate about dichotomous sameness-difference arguments (black-white, male-female) in order to "trouble" the prevailing ways of understanding ourselves and seek new language that recognizes and affirms "the plurality in each of us" (Lugones, 1987, p. 3).

Design "chaotic" mentoring programs—chaotic in the sense that they resist highly structured, hierarchic mentoring relationships that are typically established. As discussed earlier in this chapter, diversity action plans put great stock in mentoring programs, recommending that those in senior positions (students, faculty, or administrators) should be paired with those in similar junior positions. The assumption is that the senior persons hold knowledge and wisdom that can guide and encourage junior persons. While research supports these assumptions and attests to the benefits of such relationships (Boyle \& Boice, 1998; Chesler, Single \& Mikic, 2003), I recommend the establishment of mentoring relationships that are lateral (peer-to-peer), bottom up (meaning the knowledge of junior persons is valued equally and/or more than senior persons' knowledge), and "irregular," meaning design and choice is open. As Stacey (1992) observes, such "chaotic
interactions" and the creative tensions they inspire may facilitate empowering conversations and relationships within and among individuals and groups.

Listen to (hear) all voices; tell (learn) the whole story. A common aphorism is that "history is told by those who won the battles." Diversity action plans are authored by institutional agents, faculty, administrators, and experts (at times guided by contracted consultants), and thus these documents tell one (part of the) story. An exploration of the diversity planning process reveals multiple stories; yet, the university's narrative, disseminated through institutional policy and the university newswire, is the dominant story (and can even appear at times to be the only one). One university, for example, reports that its' diversity planning efforts originated with a resolution by the Board of Trustees in 1996, which led to the generation of an initial plan published in 1998, and a second diversity action plan in 2004 (Pennsylvania State University, 2004). Absent in university documents is any description of ongoing hate crimes and harassment that elevated student concern to outrage, ${ }^{63}$ resulting in student activism, and ultimately a sit-in demanding the administration take a more aggressive stance in improving race relations. Table 6.5 serves to illustrate (a few of) the multiple stories that circulated in 2001 and later in 2003 regarding A Plan to Enhance Diversity at Penn State, and diversity efforts (and incidents) at Penn State.

[^53]Table 6.5
Three Stories About Diversity

| Administrative Stories | Student Stories | Third Party Stories |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 5-10-01: University <br> administrators and members <br> of the student Black Caucus <br> came together to endorse a <br> broad diversity plan for the <br> institution on May 2. <br> (reported by the Penn State <br> Intercom, an electronic <br> news service) | 4-26-01: University <br> officials offer a version of a <br> plan to enhance diversity. <br> Student protestors continue <br> to demand greater changes <br> to ensure the university will <br> be accountable to follow <br> diversity plans it lays, and <br> to express concern for <br> student safety. | 6-26-01: For 10 days last <br> spring semester, almost 100 <br> students protested the way <br> Pennsylvania State <br> University handles racism <br> by sleeping on the floor of <br> the HUB-Robeson Center. <br> $\ldots$ the university is working <br> to put the protest <br> agreements made in the <br> spring into action. <br> (reported by The Daily <br> Texan) |
|  | 5-2-01: President Spanier <br> signs the updated Plan to <br> Enhance Diversity and <br> administrators promise to <br> provide heightened security <br> measures for threatened <br> students and graduation <br> participants <br> (reported by The Black <br> Caucus, a student <br> organization) |  |

Table 6.5, continued

| 11-13-03: Penn State has successfully addressed all issues outlined in the May 2, 2001 A Plan To Enhance Diversity at Penn State. (reported by the Penn State Diversity Newswire) | 10-31-03: A university student group, The Penn State College Republicans, hosted a Halloween party where attendees dressed as members of the KKK, in blackface, and in a number of other offensive costumes. (reported by The Black Caucus, a student organization) 12-5-03: Pictures posted on the personal Web site of College Republicans chair Brian Battagli ... show multiple students in what Battaglia called "controversial or politically charged costumes" (reported by The Digital Collegian, independent student media) | 12-5-03: The Associated <br> Press reports that <br> "Blackface photo on web riles Black Caucus at Penn State;" Penn State spokesman Bill Mahon called the photos "an embarrassment to the entire university" and said Battaglia and other College Republicans should apologize. ${ }^{64}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |

Reading the many stories and perspectives on one event develops a fuller (and more complex) picture. Yet, the administrative story (typically a sanitized version) is the dominant one, and generally appears to be the only truth. However, additional sources of knowledge can be identified and other voices should be heard. Individuals involved in diversity planning efforts (participants in self-organizing networks) can use their role and charge to uncover counter-stories; identify informants through whom to gain access to new/additional information; and re/construct diversity planning efforts and events. A cacophony of stories holds the potential to disrupt (erase) the organizational hierarchy

[^54](and valuing of "expert" knowledge) that may constrain systemic change-making possibilities.

Finally, practitioners are challenged to perform individual double-loop learning (in addition to the organization double-loop learning mentioned above). Through selfreflection and increased awareness of embedded assumptions in existing practices, individuals may improve the practice of diversity planning councils and equity policymakers. In the next section, I will elaborate on this final suggestion by engaging in selfreflection on my practice as a policy-maker.

## Personal Reflections

In Chapter Three, in a section entitled "researcher as instrument," I articulated how my personal self and professional experience informs the research process. More specifically, I wrote about my work as a higher education administrator over fifteen years. A large component of that work has included drafting and revising institutional policy. While I have never authored diversity action plans, I have written similar policies that seek to address social problems (e.g., policies on rape and sexual assault, relationship abuse, and stalking). This background information provided me with a solid foundation to begin this study.

In this section, I discuss some observations about the challenge of putting these recommendations into practice. As noted above, in my current work, I author policies and protocols addressing the problem of interpersonal violence on a university campus. This work does not occur in isolation; rather, I often facilitate meetings with individuals representing various campus departments and community agencies. People are quick to identify as allies in the effort to combat interpersonal violence; they are open to
partnerships—in concept—but cautious about making changes in daily practice; old habits die hard. For instance, a surge of energy to facilitate cross-departmental collaborations stagnates as assumptions about programs, services, and who is being (or will be) served are left unstated and/or uninterrogated. Similarly, the introduction of new protocols for responding to incidents of interpersonal violence are embraced in concept, but encounter numerous challenges as departments continue to execute old protocols. Administrators may replace existing procedures with a new document in a training manual; however, this does not ensure that practitioners' habits and routines will be interrupted.

Still, in my daily practice, I strive to suspend a rush to judgment and instead remain at the threshold of certainty; in that buoyant moment we may reconsider how we operate, what we take-for-granted, examine embedded assumptions about our work and ourselves. Such moments and conversations may generate a lot of anxiety, conflict, and even fear, and may be more likely to emerge unexpectedly rather than be intentionally orchestrated. Further, to sustain these difficult dialogues demands time, emotional energy, and possibly money. It is then, instead, much easier to maintain reserve, terminate a difficult exchange, or facilitate consensus; liminality involves risks practitioners are typically unwilling to take. So, with these reflections I acknowledge the dissonance between these theoretical ideas and the practice of policy-making (and social change). However, I personally remain committed to identifying the ways in my daily practice that space can be opened for difficult dialogues, expert hierarchy can be unraveled, and discursive shifts can be facilitated.

## Summary

This investigation of discourses circulating in diversity action plans identified dominant discourses of access, disadvantage, the marketplace, and democracy as most prominent in conveying images of diverse individuals. These discourses contribute to shaping perceptions of diversity and constructing particular social identities for diverse individuals to assume. Discursive practices, carried by diversity action plans, produce individuals' ways of thinking and acting, meaning these discursive practices construct (at times competing) possibilities and constrain, even conceal, alternatives. For example, diverse individuals constructed as at-risk outsiders by the discourses of access and disadvantage are dependent upon the university for access to and success in higher education. Also, constituted as a victim by the discourse of discrimination, diverse individuals are situated as needy and vulnerable, requiring institutional intervention to ensure their safety and provide support. This discursive framing of diverse persons positions individuals as objects being acted upon. Intersecting with the marketplace discourse that constitutes the diverse person as a commodity, the at-risk outsider appears more like a chess piece moved strategically to achieve a competitive edge. However, multiple discourses circulating in diversity action plans construct multiple subject positions (social identities) which individuals may inhabit, including alternatives, such as the change agent produced by the discourse of democracy, which endow diverse individuals with the capacity to act.

The findings of this study aim to increase practitioners' awareness of the conditions that produce particular diversity discourses and how some discourses can both constrain and liberate. Recommendations for practice delineated above offer some
specific strategies for those involved in policy-making efforts to acknowledge and potentially disrupt how dominant discourses constitute social identities for diverse individuals and construct particular cultural realities. In particular, this inquiry calls for a contestation of seemingly static classifications of identity and essential notions of community; and, instead, challenges practitioners to "unpack" diversity, identity, and community, "to discover their possibilities and limitations" (Baez, 2002, p. 152). We must then interrogate our "plans" for how to get to where we wish to be, so as not to reinforce the very problems we want to eliminate. For then, we might be able to "eradicate the punishing sense of difference" that produces and sustains inequality (Yanow, 2003, p. 228).

In sum, I am hopeful this study of the discursive framing of diversity enhances understanding of diversity policy documents, how policy discourses come together to make particular perspectives more prominent than others, how they contribute to re/producing a particular cultural reality. I also expect these findings will inspire new questions and further research about discourses of diversity, and how diversity action plans, in their current form, may (unwittingly) compromise the achievement of their own goals.

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## APPENDIX A

To illustrate the heterogeneity of each land-grant institution and provide some contextual information about the diversity planning process at each university, I have prepared a profile of each of the 20 universities in the sample. The information featured in each profile was excerpted or paraphrased from the university's website and diversity action plan.

Each profile contains (as available) a description of the university with demographic information; relevant materials related to the origin of each policy; the definition of diversity set forth in the plan; a summary of primary issues addressed by the policy; and background information (when evident) to construct a timeline of related events and reports.

## Auburn University

## Profile

Auburn University was established in 1856 as the East Alabama Male College, 20 years after the city of Auburn's founding. After 1859, it was maintained by the Methodist Episcopal Church South. In 1872, under the Morrill Act, the institution became the first land-grant college in the South and was renamed the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Alabama. In 1899, the name was again change to the Alabama Polytechnic Institute, in order to place scientific emphasis on the liberal arts tradition. In 1960, the 1,840-acre campus was named Auburn University, to emphasize its varied academic programs and larger curriculum of a major university. In the fall of 2003, Auburn University reported an enrollment of 22,928 students. Auburn admitted its first women in 1892; women now comprise $50 \%$ of enrollment. The University reports enrollment of students from 50 states and nearly 100 countries; yet, $70 \%$ of the students are from Alabama. Nearly $11 \%$ of students are racial-minorities, ${ }^{65}$ with African-Americans comprising $68 \%$ of the minority enrollment.

## Diversity Planning

## Origin of Diversity Action Plan

Auburn University found itself in the national spotlight in November of 2001 after photos of students dressed in Ku Klux Klan robes and blackface at fraternity Halloween parties surfaced on the Internet. ${ }^{66}$ In the spring of 2002, the Auburn University President issued a charge to the Diversity Leadership Council "to develop a comprehensive plan," "recommend implementation strategies," and "regularly assess" the plan. The Strategic Diversity Plan was issued in 2004 and represents the ideas and recommendations based on 23 months of Diversity Leadership Council (DLC) meetings and deliberations, a town hall meeting, site visits to other campuses, DLC members' participation at national and regional diversity conferences, and interactions with diversity consultants (K.L. Clayton and Associates). ${ }^{67}$

## Diversity Definition

Our commitment to diversity means a commitment to inclusion, encompassing the various characteristics of the people in our society. These characteristics

[^55]include, but are not limited to, gender, race, ethnicity, national origin, age, religion, socioeconomic background, sexual orientation and disability. ${ }^{68}$

## Issues/Areas Addressed in Plan:

- Increase recruitment and retention of people of color, ethnic minorities, women, people with disabilities, and other underrepresented groups in every facet of university life;
- Foster a total campus environment that respects differences and encourages inclusiveness;
- Develop and implement a comprehensive system of education and training focused on effectively managing and leveraging diversity for the entire campus; and
- Forge and strengthen partnerships with diverse communities, including businesses and civic and community organizations, to support diversity and multiculturalism internally and externally.

Timeline of related events and reports:

| 2005 (May) | Strategic Diversity Plan (revised and final), issued by Diversity <br>  <br>  <br> Leadership Council, Multicultural Diversity Commission, and <br> K.L.Clayton \& Associates. |
| :--- | :--- |

2004 (April) Strategic Diversity Plan, issued by Diversity Leadership Council and K.L.Clayton \& Associates.

2003 (Jan.) Center for Diversity and Race Relations opens. ${ }^{69}$ The Center sponsors research, conducts training and instruction, promotes public service, and coordinates celebrations across the broad spectrum of diversity.

2002 (Nov.) Town hall meeting convened and sponsored by Diversity Leadership Council, enabling members of the campus community to share comments and concerns about "Halloween actions and subsequent controversy."70

2002 Establishment of Diversity Leadership Council, composed of students, faculty, staff, administrators and alumni, and charged by the President

[^56]with developing a comprehensive blueprint for diversity across the campus.

2001 (Nov.) Photos of students dressed in Ku Klux Klan robes and blackface at fraternity Halloween parties surfaced on the Internet

## Cornell University

## Profile

Founded in 1865 and located in Ithaca, New York, Cornell University, using land-grant funds available to New York State through the Morrill Act, opened its doors in 1868. It is a privately endowed university and the land-grant institution of New York State. Today, on 745 acres, the campus encompasses 14 colleges and schools, including the School of Law and a Medical College. The University reports an enrollment of 19,518 students (13,625 undergraduate and 5,893 graduate/professional). Twenty-eight percent of Cornell's undergraduates consists of racial-minority students. ${ }^{71}$ International students from some 118 countries make up another 13 percent of the total student population.

## Diversity Planning

## Origin of Diversity Action Plan

In the fall of 1998, "there was a wave of racial harassment incidents that provoked fear and outrage on the part of students, faculty and staff." ${ }^{72}$ Dean of the faculty J. Robert Cooke declared these incidents of bias and prejudice to be "corrosive of community" and appointed a 26-member Campus Climate Committee to develop a statement on diversity and inclusiveness. The statement, "open doors, open hearts and open minds," was approved by the Campus Assemblies, and endorsed by the Board of Trustees, in 1999. The Office of Workforce Diversity, Equity, and Life Quality was charged with implementing the statement. The ad hoc campus climate committee became a standing committee of the Faculty Senate in 2001. ${ }^{73}$ Also in 2001, Cornell established the University Diversity Council, consisting of 19 members appointed by Provost "Biddy" Martin; the council was responsible for identifying barriers to achieving greater diversity and inclusiveness at Cornell, providing forums for discussion of diversity-related issues and ideas, communicating programmatic progress in achieving diversity and inclusiveness, and advocating work/life "balance" for the university's diverse faculty, staff and students. The Diversity Council published its report, The Cornell Story: A holistic approach to diversity and inclusiveness, in 2004.

Diversity Definition:
The diversity action plan does not explicitly define diversity. However, it articulates the university's commitment to diversity and inclusiveness through a new vision statement: "Open Doors, Open Hearts and Open Minds." A statement on the Cornell website

[^57]identifies "those areas traditionally considered as part of diversity, such as race and gender, but other aspects as well, such as sexual orientation, disability, veteran status, and religion."

Issues/Areas Addressed in Plan:

The vision statement, "Open Doors, Open Hearts and Open Minds," captures the emphasis of the plan: expanding access, improving recruitment and retention; diversifying the curriculum; affirming the value of all individuals.

Timeline:
2005 (Jan.) Office of Human Resources Comprehensive Diversity Plan, emphasizes recruitment, compliance, inclusive climate, accommodation, training and education.

2004 (June) Progress Report in Promoting Diversity and Inclusiveness at Cornell University, January 2000 - May 2004.

2004 (Feb.) The Cornell University Story: A Holistic Approach to Diversity and Inclusiveness. Prepared by the University Diversity Council.

2003 (July) Publication of College of Human Ecology Diversity Plan
2003 (June) Cornell Cooperative Extension distributes results of diversity climate assessment, which was conducted in 2002. One in five people are uncomfortable with the climate and describe it as unwelcoming; one in three does not believe that leadership visibly fosters diversity.

2001 (Nov.) Cornell established the University Diversity Council, consisting of 19 members appointed by Provost "Biddy" Martin, with a mission of helping to build a community, "where the attitudes and actions of people promote mutual respect and civility, so that all can fully participate in the education, employment, and social opportunities of the university."

2001 Training effort began with a series of CITE training programs for supervisors, including a diversity awareness session

2000 (Nov.) Students ask that a committee of administrators, faculty and students be established to investigate the feasibility of required course work on the increasing diversity of our population and the problems of intolerance and discrimination. ${ }^{74}$

[^58]2000 The Office of the Vice Provost for Diversity and Faculty Development was established to: 1) assist with the development of diversity initiatives throughout the university; 2) consult on issues related to affirmative action and diversity; 3) coordinate affirmative action compliance in academic searches; 4) implement strategies for the retention of women and minority faculty; and 5) assist with addressing dual career issues for academic personnel.

2000 Cornell Cooperative Extension is one of seven states initiating a national diversity consortium to build the capacity of the Cooperative Extension System, and its Research and University partners, to function inclusively and effectively in a multicultural world. Other states include PA, CO, NC, MO, ND, and AZ.

2000 (Jan.) The Office of Workforce Diversity, Equity and Life Quality was established to provide leadership to the Cornell community in the areas of equal opportunity, affirmative action, diversity, and the "balance" between work and personal life.

2000 (Jan.) Cornell University renewed its (original 1865) commitment to diversity and inclusiveness by developing a new vision in its statement, "Open Doors, Open Hearts and Open Minds: Cornell's Statement on Diversity and Inclusiveness," which was endorsed by the university's board of trustees as well as all governance groups.

1999 (Apr.) Campus Climate Committee schedules six pilot discussions across campus as the initial phase of the university-wide "Dialogue on Difference" project.

1999 Dean of the faculty J. Robert Cooke appointed a 26-member Campus Climate Committee to develop a statement on diversity and inclusiveness. The statement, "open doors, open hearts and open minds," was approved by the Campus Assemblies, and endorsed by the Board of Trustees, in 1999. The Office of Workforce Diversity, Equity, and Life Quality was charged with implementing the statement.

1998 (fall) There were a series of emails, threatening phone calls and incidents of physical intimidation and harassment directed at students of color. The phone and email messages contained racial and sexual slurs urging students to leave Cornell. On November 2 a fire of unknown origin was discovered at 1:00am on the exterior wall of Akwe:kon, the American Indian Program living-learning center. ${ }^{75}$

[^59]The Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender (LGBT) Resource Center was established to coordinate the efforts of the entire Cornell University community, ensure the inclusion of all lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people, and eliminate heterosexism and gender-identity oppression.

The Work and Family Advisory Council was formed and charged with investigating the challenges faced by working families.

COSEP was subsumed into the Office of Minority Educational Affairs (OMEA).

First annual report on the status of women at Cornell. In 1979, the annual report was titled the status of women and minorities. More recently (date?) these reports have been called Progress Toward Diversity and Inclusion (also referred to as the Inclusion Report).

The Advisory Council on the Status of Women (ACSW) was formed and charged with the responsibility for making recommendations to develop and maintain a climate at Cornell University, and among members of the Cornell extended community, that will ensure equal access, opportunity, and protection for women in all areas and activities.

The Committee on Special Educational Projects (COSEP) was established with the primary goals of: 1) increasing the enrollment of African American students at Cornell; and 2) providing support services to facilitate both their adjustment to Cornell and their graduation. Later, COSEP was expanded to include Latino/Hispanic American, Native American, and Asian American students.

## North Carolina State University

## Profile

In 1887, legislation was passed establishing the North Carolina College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts as a land-grant institution; the first class (19 students) graduated in 1893. In 1917, the name of the college is changed to the North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering, and later, in 1965, the name changed to North Carolina State University. Located in Raleigh, NC, today the main campus encompasses ten colleges and schools. The university boasts 2,110 acres on the Raleigh Campus, plus more than 101,000 acres in research and extension farms, forests and facilities throughout the state. In fall 2004, the University reported an enrollment of 29,957 students (22,754 undergraduate and 7,203 graduate). Nearly twenty percent of enrollment consists of racial-minority students. ${ }^{76}$

## Diversity Planning

## Origin of Diversity Action Plan

Diversity planning at NC State University flows from the strategic plan adopted in 1995. Also, NC State's 1994 Institutional Self-Study Report, North Carolina State University: On the Threshold of a New Century contained several recommendations which spurred the development of diversity planning, including that "NCSU should address issues of racial and gender diversity more comprehensively." The initial plan, The Diversity Initiative, was drafted in 1997; it was revised and finalized in March, 1999.

## Diversity Definition

Diversity is an inclusive collection of individuals and groups who bring varied human characteristics, backgrounds, interests, and points of view to enrich the university community.

Issues/Areas Addressed in Plans:

- Access, Development, and Retention
- Institutional Climate
- Curricular and Pedagogical Transformation
- Institutionalization - commitment to diversity will be evident in all university operations

[^60]Timeline:

2005 OCR investigation of complaints regarding race-conscious admission practices for fall 2005 entering class ${ }^{77}$

2005 (Apr.) The Campus Dialogue on Diversity is held to address how NC State University can better prepare to serve the growth of the Hispanic and Latino community.

2005 (Jan.) The Office of the Vice Provost for Diversity and African American Affairs reviewed the organizational structure and the needs of the office and campus community; searches are underway to fill vacant positions for the Vice Provost for the Diversity Programs and Director for the African American Cultural Center; the Assistant Vice Provost for Gender Affairs (AVPGA) position will be eliminated.

2005 (Jan.) Discussion during a meeting of the University Diversity Advisory Committee about updating the Campus Diversity Initiative/Plan. Decision made to develop an assessment plan for the Diversity Initiative and certain sections of the plan "could be updated in light of institutional and cultural changes since the last revision."78

2004 (Nov.) The Office of the Vice Provost for Diversity and African American Affairs launched a new NC State diversity website: http://www.ncsu.edu/diversity.

2004 (Fall) Sophomores complete a survey assessing their undergraduate experience; the survey includes a section on campus climate.

2004 (May) Graduating seniors complete a survey assessing their undergraduate experience; the survey includes a section on campus climate. Thirteen percent disagree that NCSU is committed to minority student success and 23\% disagree that NCSU leaders foster diversity on campus.

2003 (Spring) Publication of findings from campus climate survey: An assessment of campus climate for gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgendered students.

2003 (Fall) First-year students complete a survey evaluating the admission process and assessing their new student experience; the results are disaggregated to enable gender and race comparisons.

[^61]2003-2003 The Diversity Advisory Committee reviewed diversity plans from other campuses (e.g., Penn State) and decided to adopt and implement elements of these plans (e.g., climate survey).

2002 (Oct.) A university-wide Diversity Advisory Committee (DAC) was appointed. The purpose of the DAC is to support and assist the university community in the design and implementation of strategies that advance diversity at NC State.

2002 A classroom climate survey was completed [an online survey administered to over 10,000 students] and a major outcome of the survey was the LGBT community did not feel as welcomed and valued in the classroom.

2002 (Spring) Chancellor Fox initiated Campus Dialogues on Diversity; the dialogues are open to faculty, staff, students and the general public and are intended to promote meaningful and unfettered dialogue regarding key issues such as racism, harassment, and privilege.

2002 (Mar.) Consulting report on gender equity and work/family issues, prepared by Dr. Robert Drago, at the request of the Assistant Vice Provost for Gender Affairs. "The concerns that led to this report mainly centered on the seeming intractability of gender issues for faculty at NC State, and particularly the inability of the institution to improve the gender balance in a sustained fashion for the faculty across the various colleges and departments."79

1999-2000 Merger: the diversity functions previously housed in the Chancellor's Office and directed by an Assistant to the Chancellor were merged with African American Affairs previously led by a senior associate vice provost, to create a new office, the Office for Diversity and African American Affairs.

1995 Strategic plan adopted. Two goals in particular emphasize diversity: goal \#7 [NC State will achieve a diverse student body, faculty, and staff that better reflect contemporary society] and goal \#6 [NC State will expand multicultural and global awareness among the members of the university, in its curricula, and through international partnerships].

1994 NC State's 1994 Institutional Self-Study Report, North Carolina State University: On the Threshold of a New Century, contains several recommendations which were considered in the development of the 1999 diversity plan. The Institutional Self-Study also proposes five action initiatives it suggests NC State undertake in the next decade. Initiative 3

[^62]states: NCSU should address issues of racial and gender diversity more comprehensively.

## Ohio State University

## Profile

The charter for the establishment of the Ohio Agricultural and Mechanical College (later The Ohio State University) was passed by the Ohio Legislature on March 22, 1870, and it opened its doors to students on September 17, 1873. Located on 1,755 acres in Columbus, Ohio State was founded as a land-grant college through the Morrill Act and a vigorously debated decision to broaden the curriculum beyond agriculture and engineering led to changing the name to The Ohio State University in 1878. In fall 2005, the university reported an enrollment of 50,504 students (37,411 undergraduate and 13,093 graduate/professional). Fifteen percent of enrollment consists of racial-minority students. ${ }^{80}$

## Diversity Planning

## Origin of Diversity Action Plan

In January 1999, the Diversity Action Committee was charged to develop an action plan to assist the university in achieving its goals related to diversity and to report to the provost/executive vice president and the president. A draft Diversity Action Plan was circulated to the university community at the end of November 1999 to stimulate discussion and generate comments. The final report was published in June 2000.

Diversity Definition
The term "diversity" means difference, variance and heterogeneity. Its opposite is sameness, similarity and homogeneity. Because the meaning is broad, it has come to mean many things to different people. The term is used to refer to different religions, different social class or political philosophies, different capabilities or accomplishments, different sexual orientations, or different races, ethnic groups and gender. The work of this committee and the recommendations in its report focus on gender, and racial and ethnic differences -- the core interests of the civil and women's rights movements of the 1960s and at the heart of the subsequent social change in this country -- and on persons with same sex orientation.

Issues/Areas Addressed in Plans:

- Create a supportive environment that is welcoming for all individuals.
- Recruit and retain greater numbers of women and ethnic minorities into faculty, staff and administrative positions (including deans, chairs, and vice presidents).
- Recruit, retain, and graduate greater numbers of ethnic minority students.

[^63]- Provide incentives to academic and academic support units for developing models of excellence for increasing diversity.
- Collect and organize data to systematically and effectively assess progress and to align/realign programs intended to enhance diversity.
- Assign accountability to achieve the progress envisioned in this action plan.

Timeline:
2005 The Office of Minority Affairs launched a campus-wide survey of undergraduate, graduate, and professional students of Asian descent to seek feedback regarding programs and the campus climate for nearly 3,000 Asian Americans at Ohio State.

2004 (Apr.) Susan Rankin, senior diversity planning analyst at Pennsylvania State University's Office of the Vice Provost for Educational Equity, on campus to discuss "Campus Climate for Underserved Populations" as part of the Diversity Lecture Series.

Ohio State’s Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, and Transgender (GLBT) Student Services, the University Diversity Council, the University Senate Diversity Committee, and the Kirwan Institute for the Study of Race and Ethnicity co-sponsor an OSU Town Hall Forum on GLBT issues. The forum is an opportunity for people to express their views and concerns about GLBT issues on campus.

2002 (May) Progress toward completion of Diversity Action Plan was presented to the university's Board of Trustees. Notable, "the numbers of African American, American Indian and Hispanic students are at an all-time high and reflect an increase in minority enrollment since 1992, and first-year retention rates of African American and Hispanic students in particular have shown increases since 1997." ${ }^{11}$

2002 William E. Kirwan Institute for the Study of Race and Ethnicity in the Americas is established as one of four core priorities in the Academic Plan; it is named after outgoing president Kirwan who has been known as "a principled and staunch proponent of diversity," and is credited with launching the development of the university's diversity action plan. ${ }^{82}$

2001-2002 Publication of Ohio State's Academic Plan; it is revised annually. This document includes a strong commitment to diversity and sets ambitious diversity goals; it also established the University Council on Diversity to advise the university's president and provost on diversity issues.

[^64]Multicultural Center established to create a community environment that recognizes cultural differences, respects cultural uniqueness and facilitates cross-cultural interaction, learning and appreciation. It focuses on academics, student services, advocacy, and community development and outreach programs. Permanent director of the center appointed in 2004.

2000 Frank W. Hale Jr., vice provost emeritus for the Ohio State Office of Minority Affairs, develops a Diversity Lecture Series to generate interest and dialogue on issues ranging from civil rights to multiculturalism.

2000 (June) Publication of the University's Diversity Action Plan.
1999 (Jan.) The Diversity Action Committee was charged to develop an action plan to assist the university in achieving its goals related to diversity and to report to the provost/executive vice president and the president. A draft Diversity Action Plan was circulated to the university community at the end of November 1999 to stimulate discussion and generate comments.

The Office of Minority Affairs (OMA) was created in 1970 to provide leadership for The Ohio State University in supporting the success of minority students, faculty, and staff. OMA directly serves and celebrates the contributions of African Americans, Appalachians, Asian, Pacific Islanders, Native Americans, and Hispanic Americans.

# Oklahoma State University 

## Profile

Oklahoma State University was founded on December 25, 1890, as Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College. When the first students assembled for class on December 14, 1891, there were no buildings, no books, and no curriculum. Classes were held in local churches until 1894 when students moved into the first academic building. On July 1, 1957, Oklahoma A\&M College became Oklahoma State University. Technical branches were established in Okmulgee in 1946 and in Oklahoma City in 1961. Today, the university, located in Stillwater, encompasses eight colleges and schools, including a College of Osteopathic Medicine. In fall 2003, the university reported an enrollment of 23,571 students (18,683 undergraduate and 4,888 graduate/professional). Sixteen percent of undergraduate enrollment consists of racial-minority students; American Indian/Alaskan Native students account for half of this percentage. ${ }^{83}$

Diversity Planning

## Origin of Diversity Action Plan

In 2003, the president and provost charged the Associate Vice President for Multicultural Affairs with the development of an Institutional Diversity Plan. Supported by an advisory Diversity Board, the Associate Vice President for Multicultural Affairs submitted the plan on May 15, 2004.

## Diversity Definition:

Neither the diversity plan nor the university website defines diversity. The Office of the Vice President for Institutional Diversity does define culture as: A system of acquired skills and habits; society-specific training; the organization of material, action and tangible and intangible products of perspectives; and the group of people. Such a system may be seen to give the group its identity.

Issues/Areas Addressed in Plan:

- create a climate of trust that fosters success
- ensure inclusion in education and institutional programs (curriculum)
- make Oklahoma State University the institution of choice for diverse individuals (recruitment and retention)

Timeline:
2005 (fall) Completed an accreditation review by the Higher Learning Commission of the North Central Association; they cited some concerns in the areas of

[^65]diversity and affirmative action, which the president in his fall convocation speech indicated would be addressed. ${ }^{84}$

2005 (July) Dr. Cornell Thomas is appointed as Vice President of Institutional Diversity, a new senior administrative position. He is charged with developing a System Diversity Planning document, which will be added to the University's Strategic Plan.

2004 (Sept.) Strategic Plan, Achieving Greatness, approved and adopted by Regents. Respecting and valuing diversity is cited as a core value, and "achieving diversity" is one of the seven goals.

2004 (July) The position of Associate Vice President for Multicultural Affairs and its office are "elevated" and a search is initiated for a Vice President of Institutional Diversity.

2004 (May) The Associate Vice President for Multicultural Affairs and an advisory Diversity Board submit the Strategic Plan on Institutional Diversity to the Provost and President.

2003 (Jan.) Initiated strategic planning process.
1996 (June) Graduate Plan for Enhancing Diversity: A comprehensive approach for the inclusion of minorities in graduate programs, prepared by Molly Tovar and Wayne Powell on behalf of the Graduate College.

1991 The Graduate College established a Council on Minority Graduate Student Recruitment and Retention. This council worked during 1991-92 to develop strategies which, if implemented, would allow the Oklahoma State University Graduate College to recruit and retain a more diverse graduate student population. This effort was summarized in a report entitled Results of Survey Regarding Effective Minority Graduate Student Recruitment and Retention.

[^66]
## Profile

In 1855, the Commonwealth chartered the school as a publicly supported agricultural college. The Agricultural College of Pennsylvania broadened its mission in 1863 after Congress passed the Morrill Act of 1862. However, an ill-defined mission contributed to a decline in public confidence. In 1882, with the introduction of engineering studies and a vigorous promotion of land-grant education, The Pennsylvania State College clearly established itself. It changed its name in 1953 to The Pennsylvania State University. Today, the university encompasses 13 colleges and schools, including a College of Medicine and School of Law. In fall 2005, the University Park campus reported an enrollment of 40,709 students (34,637 undergraduate and 6,072 graduate/professional). Twelve percent of enrollment consists of racial-minority students. ${ }^{85}$

## Diversity Planning

## Origin of Diversity Action Plan

In 1996, Penn State’s Board of Trustees unanimously passed a resolution to move forward with the University's diversity efforts. The University Planning Council commissioned the Office of the Vice Provost for Educational Equity to develop a comprehensive strategic plan for diversity. The result was A Framework to Foster Diversity at Penn State: 1998-2003. In 2003, as the existing strategic plan to enhance diversity enters the final assessment process, A Framework to Foster Diversity at Penn State: 2004-2009 is being drafted and is unveiled in early 2004 to all University academic and non-academic departments. Throughout the policy-writing process (from 2000 to the present), student activists call for the Penn State administration to take a more aggressive and proactive stance in combating hate and improving race relations at the University.

## Diversity Definition:

The 2004-09 action plan does not define diversity, even though the 1998-2003 plan stated as a goal: "Work toward a concise institutional definition of diversity." The 1998-2003 action plan does provide several "descriptors" of diversity delineated in a presentation by Provost John Brighton to the University Board of Trustees in November 1993. Under the topic "What Do We Mean By Diversity," he stated:

- Reasonable representation from different minority groups
- Representation from different countries and cultures
- Reasonable balance of gender
- Diversity in curriculum content
- Climate supportive of different minority groups and cultures

[^67]Issues/Areas Addressed in Plans:

Four dimensions provide a context for the seven challenges delineated in the policy:

- Campus Climate and Intergroup Relations
o Challenge One: "Developing a Shared and Inclusive Understanding of Diversity"
o Challenge Two: "Creating a Welcoming Campus Climate"
- Representation (Access and Success)
o Challenge Three: "Recruiting and Retaining a Diverse Student Body"
o Challenge Four: "Recruiting and Retaining a Diverse Workforce"
- Education and Scholarship
o Challenge Five: "Developing a Curriculum That Fosters Intercultural and International Competencies"
- Institutional Viability and Vitality
o Challenge Six: "Diversifying University Leadership and Management"
o Challenge Seven: "Coordinating Organizational Change to Support Our Diversity Goals"

Timeline:
2004 Publication of A Framework to Foster Diversity at Penn State: 2004-09
2003-2004 With a community alarmed, the Black Caucus (student group) began talks with administration about implementing new institutional structures among students and faculty that would combat such acts.

2003 (fall) A university student group, The Penn State College Republicans, hosted a Halloween party where attendees dressed as members of the KKK, in blackface, and in a number of other offensive costumes.

2003 A Framework to Foster Diversity at Penn State: 1998-2003 is in the final assessment process, and A Framework to Foster Diversity at Penn State: 2004-2009 is in the initial works.

2003 The Office of the University Secretary edited a photograph of 2003 College graduate Arshad Hasan. The photo editing consisted of blackening out a Lesbian Gay Bisexual Transgender rainbow tassel that Hasan wore in celebration of gay pride. A university spokesperson stated that "everyone agrees it was a mistake." ${ }^{86}$

[^68]Progress report issued indicating Penn State has successfully addressed all issues outlined in the May 2, 2001 A Plan To Enhance Diversity at Penn State. One illustration of success is the 69 percent increase in Penn State's minority student enrollment at all locations, from 5,711 undergraduate and graduate students in fall 1992 to 9,658 minority students in fall 2003, nearly 12 percent of the total enrollment. ${ }^{87}$

2002 The University administration will contract for an independent review of the organization of diversity programs at Penn State, including the Office of Affirmative Action. The external reviewers will be asked to meet with all relevant constituencies, including students.

2001 (Aug.) President Spanier addressed the importance of diversity to more than 6,000 incoming freshmen at the opening convocation at the University Park campus. All first-year students living in residence halls will be taking part in a diversity discussion during initial residence hall meetings and will view a new video on diversity issues.

2001 Restructuring of the Vice Provost for Educational Equity position that was added to the President’s Council.

2001 (May) The Commission on Racial and Ethnic Diversity is given an enhanced mandate to review and advise on diversity programs.

2001 (Apr.) Over 4,000 students, faculty, staff, and community members come together for a university-organized march against hate. Members of the Black Caucus (student group) speak to the crowd and demand dialogue when university officials arrive. Unable to give his prepared speech, President Spanier leaves, eventually agreeing to talk with a group of 15 students. A large number of people gather outside the meeting location. As updates come out of that meeting indicating the administration is unwilling to cooperate, hundreds of people remain in protest. Several students begin a hunger strike. Ten days later (on May 2) President Spanier signs A Plan to Enhance Diversity at Penn State and student protestors end the sit-in. ${ }^{88}$

2001 (fall) A coalition of Penn State students, who referred to themselves as "the Village," call for the Penn State administration to take a more aggressive and proactive stance in combating hate and improving race relations at the University. The administrators agreed that new initiatives needed to be put

[^69]into place and approved a new "Plan to Enhance Diversity." Also, a committee (Gye Nyame) is formed to address student concerns.

1998 (Feb.) Publication of A Framework to Foster Diversity at Penn State: 1998-2003.
1996 Amid a national climate challenging the constitutionality of affirmative action and diversity initiatives, Penn State's Board of Trustees unanimously passed a resolution to move forward with the University's diversity efforts. The University Planning Council commissioned the Office of the Vice Provost for Educational Equity to develop a comprehensive strategic plan for diversity. The result was A Framework to Foster Diversity at Penn State: 1998-2003, which outlines seven challenges that must be met to foster diversity as an essential ingredient in Penn State's quest for greater excellence.

1995 Each unit was asked to produce two strategic plans: a general plan and a diversity plan. From this effort, the UPC concluded that a comprehensive, University-wide approach was necessary to help bring about multicultural transformation at Penn State.

1994 Each Penn State strategic planning unit (academic colleges, academic support units, and University Libraries) was asked to prepare a diversity strategic plan to promote greater equity for its faculty, staff, and students. Analysis of the plans by the University Planning Council (UPC) led to a revision of the strategic planning process.

## Profile

The state’s first public institution of higher education, Texas A\&M University was opened on Oct. 4, 1876 as the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas, and owes its origin to the Morrill Act of 1862. In 1963, the name of the institution was changed to Texas A\&M University. Today, this land-grant, sea-grant and space-grant institution located in College Station, encompasses 10 colleges. In fall 2004, the university reported an enrollment of 44,435 students ( 35,732 undergraduate and 8,703 graduate/professional). Sixteen percent of enrollment consists of racial-minority students. ${ }^{89}$

## Diversity Planning

## Origin of Diversity Action Plan

Provost Ronald G. Douglas and Vice President of Student Affairs J. Malon Southerland proposed to President Ray M. Bowen that they convene an ad hoc committee to review and assess diversity and globalization efforts at Texas A\&M University with the purpose of preparing a briefing for the incoming president of the university. President Bowen agreed with the proposal and, in January 2002, they formed a committee composed of 30 Texas A\&M faculty, staff, student, and former student leaders representing various academic disciplines, administrative units and affiliated organizations within the university community. The President's ad hoc committee on diversity and globalization issued its plan in July 2002.

## Diversity Definition:

The diversity action plan does not define diversity beyond "a cluster of characteristics." However, a definition is included in the "diversity dictionary" maintained (online) by the office of institutional assessment and diversity.

Diversity most commonly refers to differences between cultural groups, although it is also used to describe differences within cultural groups, e.g. diversity within the Asian-American culture includes Korean Americans and Japanese Americans. An emphasis on accepting and respecting cultural differences by recognizing that no one culture is intrinsically superior to another underlies the current usage of the term.

Issues/Areas Addressed in Plans:

- Diversify the students, faculty, staff, and administration (recruitment and retention)
- Curricular and program diversity and globalization enhancement

[^70]- Globalization of students and faculty
- Internal campus perceptions (Campus climate)
- External Perceptions (Image)

Timeline:
2005 (June) Physical and verbal Northgate assault of Ravi Mallipeddi, who related the racial content of the incident to university personnel, led President Gates to ask Vice Provost Bill Perry to form an ad hoc committee to formulate mechanisms to help prevent hate or bias-related incidents as well as improve response to future incidents.

2004 (Oct.) A Campus Climate Study, conducted by Student Life Studies, was initiated in September 2002, and focused on perceptions of racial and ethnic diversity.

2004 (Apr.) Summit between Texas A\&M Hispanic Network (TAMHN) and the Texas A\&M administration to discuss and develop a plan to increase the number of Hispanic students and graduates.

2004 (Mar.) University starts a new campus visitation program called the VIP (Very Important Prospect) Program focusing more personalized attention and more frequent sponsored trips to the campus in an effort to attract more minority students to the campus. The VIP Program is part of new efforts to enroll more minority students through more personalized attention and additional scholarships and other forms of financial aid

2003 (Nov.) The Office of Institutional Assessment and Diversity was established.
2003 (Feb.) Formation of Texas A\&M Hispanic Network (TAMHN), a group of former students interested in working collaboratively with the A\&M administration to develop an action plan for implementation of recruitment, retention and scholarship funding strategies that would increase the number of Hispanic A\&M students and graduates. Hector Gutierrez ' 69 is elected by the group to lead their efforts.

2002 (Dec.) President Robert M. Gates Thursday (Dec. 12) create a "top-level position" of vice president for institutional diversity. "This person will be responsible for promoting and communicating successful diversity strategies across campus, as well as holding all elements of the university accountable for recruitment and retention efforts." ${ }^{90}$

2002 (Oct.) Gates had McClendon and Robert T. Bisor III, assistant to the president, conduct an in-depth analysis to consider the question of whether to create

[^71]a top-level position to oversee the whole spectrum of diversity issues and considerations affecting the university. Their 10-page report, Perspectives on the creation of the positions of vice president for institutional diversity: Findings and recommendations prepared for President Gates, was circulated among deans, faculty, vice presidents, students and others and received "overwhelmingly positive reaction."

2002 (July) The President's ad hoc committee on diversity and globalization issues its plan.

2002 (Jan.) Provost Ronald G. Douglas and Vice President of Student Affairs J. Malon Southerland proposed to President Ray M. Bowen that they convene an ad hoc committee to review and assess diversity and globalization efforts at Texas A\&M University with the purpose of preparing a briefing for the incoming president of the university. President Bowen agreed with the proposal and, in January 2002, they formed a committee composed of 30 Texas A\&M faculty, staff, student, and former student leaders representing various academic disciplines, administrative units and affiliated organizations within the university community.

1999 (June) On October 10, 1997 President Ray Bowen proposed that Texas A\&M University strive to be recognized as one of the ten best public universities in the nation by the year 2020, while at the same time maintaining and enhancing our distinctiveness. This goal is the foundation of Vision 2020, which outlines twelve imperatives to guide planning. Imperative 6 states that Texas A\&M "must attract and nurture a more ethnically, culturally and geographically diverse faculty, staff and student body." The "Vision 2020" Report was released at a gala celebration in June 1999.

1998 Prepared during the planning process for "Vision 2020," the White Paper: Diversity and Texas A\&M University, serves to 1) provide a preliminary discussion of the future of Texas A\&M University in educating students who will graduate and work and live in a diverse society (racially and ethnically) and compete in a global environment; and 2) offer recommendations to assist the University in meeting its faculty and student diversity goals and objectives. (Rice, M., with W. Jones, Jr.)

2000 Gender Issues Campus Climate Assessment Report and Recommendations, based on findings from survey administered in Fall 1999 to undergraduate students to measure students' perceptions of women's issues and lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgendered (LGBT) issues. ${ }^{91}$

[^72]2000 Texas A\&M was ranked as the third least friendly college campus for gay and lesbian students in The Princeton Review Guide: The Best 331 Colleges, 2000 Edition.

1999 (Aug.) President Bowen, vetoed an amendment passed by the Faculty Senate, Student Senate, and the Graduate Student Council which would have changed the Students' Rights Article II to include sexual orientation in the non-discrimination clause. The president cited legal reasons, concerned that the amendment would go against federal law. ${ }^{92}$

1999 (Nov.) Football player, Dan Campbell, stood up at the Aggie Bonfire and said that he was happy to go to a school where "women like men, and men like women." President Bowen issued an apology for Campbell's comment, after being flooded with complaints from the LGBT and allies community.

1998 In the Spring of 1997, Texas A\&M University President Ray Bowen charged the Vice President for Student Affairs to accurately assess the campus climate, as well as identify and document issues related to the racial climate. The university commissioned and directed a research team from the University of Michigan Center for the Study of Higher and Postsecondary Education to conduct a Campus Climate Survey during the 1997-98 school year. ${ }^{93}$

1996 Hopwood v Texas: In 1992, Cheryl Hopwood and others sue the University of Texas, claiming that they were denied admission to the Law School because of it preferred black and Mexican-American applicants. In March of 1996, the $5^{\text {th }}$ U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals holds that any consideration of race, even as one factor among many, is unconstitutional. U.S. Supreme Court declines to review the decision. All affirmative action ends in admission to public universities in Texas.

[^73]
## Profile

In 1885 , the $13^{\text {th }}$ Territorial Legislature named Tucson the site of a new university, Arizona's land-grant university. The first class in 1891 consisted of 32 students and six teachers. In the fall of 2003, the University of Arizona reported an enrollment of 37,083 students (28,482 undergraduate and 8,601 graduate/professional). The University includes the Tucson campus, which is comprised of seven academic colleges, four professional colleges, and four colleges comprising the Arizona Health Sciences Center (which also includes University Medical Center and University Physicians). The University reports enrollment of students from 49 states; yet, $70 \%$ of the students are from Arizona. Twenty-five percent of undergraduate students are minorities, ${ }^{94}$ with Hispanics comprising $60 \%$ of the minority enrollment.

## Diversity Planning

## Origin of Diversity Action Plan

Every 10 years the North Central Association reviews the university's accreditation. During the most recent review in 2000, accreditors observed that the last time major efforts were evident in addressing diversity were in 1990, coinciding with the North Central Association accreditation. In August 2003, a response was required for this North Central Association Accreditation to address concerns specifically about underutilization. ${ }^{95}$ To meet this deadline, the President charged a Diversity Coalition to draft a diversity action plan, and set a July 2002 date to establish a mechanism for changes. An assessment report was generated in 2002 and the university's diversity action plan was issued in 2003.

## Diversity Definition

The Diversity Action Plan (2003) does not explicitly define diversity. However, a 2002 report, entitled "Diversity at the University of Arizona: Assessment and Action Options," which informed the development of the 2003 policy adopts the definition used in the 1990 diversity action plan:

Diversity encompasses differences in age, color, ethnicity, gender, national origin, physical or mental ability, race, religion, sexual orientation, socioeconomic background, Vietnam Era veteran status, or unique individual style.

[^74]Issues/Areas Addressed in Plan:
o Recruitment, retention, and equity of a diverse faculty, staff, and student body
o Creation of a welcoming and supportive campus climate through visibility, communication, and education.
o Addresses concerns primarily about race (specifically Hispanics).

Timeline of related events and reports:
2003 (Fall) Diversity Action Plan: Progress and Priorities (14 page report) Prepared by Diversity Coalition

2003 (May) Diversity Resource Office opened; primary function is to facilitate implementation of DAP.

2002 (March) Diversity at the University of Arizona: Assessment and Action Options, report prepared by the Committee of Eleven. This committee consists of ten elected faculty, the Chair of the faculty, and two students. Their basic function is to initiate, promote, and stimulate study to solve problems of Faculty and University concern.

2001 (Nov.) Campus Climate Assessment for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgendered Persons.

2001 (Sept.) Campus Climate Assessment for Under-represented Groups. The primary objective of this study is to document the "student experience" at the University of Arizona.

2001 Millennium Report: Enhancing Campus Climate for Academic Excellence. The work of the Millennium Project was prompted by the observation that women are underrepresented in faculty positions at different levels at The University of Arizona, and that even in cases where women are not statistically under-represented, their voices are not always being heard. Phase one focuses on faculty (2001) and Phase Two on appointed personnel and classified staff (2002). Detailed summary reports are available at: http://www.u.arizona.edu/~millen/.

2000 Diversity Initiative, Report by Allen Vaala, Consultant
1999 Diversity Summit, organized by President's Council on Diversity
1995 Arizona Board of Regents, 1995. Consolidated Employee Diversity Report (5 Year). Includes reports on: Task Force on the Commission on the Status of Women, Five Year Employment Diversity Plan, Annual

Affirmative Action Summary Report , Report on the Task Force for Efficiency, Excellence, and Competitiveness; and, Report on the Task Force for our Common Commitment

1993 Diversity Action Program: 1993-1994 Implementation Plan. (13 pages). This report summarizes efforts on the Diversity Action Plan of 1990 by identifying progress to date and adding several new initiatives.

1992 Diversity Action Program: First Year Implementation Plan. (21 pages). This report summarizes efforts on the Diversity Action Plan of 1990 by identifying progress to date, stating objectives, responsible units, costs, timetable, and accountability mechanisms.

1990 Diversity Action Plan, prepared by Diversity Action Plan Committee. (23 pages). A report prepared to follow-up the Arizona Board of Regents Report on Minority Access (1989), a report on Retention of Women Faculty (1988), and a presidential agreement addressing African American student concerns.

1989 Arizona Board of Regents Report. Our Common Commitment Addresses Enhancing Ethnic Minority Integration and Achievement in Arizona’s Universities.

## University of Arkansas

## Profile

Located in Fayetteville, the University of Arkansas was founded in 1871; its founding satisfied the provision in the Arkansas Constitution of 1868 that the General Assembly "establish and maintain a State University." Today, the University is comprised of six academic colleges and two professional schools (law and architecture). In the fall of 2003, the University of Arkansas reported an enrollment of 17,269 students (13,817 undergraduate and 3,452 graduate), with $80 \%$ of the students are from Arkansas. Twelve percent of enrollment consists of racial-minority students. ${ }^{96}$

## Diversity Planning

## Origin of Diversity Action Plan

The plan was developed through the efforts of The University of Arkansas Diversity Task Force, a group convened by Chancellor John A. White in January, 2000. The Diversity Task Force coordinated two activities: 1) drafted diversity action plan (2002), 2) developed and implemented three diversity-related surveys (one survey for students, one for faculty, and one for staff) to assess diversity-related needs of the campus (2001).

## Diversity Definition

In order to enhance educational diversity, the University of Arkansas seeks to include and integrate individuals from varied backgrounds and with varied characteristics such as those defined by race, ethnicity, national origin, age, gender, socioeconomic background, religion, sexual orientation, disability, and intellectual perspective.

Issues/Areas Addressed in Plan:

1) Enhance all community members' feelings of belonging to The $U$ of $A$ and enhance their involvement in campus activities.
2) Build an inclusive, affirming learning culture for all members of the UA community.
3) Create a UA community that includes members of diverse groups [recruitment, retention, advancement].
4) Ensure that the rich and varied perspectives of a diverse university and society are reflected in our curriculum.
[^75]Timeline:
2005 (Mar.) 2010 Commission publishes its $3^{\text {rd }}$ report, Gaining Ground, which urges continued focus on diversity.

2004 (Oct.) Diversity task force publishes a progress report (24-pages) on the University's diversity efforts. This document was prepared for the UA Black Alumni Society, and focuses on efforts relative to African American students, faculty, and staff.

2003 Published findings from three diversity-related surveys (one survey for students, one for faculty, and one for staff) that were administered in 2001 to assess diversity-related needs of the campus.

2002 (Dec.) Diversity action plan, 2002-05 issued.
2002 (Mar.) Concerns were expressed in the media and at a meeting of the $88^{\text {th }}$ General Assembly Arkansas Legislative Black Caucus in Little Rock regarding the diversity commitments at the U of A , and more specifically for not hiring or promoting more black faculty members. These concerns about racial inequities followed the nationally publicized firing of Nolan Richardson, Jr. as head basketball coach at the University of Arkansas. In a hearing room in the Capital Building, critics claimed that the $U$ of A had no greater commitment to education and professional development of African Americans than it had more than 40 years ago. One critic testified that the University should receive a grade of "F" for its performance diversitywise, charging particularly that African American students and faculty have been handicapped relative to scholarship support and advancement because of the UA climate. ${ }^{97}$

2001 Surveys administered to faculty, staff, and students to determine perceptions of the general climate on the UA campus.

2001 (Aug.) 2010 Commission issued its first report: Making the Case: The Impact of the University of Arkansas on the Future of the State of Arkansas.

2000 (Nov.) More to come: Progress at the University of Arkansas, a progress report (6 pages) published by the 2010 Commission; observes the importance of diversity efforts.

2000 (Jan.) Chancellor John A. White charges the Diversity Task Force to develop a strategic diversity plan

[^76]Chancellor White charges the 2010 Commission, a 92-member group of business, education, and government professionals, and students, with studying and presenting a case for the importance of The University of Arkansas in the State's cultural and economic future.

## Profile

With land granted through the passage of the Morrill Act in 1862, the California Legislature founded, in 1866, an "Agricultural, Mining and Mechanic Arts College." On October 8, 1867, the Trustees of the College of California (a private college incorporated in 1855) voted to give all their land and property to the state to create a new "University of California." In 1868, the legislature created the University of California, which then expanded into the adjoining town of Berkeley. Today the university offers 300 degree programs in 14 colleges and professional schools. In the fall of 2003, the University of California reported an enrollment of 33,076 students (23,206 undergraduate and 9,870 graduate/professional). Fifty-six percent of undergraduate students are racial minorities, ${ }^{98}$ with Asian/Pacific Islanders comprising 73\% of the minority enrollment.

Diversity Planning

## Origin of Diversity Action Plan

Since the passage of Proposition 209 in 1997, the University of California has seen a reduction in the number of "underrepresented" minorities in students, faculty, and staff. In November 1999, Chancellor Berdahl convened a meeting of the Chancellor’s Committee on Diversity. The charge to the Committee was in part:
...to develop a set of recommendations, both long and short term, and strategic in nature, to sustain and promote diversity in all its manifestations on the Berkeley campus...The Committee is charged to develop a set of strategies that will be effective in the current environment to achieve the diversity we all value...The Committee should consider how its recommendations can be fully integrated into the university's mission of teaching and research and how they can be fully embraced by the larger community in which we live and work.

During the next six months, the Committee consulted numerous publications and met frequently to hear the views of different individuals about the issue of diversity on the Berkeley campus, culminating in the publication of the Report of the Chancellor's Advisory Committee on Diversity in July 2000.

## Diversity Definition

In this report the term "underrepresented minorities" refers to African American, Latino and American Indian. The term "Latino" includes Hispanic (those with a Spanish language background), Chicano (Mexican-Americans), and those with a Portuguese language background. Asian Americans represent approximately 40\% of the entering freshman class at Berkeley and are not included in this term.

[^77]- "Strengthen diversity," meaning increase recruitment and retention of women and minorities; primary emphasis on faculty and staff;
- Implement education and training programs to sensitize individuals to diversity, primarily those individuals in "key decision-making roles;"
- Initiate several data collection and analysis efforts to identify other effective initiatives to promote and monitor diversity; and
- Implement measures to hold units accountable for their diversity performance.

Timeline:
2003 (May) Publication of the Strategic Academic Plan, which identifies "campus diversity" as a topic that requires further consideration.

2000 (Fall) Chancellor Berdahl charges a new committee to prepare a Strategic Academic Plan; this group convenes several open forums in 2001-2002 to solicit ideas.

2000 (July) Publication of the Report of the Chancellor’s Advisory Committee on Diversity.

1999 (Nov.) Chancellor Berdahl convened first meeting of the Chancellor’s Committee on Diversity.

1997 (Aug.) Article I of the California State Constitution (Proposition 209) went into effect, and specifies that "The state shall not discriminate against, or grant preferential treatment to, any individual or group on the basis of race, sex, color, ethnicity, or national origin in the operation of public employment, public education, or public contracting..."

1997 (Jan.) The "Policy Ensuring Equal Treatment Admissions" (SP-1), approved July 20, 1995 and effective January 1, 1997, stipulated that "the University of California shall not use race, religion, sex, color, ethnicity, or national origin as criteria for admission to the University or to any program of study."

1996 (Jan.) "Policy Ensuring Equal Treatment Employment and Contracting" (SP-2), approved July 20, 1995 and effective January 1, 1996, stipulated that "the University of California shall not use race, religion, sex, color, ethnicity, or national origin as criteria in its employment and contracting practices."

## University of Connecticut

## Profile

Founded in 1881 as an agricultural school for boys, the Storrs Agricultural School became Connecticut's land-grant college in 1893. In 1899, it was named the Connecticut Agricultural College, and then renamed Connecticut State College in 1933. It officially became the University of Connecticut (UConn) in 1939, and has grown to include 13 Schools and Colleges at its main campus in Storrs, separate Schools of Law and Social Work in Hartford, five regional campuses throughout the state, and Schools of Medicine and Dentistry at the UConn Health Center in Farmington. In Fall of 2004, the university reported an enrollment of 27,579 students (20,151 undergraduate and 7,428 graduate/professional). Eighteen percent of undergraduate students are racial minorities; ${ }^{99} 80 \%$ of the undergraduate students are from Connecticut.

## Diversity Planning

## Origin of Diversity Action Plan

President Philip E. Austin and Chancellor John D. Petersen, at the request of the University Board of Trustees (Chairman Roger Gelfenbien), on January 12, 2001, established the Diversity Action Committee, a 24 -member task force, to develop a diversity plan by June 2002. During the previous three years, enrollment increased steadily and the number of minority freshmen "skyrocketed - a 51 percent increase since 1998 - bringing the campus-wide enrollment of people of color to 1,994 , or 16.2 percent of the student population. There are 599 people of color on UConn's workforce, or 14.4 percent." ${ }^{100}$

The Committee began meeting on February 26, 2001 to fulfill its charge which was to develop a unified vision of diversity and prepare a diversity strategic plan which would recommend initiatives to be taken over the next five years to:

1. Create a more welcoming campus environment for all of our students.
2. Enhance our efforts to recruit and retain a diverse student population.
3. Enhance our efforts to recruit and retain a diverse workforce.
4. Diversify university leadership and management.
5. Assign accountability to achieve the goals outlined in the action plan it presents. The committee presented its Diversity Action Plan to the Board of Trustees in April of 2002.
[^78]
## Diversity Definition

Diversity encompasses the presence and participation of people who differ by age, color, ethnicity, gender, national origin, race, religion, and sexual orientation; and includes those with disabilities and from various socio-economic backgrounds. It encompasses not only individuals and groups, but also thoughts and attitudes.

In this document, we borrow language from federal documents when referring to federally protected groups (i.e., historically disadvantaged racial, gender, or handicapper groups who fall under affirmative-action procedures, African Americans, Hispanics, Asian/Pacific Islanders, and Native Americans, women, Vietnam-era veterans).

Issues/Areas Addressed in Plan:

- Assuming leadership and responsibility, including new accountability measures
- Undergraduate and graduate student recruitment and retention
- Recruitment, retention, and promotion of faculty and staff
- Campus climate
- Curriculum development

Timeline of related events and reports:
2004 (fall) Institute on Leadership and Diversity is launched and focuses on issues of citizenship, diversity, and leadership in the $21^{\text {st }}$ century for undergraduate student leaders.

2003 Academic Plan issued by Office of the Provost; it asserts the need to meet the goals of the diversity plan (among many other items)

2003 All university executives and directors and $80 \%$ of supervisory personnel undergo diversity training during the spring semester

2002 (Apr.) Publication of Diversity Action Plan that proposes to "increase the diversity of students, faculty, and staff, incorporate multiculturalism into the curriculum, implement dozens of proposals to make UConn a more welcoming place for people with different backgrounds - and hold specific departments accountable for getting it all done." ${ }^{101}$

2001 (Jan.) Diversity Action Committee established
2001 Campus Climate Assessment

[^79]2000 (April) Week-long Metanoia ${ }^{102}$ on the theme Diverse Voices: A Speak-Out on Difference.

1999 (fall) "In the fall semester, the University faced the challenge of responding to hostile acts against members of our community stemming from prejudices against race and sexual orientation." ${ }^{103}$

1999 (spring) Metanoia on community and civility, drawing upon Ernest Boyer's work as a framework for discussion.

1995 The University Board of Trustees adopts a plan, titled Beyond 2000: A Strategic Plan for the University of Connecticut; among the eight strategic goals articulated in the plan is an emphasis on diversity.

[^80]
## University of Georgia

## Profile

In 1784, the General Assembly set aside 40,000 acres of land to endow a college or seminary of learning. When the University of Georgia (UGA) was incorporated by an act of the General Assembly on January 27, 1785, Georgia became the first state to charter a state-supported university. The university's oldest college, arts and sciences, was established in 1801. The curriculum of traditional classical studies was broadened in 1872 when the university received federal funds for instruction in agriculture and mechanical arts. Today the university encompasses 15 schools and colleges. In the fall of 2004, the University of Georgia reported an enrollment of 33,405 students ( 24,814 undergraduate and 8,386 graduate), with $79 \%$ of the students are from Georgia. Fourteen percent of enrollment consists of racial-minority students. ${ }^{104}$

## Diversity Planning

## Origin of Diversity Action Plan

In 2001, Louis A. Castenell Jr., the dean of the college of education, is appointed by Senior Vice President for Academic Affairs/Provost to serve as acting associate provost for institutional diversity; he establishes the office of institutional diversity and initiates diversity planning process. The following year a three-year strategic plan to guide institutional efforts to increase campus diversity is published. While UGA does not elaborate on the timing and purpose of this initiative, it is notable that in 1998 a lawsuit is filed against UGA by white students claiming reverse discrimination; a federal judge in 1999 rules that UGA's use of racial quotas is unconstitutional, prompting in 2000 the UGA President to initiate a review of admissions policies.

## Diversity Definition

Diversity is defined in a broad sense as human groupings based on race, ethnicity, gender, class, age, religion, sexual orientation, learning styles, nationality, and disability. Diversity goes beyond the mere existence or the tolerance of people and symbols from different cultures and backgrounds. It also means inclusion and equity.

Issues/Areas Addressed in Plan:

- Establishing the Office of Institutional Diversity as the central administrative unit responsible for monitoring and supporting diversity efforts throughout the university;

[^81]- Working with appropriate campus units to improve recruitment and retention of historically underrepresented student populations, with an emphasis on African Americans, the state's largest minority group;
- Working with appropriate campus units to improve recruitment, promotion and retention of historically underrepresented faculty and staff, with an emphasis on African Americans;
- Coordinating institutional efforts to promote a climate where inclusiveness and diversity are respected as core values; and
- Encouraging and supporting research and public service activities related to diversity and equity issues.

Timeline:
2003 (July) Keith Parker hired as associate provost for institutional diversity. He states intention to build upon the 2002-05 strategic diversity plan to address issues and concerns of various ethnic and gender groups, naming in particular the growing Hispanic community in Georgia.

2002 (fall) Safe Space Program was established to provide an affirming and supportive environment for lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender people through a network of allies committed to countering the effects of homophobia and heterosexism.

2002 (Apr.) In the shadow of the arch: Safety and acceptance of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer students at the University of Georgia, a 27-page report issued by the UGA Campus Climate Research Group.

2002 (Jan.) A three-year strategic plan to guide institutional efforts to increase campus diversity is published by a "design team" of students, faculty, staff and administrators under the direction of Louis A. Castenell Jr., acting associate provost for institutional diversity.

2001 Louis A. Castenell Jr. is appointed by Senior Vice President for Academic Affairs/Provost to serve as acting associate provost for institutional diversity; he establishes the office of institutional diversity and initiates diversity planning process.
$2000 \quad$ "A federal judge ruled Monday [July 24, 2000] that the University of Georgia has unconstitutionally engaged in 'naked racial balancing' by using race as a factor in some admissions decisions without having an adequate justification." ${ }^{105}$

[^82]1999 "The University of Georgia is reviewing its admissions policies after a federal judge ruled they stigmatize minority students and amount to reverse discrimination," UGA President Michael F. Adams said Monday [07/12/99]. ${ }^{106}$

1998 (Oct.) Strategic Planning Advisory Group issues plan for improving institutional access for under-represented groups

Ad hoc committee on cultural diversity proposes the implementation of a diversity requirement in the curriculum (focused on culture and ethnicity).

1995 University Strategic Plan is published and includes a commitment to increasing and fostering diversity.

Formation of the University Multicultural Network, a group of faculty, staff, and students whose mission is to provide the University community with encouragement and support toward the development of multiculturalism.

[^83]University of Idaho

## Profile

John Warren Brigham and Willis Sweet wrote the act creating a university in Moscow, Idaho. The measure known as Council Bill 20 easily passed the Territorial Legislature, and Gov. Stevenson signed it into law on Jan. 30, 1889. Commonly known as the university's charter, the act became part of the state constitution when Idaho was admitted to the Union in 1890. The University of Idaho opened its doors in 1892 and graduated its first class of four students in 1896. Today, the university encompasses eight colleges and reports an enrollment of 11,310 students ( 8,705 undergraduate and 1,716 graduate) on its Moscow campus. Eleven percent of enrollment consists of racial-minority students. ${ }^{107}$

## Diversity Planning

## Origin of Diversity Action Plan

In 2000, the University established the position of Special Assistant to the President for Diversity and Human Rights, charging this individual to direct the Office of Diversity and Human Rights (ODHR), and contribute coordination and leadership for diversity and human rights activities, policies, and initiatives. In 2002, the University administered a Respectful Climate Survey to gain information on employee and student experiences of the institution's climate. Also in 2002, the President and Provost established the Diversity and Human Rights (DHR) Steering Committee and charged them with developing a Comprehensive Plan for Action and Accountability. The DHR Steering Committee presented a draft diversity plan by January 2003. The final policy was submitted in April 2004, concurrent with Interim President Gary Michael's closing of the ODHR and eliminating the position of the Special Assistant to the President for Diversity and Human Rights.

## Diversity Definition

Diversity refers to the fact that our community - locally, statewide, regionally, nationally and internationally - is comprised of many individuals, each having unique attributes based on a variety of social, physical and cultural characteristics. Such attributes include, but certainly are not limited to race, color, religion, sex, national origin, age, disability, marital status, political affiliation, sexual orientation, ethnicity, birthplace, ancestry, culture, language or linguistic characteristics, pregnancy, veteran status, and socioeconomic differences. At the University of Idaho, diversity also refers to "non-traditional" students who are older than recent, or "traditional" high school graduates, and have different needs than recent high school graduates.

[^84]Issues/Areas Addressed in Plans:

- Institutional Climate
- Student Recruitment and Retention
- Faculty, Staff and Administrator Recruitment and Retention
- Curriculum Diversification
- Community Issues, Extension, and Outreach
- Promote multiculturalism and diversity in Research and Other Scholarly Activity

Timeline:
2005 (Oct.) Draft Strategic Plan (2005-2010) is circulated; strategies under the "organization, culture and climate" goal address diversity issues.

2005 (Feb.) University unveils diversity web page; link accessible from UI home page.
2004 (Dec.) Strategic Plan, 2004-2009 is published; it includes goals and objectives regarding diversity.

2004 (July) A new president, Dr. Timothy White, assumes office.
2004 (May) Presidential campus-wide diversity programming group formed to develop major activities and award mini-grants related to diversity programming.

2004 (Apr.) Interim President Gary Michael closes Office of Diversity and Human Rights (ODHR) and eliminated the position of the Special Assistant to the President for Diversity and Human Rights, citing this "restructuring" as "an effort to devote more money to diversity programming than to diversity administration." ${ }^{108}$

2004 (Apr.) The DHR Steering Committee submits final plan to President and Provost: Diversity and Human Rights at the University of Idaho: Comprehensive Plan for Action and Accountability. Part one of the plan outlines goals and objectives for the university; part two asks all UI units to create relevant "Implementation and Accountability Plans."

2004 (Feb.) Local pastor, Douglas Wilson, holds $9^{\text {th }}$ annual "history conference" in university student union building. Wilson scheduled as co-speakers white supremacist League of the South co-founder Steve Wilkins and the antigay Tennessee minister George Grant, notorious for advocating the extermination of all homosexuals in his book Legislating Immorality.

[^85]Students were outraged, and ultimately forced the president and provost of the University to issue a joint disclaimer of the event. ${ }^{109}$

2002 (Nov.) University establishes and offers 12-credit certificate program in diversity and stratification, to promote understanding about diversity and tolerance of differences in workplace and social settings.

2002
President Bob Hoover and Provost Brian Pitcher establish the UI Diversity and Human Rights (DHR) Steering Committee to initiate the process of developing a Comprehensive Plan for Action and Accountability (the Plan). The DHR Steering Committee drafts a plan to address: recruitment and retention of students and employees; curriculum; research; outreach and extension; and campus climate. This plan should align with and build upon the UI Strategic Plan.

2002 (Feb.) Climate Survey. More than 40 percent of UI students and 66 percent of employees responded to the Respectful Climate Survey, which was directed by scholars from the University of Michigan and the University of Connecticut. The purpose of the study, conducted last February, was to gain in-depth information on UI employee and student experiences of the institution’s "climate," including diversity issues. Specific groups in both categories (employees and students) felt considerably less safe and less socially accepted. Of all the ethnic groups among students, for example, African Americans felt the least social acceptance and academic respect; Native American students also reported low social acceptance. Sexual minority students reported they felt less socially accepted, less academically respected and less safe at UI, compared to heterosexual students. In a comparison of religious groups, Christians who are not members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints felt the most social acceptance on campus, and non-Christian students felt the least socially accepted. ${ }^{110}$

2000 The University established the position of Special Assistant to the President for Diversity and Human Rights, charging this individual to direct the Office of Diversity and Human Rights (ODHR), and contribute coordination and leadership for diversity and human rights activities, policies, and initiatives.

1999-2001 Retirement from Affirmative Action (AA) Office (in 1999) prompted a review of the AA office, charged by President. Task force recommendations inspired changes, and the Office for Diversity and

[^86]Human Rights was created in summer 2000. In 2001, the Interim Affirmative Action Officer was renamed Director for Human Rights Compliance.

1999 (Mar.) President Bob Hoover disseminates addendum to strategic plan, delineating how "the issue of diversity fits with the plan and the University's role and mission." In particular, this memo on the "strategic diversity initiative" addresses the need to improve recruitment and retention women and minority employees, diversify the curriculum, enhance multicultural student recruitment and retention, and develop a more inclusive climate.

1998 (July) Strategic Plan published; it includes goals and objectives regarding diversity.

1993 President Elisabeth Zinser, in company with other presidents of higher education institutions in Idaho, appointed Ethnic Diversity Task Force and charges group to develop a plan to foster ethnic diversity. Working under the auspices of the Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education, the task force considered issues of minority recruitment and retention, diversity climate, hiring patterns, campus-community relations, and curriculum reform. On May 10, 1993, the task force completed its report; the University of Idaho finalized a diversity action plan for its campus on February 15, 1994.

1992 Idaho Board of Education publishes statewide action plan for Idaho higher education on ethnic/racial minority student recruitment, enrollment, retention and graduation.

## Profile

The General Assembly of the state of Illinois secured the advantages of the Morrill Act in 1863 to establish a state university. In 1867, the Illinois Industrial University was chartered to provide advanced education for the mass of working people in Illinois. The named was changed to the University of Illinois in 1885. Today, the university encompasses sixteen colleges and professional schools on 1,458 acres, located in the twin cities of Champaign and Urbana, with an enrollment of 40,360 students (29,294 undergraduate and 11,066 graduate and professional); $89 \%$ of the undergraduate students are from Illinois. Nearly $21 \%$ percent of enrollment consists of racial-minority students; Asian-Americans comprise half of this percentage. ${ }^{111}$

## Diversity Planning

## Origin of Diversity Action Plan

On November 10, 2000, Chancellor Michael Aiken and Provost Richard Herman appointed the Diversity Initiative Committee, composed of students, faculty and staff, to develop a plan and recommend action items for enhancing diversity at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Its work focuses on developing proposals that will increase the gender and ethnic diversity of faculty and staff members, among other items. The Diversity Initiative is viewed with some cynicism with the controversial issue of Chief Illiniwek on campus. However, the Provost in an interview stated: "We cannot let one issue stand in the way of us dealing with the broader concerns surrounding diversity." ${ }^{112}$ The committee presented its final report on May 1, 2002.

## Diversity Definition

Diversity should not be viewed through a narrow lens focusing on the traditional limited definition of race and ethnicity. Rather it should be extended to encompass multiple sites of engagement including disability, gender and sexuality, U.S. minorities, cultural, racial and ethnic diversity. In the university setting, appreciation for diversity is advanced through the exchange of ideas, the testing of assumptions, and the enrichment of culture through exposure to many cultures.

Issues/Areas Addressed in Plans:

- Recruitment and retention of greater numbers of women and ethnic minority students, faculty, staff and administrators

[^87]- Provide incentives to academic and support units who have demonstrated excellence in increasing diversity.
- Communicate, to both internal and external publics, that the UrbanaChampaign campus is an inclusive and welcoming institution that respects the dignity of all people, irrespective of race, gender, sexual orientation, physical ability, religion or country of origin.
- Assign accountability to achieve the progress envisioned in this action plan.
- Measures for bolstering access for persons with disabilities.

Timeline:
2005 (Nov.) NCAA rejects university's appeal and retains the University of Illinois on the list of universities subject to restrictions on the use of Native American mascots, names, and imagery at NCAA championships. ${ }^{113}$

2005 (Aug.) NCAA adopted recommendations prohibiting schools with "hostile or abusive" American Indian imagery from hosting national championship tournaments, and from using such imagery, nicknames or mascots at NCAA postseason events. The University Board of Trustees is examining the NCAA recommendations to "make a determination of how it fits with the board's consensus process." ${ }^{114}$ The board resolved to retain the "Fighting Illini" name at their July meeting.

2002 (Nov.) Diversity focus groups are conducted to understand whether instructors at the University of Illinois envision a commitment to teaching and learning in a diverse society as integral to curriculum planning and, if so, how to go about planning for its inclusion

2002 (May) Report of the Diversity Initiatives Planning Committee.
2002 (Mar.) Report, Seeking a compromise: Chief Illiniwek, by Trustee Roger Plummer is released. The report does not conclude decisively on the matter.

2001-02 A campus-wide committee of faculty and students collaborated on a proposal, mission statement, and governance structure for the establishment of a Center on Democracy in a Multiracial Society. The Center was approved by the Illinois Board of Higher Education in July 2002 and is a component of the boarder campus Diversity Initiative. Primarily structured as a policy/research and public education unit, the Center is designed to serve as catalyst for vigorous scholarly and public debate on the multiple racial contexts of democracy.

[^88]2000 (Feb.) A plan of renewed dialogue on Chief Illiniwek was announced by the Chairman of the University Board of Trustees.

2000 (Jan.) University Board of Trustees passed a resolution acknowledging the existence of controversy concerning the continuation of Chief Illiniwek as a symbol of the university.

1997 PBS documentary, entitled In Whose Honor? was aired; the film has a definite anti-Chief point of view. The release of the documentary gave rise to increased debate about the Chief on the Urbana campus.

1996 State Representative Rick Winkel, a University of Illinois alumnus, introduced a bill in the Illinois House of Representatives. Passed by the legislature, the bill provided:

Consistent with a long-standing, proud tradition, the General Assembly hereby declares that Chief Illiniwek, is and shall remain, the honored symbol of a great University, the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

1993 The Native American Student, Staff and Faculty for Progress (NASSFP) was formed on the Urbana campus, in part, to protest the Chief. Members of the organization began filing complaints in 1994 with the U. S. Department of Education, Office for Civil Rights (OCR). Those complaints alleged that the presence of Chief Illiniwek and the use of the name "Fighting Illini" created a hostile learning environment for Native Americans resulting in discrimination by the University in violation of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. OCR reported in 1995 that the alleged specific incidents of harassment were not proven to be sufficiently severe, persistent or pervasive so as to establish a racially hostile environment.

## Profile

The University of Maine, founded in 1865, is the principal research and graduate institution of the State of Maine and the flagship campus of the University of Maine System. As the state's land-grant university, The University of Maine has statewide responsibility for those educational, research, and public service. The University of Maine (UMaine) offers nearly 160 academic programs of study at the undergraduate and graduate levels. The University's 600 -acre campus is located in the town of Orono, bounded by the Stillwater and Penobscot Rivers, and situated eight miles north of Bangor. In the fall of 2003, UMaine reported an enrollment of 11,222 students (8,972 undergraduate and 2,250 graduate). Eighty-three percent of the students are from Maine and $5 \%$ of undergraduates are minorities. ${ }^{115}$

## Diversity Planning

## Origin of Diversity Action Plan

In April of 1998, marching across campus from the building that houses the admissions office to the main administrative building, students protested the university's (lack of) commitment to diversity. In particular, students requested the "development of a recruitment and retention plan for ALANA students with special effort toward the recruitment of non-athletes and women." ${ }^{116}$ In June 1998, the Provost instructed the University of Maine Diversity Task Force to produce an action plan. The charge followed the release of UMS Board of Trustees "Diversity for the $21^{\text {st }}$ Century: A Strategy for UMS and a Call for Action," which directed each of the seven universities with the responsibility to develop a diversity action plan to achieve campus diversity goals. In March of 1999, the Diversity Task Force issued its Diversity Action Plan. The student protest is not mentioned in the policy. In 2000 and 2001, the Office of the Vice President for Academic Affairs published progress reports. Then, in 2002, the University Diversity Task Force prepared the 2003-05 diversity action plan, which was released in May of 2003.

## Diversity Definition

The term "diversity" encompasses the recognition of an entire spectrum of selfand group-identities. It includes an understanding of difference in age, ethnicity, gender, race, culture, nationality, sexual orientation, religion, class, and physical ability. $(1999,2003)$

[^89]- university commitment
- faculty and staff recruitment and retention
- curriculum development and transformation
- student recruitment and retention
- university climate

2003-05

- Increase the overall diversity of the students and faculty in terms of race and gender
- Culturally broaden curricular and campus experiences
- Strengthen graduate education by training leaders and practitioners to meet the changing needs of the State as the population ages
- Focus and expand international and multicultural programs throughout the University
- Expand foreign language opportunities including the creation of foreign languagebased residence halls
- Curriculum development and transformation that emphasizes understanding of multicultural and international issues

Timeline:
2003 (May) University Diversity Task Force issues the University of Maine Diversity Action Plan, 2003-05. [Revised June 12, 2003.]

2001 (May) UMaine's 2000-05 strategic plan is issued. It is the product of one year’s work by a planning committee and six commissions charged by the Provost to address the following aspects of the institution: graduate education, honors college, incentivized budgeting, international programs, facilities, and summer programs.

2001 (Apr.) Two-day symposium, Initiating the Dialogue: Research Ethics in Indian Country, co-sponsored by University of Maine and Native American communities.

2001 (June) University of Maine Diversity Action Plan Progress Report, 2000-01. Issued by Office of the Vice President for Academic Affairs.

2000 (Sept.) President Hoff in his State of the University of Maine Address articulated long-range goals, as a preview of the University's strategic plan. One of the goals: make greater progress in achieving the goals of UMaine's Diversity Action Plan.

2000 University of Maine Diversity Action Plan Progress Report, 1999-2000. Submitted by Evelyn Silver, Director of Equal Opportunity.

1999 (Mar.) The University Diversity Task Force publishes the University of Maine Diversity Action Plan.

1998 (Dec.) President Hoff, in an interview with Maine Perspective, stated: "While I cannot be actively involved in all the tasks of BearWorks, it is important for me to pick three to be vocal about. I have assigned myself to the areas addressing academic quality, diversity and athletics." He added that in five years the University of Maine will see "more diversity in the new faculty."

1998 (Nov.) Maine Perspective announces new Diversity Action Plan "to increase and measure diversity on campus."

1998 (Oct.) ALANA student center (previously located in Cumberland Hall basement) designated in north end of Hannibal Hamlin Hall, as part of university's "commitment to supporting and strengthening diversity on campus."

1998 (Sept.) BearWorks 2.0, a revision of the former BearWorks report, reflects the work of the Blue Ribbon Panel, and devotes a section to student life, complete with 12 tasks "to ensure that all dimensions of student life contribute to student learning, success, satisfaction, attainment of life skills, and support the priorities, goals and mission of the University." One of BearWorks’ priorities is "broadening the curriculum and reflecting increased diversity."

1998 (June) University of Maine Diversity Task Force charged by the Provost to produce an action plan

1998 (Apr.) Student march, demonstrate, and protest the university’s (lack of) commitment to diversity. Students request the "development of a recruitment and retention plan for ALANA students with special effort toward the recruitment of non-athletes and women."

1998 (Apr.) UMS Board of Trustees with members of the seven universities developed Diversity for the $21^{\text {st }}$ Century: A Strategy for UMS and a Call for Action, charging each of the seven universities with the responsibility to develop a diversity action plan to achieve campus diversity goals.

1998 (Mar.) Blue Ribbon Panel to Review the Student Experience and establish "a vision of the ideal experience." The Panel's charge is to develop a broadbased report on what works in creating and maintaining a student-friendly and focused campus, and what could improve the character and quality of the out-of-classroom student experience. Particular areas cited as important elements of the student experience: residential and off-campus
living; the quality and options of food service; student activities, environment of academic success, integration of life and learning, nature and adequacy of cultural opportunities and student services, and transportation. [A report, "Transforming the Student Experience," issued in April, made a series of recommendations on the premise that UMaine's "institutional culture must be fundamentally changed."]

1998 (Mar.) Report from the Equal Opportunity Advisory Committee on the Employment Partnership's Report on the Office of Equal Opportunity.

1998 (Feb.) BearWorks 1.1: An Action Plan for the University of Maine articulates 17 targeted priorities, one of which is diversity and equal opportunity. The stated goal: "make measurable and significant progress toward diversifying the faculty, staff, and administration and student body."

1997 (Sept.) ALANA/University Diversity Task Force submitted a report to the Chancellor (MacTaggert) recommending actions the University of Maine System should consider to improve its ability to serve the racially and ethnically diverse people and communities of Maine.

1997 (Apr.) Diversity at the University of Maine: Progress and Challenges, A Ten Year Retrospective (Estler, S.).

1996 College administrators, government officials, minority businesses, and community organizers came together to develop the ALANA Conference

1995 (Oct.) Academic Affairs Commitment on Minority Recruitment and Retention of Faculty, Staff, and Students, Final Report and Minority Report.

1994 Project on Campus Community and Diversity of the Accrediting Commission for Senior Colleges and Universities of the Western Association of Schools and Colleges produced a set of materials entitled Dialogues for Diversity: Community and Ethnicity on Campus. This publication was designed to help campus groups engage in focused discussions of the role of ethnic diversity on campus

1992 (Aug.) University of Maine Council on Pluralism Annual Report.
1989 University of Maine System (UMS) Commission on Pluralism articulates a commitment to diversity

University of Maryland, College Park

## Profile

The Maryland Agricultural College was chartered in 1856 and ultimately became the University of Maryland, College Park, in 1920. In 1864, the Maryland legislature voted to accept the land grant pursuant to Morrill Act of 1862. Today, in conjunction with the University of Maryland Eastern Shore, the University serves the State's agricultural needs through the Maryland Cooperative Extension and the Agricultural Experiment Station. The University of Maryland is located on 1,500 acres along the Baltimore-Washington, D.C. high-tech corridor. In the fall of 2003, the University of Maryland (UMD) reported an enrollment of 35,329 students ( 25,446 undergraduate and 9,883 graduate). Seventyfive percent of the students are from Maryland and $32 \%$ of undergraduates are minorities. ${ }^{117}$

## Diversity Planning

## Origin of Diversity Action Plan

Hate crimes plagued the campus throughout the fall of 1999. On January 28, 2000, a panel of 21 members of the University of Maryland community appointed by President Mote began meeting in order to "consider any or all opportunities for enhancement of our experience as a diverse community [and] promote a campus-wide vision that seeks to bring together people with diverse views and experiences." In the fall of 2000, the President's Diversity Panel issued its Report and Recommendations.

## Diversity Definition

Throughout our report we use the term "diversity" to refer to people of, and sometimes research and curricula about, different races, ethnicities, genders, sexual orientations, age, religions, physical ability, and social, economic, or educational backgrounds. As it is commonly understood, however, the term has a meaning that is far more general than ours: "diverse" simply means "unlike in kind" or "varied"; "diversity" simply refers to the fact or quality of difference or variety. Clearly, therefore, our campus is diverse in many more ways than those we intend when we have used the term in this report. Nonetheless, we expect that people will understand our more narrow usage. We also sometimes use the word "inclusive" or "inclusivity" as a synonym for our particular usage of "diverse" or "diversity." When, however, we use the term "multicultural" (research or curricula), we are referring to diverse races or ethnicities only. In this report, we also use the words "identity-based" groups: here we are referring to groups that establish community on the basis of their racial, ethnic, religious, sexual orientation, or gender identity.

[^90]Issues/Areas Addressed in Plans:

- Physical Safety
- Recruitment and Retention of Staff, Faculty, and Students of Underrepresented Groups
- Making the University of Maryland a Center of Excellence for Scholarship on Diversity
- Enhancing the Curriculum for Diversity
- Restructuring the Equity System
- Bringing diverse groups together in community
- Leadership

Timeline:

2004 (Feb.) Campus report on "Research on Race, Gender and Ethnicity at UM: Perspectives on Diversity" issued by Consortium on race, gender \& ethnicity (CRGE).

2003 Final Report submitted to President's Commission on Disability Issues by the Ad Hoc Task Force on Learning Disabilities

2002 Numbers are not enough: Findings and recommendations. A Report to President Dan Mote, Jr., for the years September 2000-May 2002, on the status of minority students at the UMD campus; presented by Dr. Lee Thornton.

2001 (June) Report on Domestic Partner Benefits, generated by LGBT Issues Task Force, Diversity Network of the University System of Maryland.

2000 (Oct.) President issues response to the Diversity Panel Recommendations.
2000 (Aug.) Report and Recommendations of the President's Diversity Panel
$2000 \quad$ Building on Excellence: The Next Steps. The Strategic Plan for the University of Maryland, College Park. Initiative 3 (of 5): Ensure a university environment that is inclusive as well as diverse and that fosters a spirit of community among faculty, staff, and students.

2000 (May) Report of the LGBT Issues task force. [Included as an addendum to the Executive Report of the University of Maryland System Diversity Network]

2000 (Jan.) President and Senate appoint 21-member diversity panel to recommend to the President strategies for helping the University of Maryland improve the quality of its diversity.

1999 (Fall) UMD community was marred by hate mail incidents
1997 (Oct.) DiversityWeb debuted. With a grant from the Ford Foundation and in partnership with AAC\&U, the website was created as a resource on diversity for higher education and the media. ${ }^{118}$

1997 (Mar.) The Value of Diversity in the University: A Statement by a Faculty-Staff Committee at UM. This document describes and explains the pursuit of diversity at the University of Maryland at College Park. It has been produced by a faculty-staff committee in response to a recommendation contained in the Report of the Asian, Hispanic, and Native American Task Force.

1997 (Feb.) President William E. Kirwan issued appointments to the first President's Commission on Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Issues

1996 (Nov.) Embracing Diversity: Lesbian, gay, and bisexual students, faculty, and staff at the University of Maryland at College Park. A Report from the Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Staff and Faculty Association in conjunction with the Lesbian, Gay, and Bisexual Alliance. Report estimated that 10\% of the campus population is gay, lesbian, or bisexual.

1996 Strategic Plan published.
1995 Asian, Hispanic, and Native American Task Force Report issued
1995 (Apr.) University of Maryland Diversity Survey administered. Purpose is to explore ways to improve diversity and campus climate

1994 Diversity News Bureau established at the University in the Office of Public Information [no longer in existence]

1992 (July) The Report of the Committee on Excellence through Diversity: Providing Opportunities for Black Americans at College Park, prepared by a committee appointed by the President in response to a resolution passed by the Campus Senate.

1992 (June) "Progress in Equity and Diversity," chapter in the campus' 1992 Periodic Review Report to the Middle States Commission on Higher Education.

1992 Campus survey of unit heads and diversity program sponsors found that the university's diversity efforts lacked the coordination, visibility, and institutional support needed to achieve tangible, lasting effects

[^91]1989 (Oct.) Access is Not Enough: A Report to the President Concerning Opportunities for Blacks at the University of Maryland at College Park, prepared at President’s request by Ray Gillian, Assistant to the President.

1989 (May) Enhancing the College Park Campus: An Action Plan. A five-year enhancement plan for elevating the University of Maryland at College Park to the top tier of American public universities. Office of the President, University Of Maryland.

1986 The Diversity Initiative began with day-long programs sponsored by the Office of Human Relations Programs. The goal of the Initiative is to make diversity a more pervasive part of the campus community by coordinating diversity activities into a single, united effort.

1984 Chancellor John Slaughter challenged the campus to become a "model multiracial, multicultural, and multigenerational academic community."

1973 President's Commission on Ethnic Minority Issues (PCEMI) was established to address the concerns of ethnic minority groups on the UMCP campus.

University of Nebraska, Lincoln

## Profile

Founded in 1869, the university campus was laid out on four city blocks in Lincoln. A farm campus was established east of Lincoln in 1873. As both campuses grew, the legislature proposed to consolidate them on the farm campus. Put to the vote of the people in 1915, the proposal was defeated, and work was begun anew for expansion on both campuses. Today, the university serves as both the land-grant and the comprehensive public University for the State of Nebraska. The University reports an enrollment of 22,559 students (17,851 undergraduate and 4,708 graduate and professional). Eight percent of enrollment consists of racial-minority students. ${ }^{119}$

## Diversity Planning

## Origin of Diversity Action Plan

In 1997, the Nebraska Legislature passed LB 389 which required that by August 1, 2002, the University of Nebraska must reach at least the midpoint percentage of the Board of Regents' peer institutions in the employment of women and minority faculty members. LB 389 further required the University of Nebraska to submit to the Legislature by January 1, 1998, a five-year plan containing yearly benchmark standards to be met in achieving the legislative goal. In 1998, the University did submit to the Legislature a 5year plan to increase faculty diversity. The University also scheduled a partnership review, with Office of Civil Rights, of the university's policies and procedures to prevent racial harassment. Following this review, the University created a campus-wide committee to draft its diversity action plan. Concurrently, the Chancellor's Commission on the Status of People of Color coordinated an effort to examine long-standing concerns around the issue of campus climate, and facilitated a "diversity summit" in the fall of 1999. The Comprehensive Diversity Plan was published in June 1999.

## Diversity Definition

Diversity is the multiplicity of people, cultures and ideas that contribute to the richness and variety of life. Diversity broadly encompasses the mixture of similarities and differences along several dimensions: race, national origin, ability, religion, sexual orientation, age and gender. It includes values, cultures, concepts, learning styles and perceptions that individuals possess. By its very nature, diversity fosters inclusiveness, encourages the exchange of new ideas, improves decision-making, and broadens the scope of problem solving.

[^92]Issues/Areas Addressed in Plan:

- improve campus climate
- increase recruitment and retention

Timeline:
2004 (Sept.) Memo announced the Comprehensive Diversity Plan is being revised.

2004 (Apr.) University-Wide Diversity Committee 2003-04 Progress Report prepared for the Board of Regents; the Executive Summary (of the 39-page report) notes "modest progress has been made from 1995-2003." ${ }^{120}$

2003 (Oct.) University-Wide Committee on Gender Equity 2003 Progress/Annual Report prepared for the Board of Regents. The focus of the 35-page report is on progress in "career development, promotion, and retention of women faculty and staff," and in "hospitable environment for women in the classroom and the workplace." The committee expressed concern that "this period of financial difficulty" ... "does not erase the fragile progress that has been achieved, that cuts do not disproportionately affect women, and that the university continues to vigorously pursue gender equity." ${ }^{121}$

2002 (Aug.) University-Wide Diversity Committee 2002 Progress Report prepared for the Board of Regents; this (27-page) report indicates that the results of the climate survey will be distributed to supervisors and workshops will be conducted to assist them in developing plans to improve the "local neighborhood climate."122

2002 (June) University-Wide Committee on Gender Equity 2002 Progress/Annual Report prepared for the Board of Regents.

2001-2002 An external agency, the Gallup Organization, specializing in "inclusive, engaged, productive workplace research and management training" was contracted to assist in the assessment "inclusiveness" of the campus climate; more than $73 \%$ of administrators, faculty, and staff participated in the survey.

1999 Nearly forty representatives from the UNL community met on September 30, 1999 for the first Diversity Summit. The dialogue primarily focused on student-related issues, specifically recruitment, retention, and campus

[^93]climate. This student focus is in part rounding out the assessment and recommendation component of the UNL Diversity Plan, with regard to student needs.

1999 (June) Publication of the Comprehensive Diversity Plan
1998 (Oct.) The University and the Office for Civil Rights joined in a Partnership Review of the University's policies and procedures to prevent and remedy racial harassment. ${ }^{123}$ The review revealed that the University's current policy/grievance procedures would be improved, and to achieve this, the University will form a committee to revise and enhance current policy/grievance procedures and recommend other changes related to issues of racial harassment.

1998 (Jan.) University’s 5-year Plan to Increase Faculty Diversity, prepared to meet the legislative requirements (28 pages).

1997 The Nebraska Legislature passed LB 389 which requires that by August 1, 2002, the University of Nebraska must reach at least the midpoint percentage of the Board of Regents' peer institutions in the employment of women and minority faculty members. LB 389 further requires the University of Nebraska to submit to the Legislature by January 1, 1998, a five-year plan containing yearly benchmark standards to be met in achieving the legislative goal.

1997 (Feb.) President L. Dennis Smith appoints Gender Equity Task Force to assess the University's progress toward meeting the Gender Equity Goals and Strategies (adopted by the Board of Regents in 1991).

1997 Board of Regents re-confirms their 1993 policy goals pertaining to equity for people of color.

1993 The Board of Regents adopts six goals related to minority affairs, one of which is to "establish effective methods of recruitment and retention designed to achieve multicultural representation among faculty, students, and administration."

1991
The Board of Regents adopts seven gender-equity goals, one of which is to "achieve gender representation throughout the University of Nebraska, including faculty, staff, students, and administration, which reflects a position of leadership among similarly situated institutions."
${ }^{123}$ Resolution Agreement for preventing and remedying racial harassment. (1998, October 30). Retrieved August 12, 2005 from http://www.unl.edu/svcaa/priorities/diversity/ocr.shtml.

University of Nevada, Reno

## Profile

The authors of the Nevada Constitution wrote their sections on higher learning under the influence of the Morrill Land Grant Act of 1862, and the legislature of 1873 authorized the opening of a "university" in Elko (a fledgling railroad town only four years old); only seven students appeared when it opened its doors in 1874 . Designated as a "university preparatory school," it struggled for a decade before the legislature voted to close it in 1885. With congressional appropriations for land-grant education as a major source of the financial support, the university re-opened in 1887 on its new location: Reno. Today, on 200 acres, the main campus encompasses six colleges and four independent schools, including the School of Medicine. The University reports an enrollment of 15,176 students (12,018 undergraduate and 3,209 graduate). Sixteen percent of enrollment consists of racial-minority students. ${ }^{124}$

## Diversity Planning

## Origin of Diversity Action Plan

The Special Assistant to the President for Diversity was charged by the President to develop a strategic plan for the development and implementation of broadly based diversity initiatives for the University of Nevada. This document, released in 2002, serves as a guide for university efforts to develop a "series of interactive diversity plans" within colleges, schools, departments and units, "each of which is independent and in various stages of implementation."

## Diversity Definition

While not explicitly defined, the goal of the policy is to focus on and address "issues and concerns that may derive from experiences and expectations that are influenced by gender, race or ethnicity, ability or disability, or sexual orientation, etc."

Issues/Areas Addressed in Plan:

- enhance coordination of activities
- identify obstacles and barriers to full participation
- ensures effective participation for every segment of the university community

Timeline:
2005 (Sept.) University Report to the Nevada System of Higher Education, Committee on Diversity and Security, prepared by Special Assistant to the President for Diversity (114-page report).

[^94]2004 (July) Annual Diversity Report to the Faculty Senate, 2004-2005, prepared by Special Assistant to the President for Diversity. Noted a "backlogged" item from 2002-03: 'the 'silencing' of faculty and staff, particularly women and people of color...whose views do not agree with those of the administrator." This item is followed with recommendations for supervisor training on "the management of a diverse workforce... [and] to perform more effectively in increasingly intercultural settings."

2004 Student Services Strategic Plan, 2005-2010; diversity is one of five strategic themes.

2002 (fall) The President created three new diversity related committees:

- Advocates and Allies for GLBT Issues
- Multiethnic Coalition
- Intercultural Council

These are in addition to two long-standing committees:

- The Committee on the Status of Women
- University Disabilities Resource Coalition

2002 Diversity Initiative: Strategic Plan, prepared by Special Assistant to the President for Diversity

2001 Student Services Strategic Plan, 2001-07; it identifies diversity related initiatives

2000 The Board of Regents requested and approved five year diversity goals for student participation in each system institution. UNR's goal was to increase the diversity of its student body by increasing the total number of "regular" (degree seeking) underrepresented students from a base number of 1,878 in Fall 2000, to 2,300 in Fall 2005 (an increase of 22.5\%). This five year goal called for an annual increase of 84 students, not disaggregated by ethnic group. The five year goal was met in Fall 2002, three years ahead of schedule. ${ }^{125}$

1995 Academic Master Plan for the University, 1997-2001. This document includes a goal entitled: "increased emphasis on diversity for curriculum, faculty and student body."

1991 The university established the position of Assistant Vice President for Diversity. That position has since evolved into Assistant to the President for Diversity. The purpose of the position is to encourage diversity in curriculum, faculty and students. Each college has developed a diversity plan as part of this initiative. Several colleges have hired minority

[^95]recruiters to support the student recruitment effort and have focused on diversity scholarships.

University of Wisconsin, Madison

## Profile

The university traces its roots to a clause in the Wisconsin Constitution, which decreed that the state should have a prominent public university. In 1848, Nelson Dewey, Wisconsin's first governor, signed the act that formally created the university. In 1866, the legislature designates the UW-Madison as the Wisconsin land-grant institution. Located on 933 acres, today the university encompasses 18 colleges and schools. In fall 2004, the university reported an enrollment of 41,169 students (28,217 undergraduate and 11,403 graduate/professional), with $62 \%$ of students from Wisconsin. Ten percent of enrollment consists of racial-minority students. ${ }^{126}$

## Diversity Planning

## Origin of Diversity Action Plan

The UW System Board of Regents approved Plan 2008 in May 1998, and issued a mandate to all system campuses to develop their own respective diversity plans. The UW-Madison Diversity Plan Steering Committee drafted Plan 2008: Campus Diversity Plan, which was approved by the Regents in April 1999. Plan 2008 builds on the first 10year plan, the 1988 Design for Diversity. The focus of Plan 2008 is to increase recruitment and retention of racial minorities. "Black [student] enrollment stood at 2.19 percent in 1981. Today [2000]...it stands at 2.15 percent." ${ }^{127}$

## Diversity Definition

Diversity means the recognition by all of us of all the social, educational, economic, and emotional biases racial and ethnic background causes, and the willingness to work to eradicate them.

The four ethnic groups targeted in the UW System's Plan 2008 are American Indian, African-American, Latino/a, and Southeast Asian-American. We have aimed the plan at recruitment, retention, and development of those four ethnic groups, though achieving our goals will benefit all students, faculty, and staff. ... Other groups in society who experience discrimination and exclusion include women in some fields; lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender persons; and disabled persons. We call for an improved campus climate and a deeper understanding of the situations of those groups, as well as of the four groups listed above.

[^96]Goal 1. Increase the number of Wisconsin high school graduates of color who apply, are accepted, and enroll at UW System institutions.

Goal 2. Encourage partnerships that build the educational pipeline by reaching children and their parents at an earlier age.

Goal 3. Close the gap in educational achievement, by bringing retention and graduation rates for students of color in line with those of the student body as a whole.

Goal 4. Increase the amount of financial aid available to needy students and reduce their reliance on loans.

Goal 5 Increase the number of faculty, academic staff, classified staff and administrators of color, so that they are represented in the UW System workforce in proportion to their current availability in relevant job pools. In addition, work to increase their future availability as potential employees.

Goal 6. Foster institutional environments and course development that enhance learning and a respect for racial and ethnic diversity.

Goal 7. Improve accountability of the UW System and its institutions.

Timeline:
2005 (Nov.) $6^{\text {th }}$ Annual Multicultural Campus Forum, a day-long forum that includes skill-building workshops, small-group sessions, and large performances.

2005 (Oct.) Creation of a new web link called "Creating Community" and accessible from the university's home page: http://www.diversity.wisc.edu/

2005 (Aug.) Publication of 2004-05 Diversity and Campus Climate Annual Report, prepared by Bernice Durand, the associate vice chancellor for diversity and climate. This annual report documents progress on Plan 2008, and provides statistical data to support claims.

2005 (Apr.) Plan 2008: Phase 2, 2005-2008, submitted by Bernice Durand, the associate vice chancellor for diversity and climate. The "4-year goal is to have infrastructure in place by the end of 2008 to sustain success in both recruiting and retaining a racially/ethnically diverse student body, staff, and faculty. ... Sustaining success includes valid, efficient record-keeping,
reporting and assessment methods to make accountability possible, as well as enhancement and dissemination of programs that work well." ${ }^{128}$

2004 (Dec.) Publication of Campus Diversity Plan Oversight Committee Annual Report (Jan. 2003-Dec. 2004). The report focuses primarily on the findings of the external review.

2003 (Aug.) Creation of Ombuds Office for Faculty and Staff to provide confidential conflict resolution assistant; cited as part of efforts to enhance campus climate.

2003 (May) External review of progress on Plan 2008, conducted by the senior diversity officers at the University of Minnesota and Indiana University who visited UW-M on March 31 - April 2, 2003. Their strongest recommendations were to narrow our focus and work on fewer initiatives more intensively, and to build a system of accountability.

2003 (Jan.) Appointment of Bernice Durand, professor of physics, to the new associate vice chancellor for diversity and climate position.

2000 The Campus Diversity Plan Oversight Committee was instituted to track the progress of Plan 2008 and any future campus diversity plans.

2000 In an attempt to project an image of diversity, university officials altered the cover photograph of its admission brochure by including a minority student who was not originally present in the photograph. ${ }^{129}$

1999 Plan 2008: Campus Diversity Plan is approved by the Regents; this document builds on the first 10-year plan, the 1988 Design for Diversity. The plan was created in response to a Regents mandate in 1998.

1998 (Mar.) In March, 1998, University of Wisconsin Professor Emeritus Lee Hansen proposed an alternative diversity plan to the Board of Regents, arguing the University should emphasize economic disadvantage over what he stated were race-based preferences. While the plan's title did change from the draft called "Quality through diversity—Plan 2008: Educational quality through racial and ethnic diversity" to Plan 2008: Campus Diversity Plan, the final report focuses on race along with "other groups in society who experience discrimination and exclusion including women in some fields; lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender persons; and disabled persons" (Plan 2008).

[^97]1988 (Jan.) Ten-year Madison Plan for UW-Madison was endorsed by then-new Chancellor Donna Shalala. A year later the UW System umbrella plan Design for Diversity was adopted.

## Profile

After a long and often bitter and acrimonious struggle, dubbed the 'War of the Colleges' by the press, a bill successfully passed which provided that one third of Virginia's landgrant fund be donated to the Hampton Normal and Industrial Institute for the blacks, and two thirds to be donated to the Preston and Olin Institute, if the latter institute relinquished its charter, donated its property to the state and reorganized as the Virginia Agricultural and Mechanical College (VAMC). Governor Walker signed the bill on March 19, 1872 and VAMC opened its doors to interested white males. ${ }^{130}$ In 1896, with agriculture, mechanics, and scientific technology combined in one institution, the legislature changed the school's name to Virginia Agricultural and Mechanical College and Polytechnic Institute, which was shortened in popular usage to Virginia Polytechnic Institute, and then to Virginia Tech or VPI. Today, Virginia Tech, located in Blacksburg, encompasses eight colleges and a graduate school, and includes an airport. In fall 2004, the university reported an enrollment of 27,619 students (21,330 undergraduate and 5,932 graduate). Thirteen percent of undergraduate enrollment consists of racial-minority students. ${ }^{131}$

## Diversity Planning

## Origin of Diversity Action Plan

The University Diversity Strategic Plan, initiated in January 1999, grew directly from a variety of assessment and planning activities designed to determine where the university was (and needed to be) with respect to the participation of women, racial/ethnic minorities, people with disabilities, and other underrepresented groups within the university community. Working with faculty, staff, and students, the Office of Multicultural Affairs sponsored or helped to coordinate at least nine university-wide forums and meetings in which status and climate data were shared and recommendations for improvement goals were solicited. In November 2000, the Office of Multicultural Affairs released The Faces of Change: University Diversity Strategic Plan, 2000-2005.

## Diversity Definition

Diversity refers to the fact that our community, both locally and nationally, is comprised of many individuals, each having unique attributes based on a variety

[^98]of social, physical, and cultural characteristics. Included among these attributes are race, class, ethnicity, religion, gender, age, sexual orientation, marital status, veteran status, disability, political affiliation, and national origin.

Issues/Areas Addressed in Plans:

1. Increase and enhance student, faculty, and staff diversity at all levels of the university, with particular focus on racial/ethnic and gender differences.
2. Improve the university climate for students, faculty, and staff.
3. Implement a comprehensive program of education and training opportunities, made available to students, faculty, and staff and designed to include a review of legal issues, best practices, and research related to recognizing, valuing, and effectively managing differences.
4. Implement a comprehensive system of responsibility, accountability, and recognition for increasing campus diversity, improving campus climate, and advancing the knowledge base for creating and sustaining a culturally diverse community of learners, teachers, researchers, and workers.
5. Develop both internal and external collaborations and partnerships that are designed to build capacity for extending diversity and multicultural education and related research to the broader community, businesses, and other organizations affiliated with and/or serviced by the university.

Timeline:

2005 (Mar.) During a public ceremony following a full board meeting, the Virginia Tech Board of Visitors endorsed the Virginia Tech Principles of Community, a statement that affirms the university's commitment to a diverse and inclusive community. ${ }^{132}$

2004 (Nov.) The Office of the Provost and Vice President for Academic Affairs presents a working document: Strategies for increasing diversity and inclusion at Virginia Tech to the Board of Visitors Academic Affairs Committee. Delineates several strategies in four categories: personnel, pedagogy, programs, and policy; the latter category includes the recommendation to assess progress on and update the Diversity Strategic Plan.

2004 (June) The Office of the Provost and Vice President for Academic Affairs presents the "Report of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Narrow-Tailoring Concept" to the Virginia Tech Board of Visitors that includes recommendations to bring race and ethnicity conscious activities of the university into compliance with state and federal laws and the rulings of the U. S. Supreme Court. "Adjustments" are proposed for five major

[^99]areas: undergraduate admissions, private scholarships and financial aid, the Multicultural Academic Opportunities Program, the McNair Scholars Program, and other selected federally sponsored activities.

2004 (Apr.) Standards for Inclusive Policies, Programs and Practice, adopted by Commission on Equal Opportunity and Diversity, emerged from a comprehensive review process that began in the fall of 2002.

2003 Creation of the Commission on Equal Opportunity and Diversity (CEOD); this group grew from extensive work conducted by the Equal Opportunity and Affirmative Action Committee and the Advisory Council on Diversity and Multicultural Affairs. The CEOD is charged with the formulation and recommendation of university policy in the areas of diversity and equal opportunity.

2001 (Aug.) Publication of Virginia Tech’s Strategic Plan; the plan includes goals to increase diversity and to welcome and nurture diversity.

2000 (Nov.) The Office of Multicultural Affairs publishes The Faces of Change: University Diversity Strategic Plan, 2000-2005. This plan closely aligns with the Implementation Plan of the Academic Agenda and the university's six strategic directions.

2000 (Fall) Publication of The campus climate for diversity: Student perceptions. ${ }^{133}$ The 166-page document reports the graduate and undergraduate student survey results about their perceptions of the campus climate. The Undergraduate Student Assessment of Campus Climate was mailed to 3,000 of the 13,174 eligible undergraduate students enrolled at Virginia Tech during the fall 1998 semester, with an overall response rate of 38.7.

1999 (Spr.) Publication of The campus climate for diversity: Faculty perceptions. ${ }^{134}$ The 136-page document reports the graduate and undergraduate student survey results about their perceptions of the campus climate. The Faculty Assessment of Campus Climate survey was mailed to 2,648 salaried faculty members working at least one-half time. The overall response rate was 50 percent. The results were analyzed by location (on and off campus), gender, and race/ ethnicity. Responses from faculty members with disabilities and gay, lesbian, and bisexual faculty members were also analyzed and reported separately.

[^100]1999 (Jan.) The Office of Multicultural Affairs initiated the process to draft The University Diversity Strategic Plan; the office sponsored or helped coordinate at least nine university-wide forums and meetings in which status and climate data were shared and recommendations for improvement goals were solicited.

1998 (Mar.) The Staff Assessment of Campus Climate survey was mailed to 3,239 classified staff members at Virginia Tech. This sample included all salaried, full- or part- time, and restricted staff members working at least 50 percent. Both on- and off-campus staff members were included, as well as janitorial, buildings, and grounds employees.

1998 (Fall) Publication of Women and Minorities at Virginia Tech. ${ }^{135}$ The 86-page status report assembles data to highlight concerns over the last five years concerning women and minorities at Virginia Tech.

1998 Based on an internal study conducted by the Provost's Office, it was determined that the quality of the faculty search process with respect to diversity goals needed significant improvement.

1997-98 Virginia Tech initiated a number of activities to focusing on how to increase the presence and improve the status of women and minorities within the university community. Using an online questionnaire, an attempt was made to collect comprehensive data on diversity initiatives across the campus. The assessment project received an important impetus when the Office of Multicultural Affairs, which was organized in 1998, and its Advisory Council on Diversity and Multicultural Affairs accepted the responsibility of completing the project.

1995 For the first time, the university hired a woman as senior vice president and provost, another woman as dean of the College of Architecture and Urban Studies, and appointed a woman to head the newly merged College of Human Resources and Education. The university also created a Women's Center.

[^101]
## APPENDIX B

Land-grant institutions are located in all 50 states, the U.S. territories, and the District of Columbia. This list represents fifty of the institutions designated as land-grant universities as set forth in the Morrill Act of 1862. In addition, there are 29 tribal colleges (sometimes referred to as the 1994 land-grant colleges) and 17 historically black institutions (sometimes called the 1890 land-grants) ${ }^{136}$ (What is a land-grant college?, 1999).

Table B. 1
U.S. Land-Grant Universities

State Institution

| Alabama | Auburn University |
| :--- | :--- |
| Alaska | University of Alaska |
| Arizona | University of Arizona |
| Arkansas | University of Arkansas |
| California | University of California |
| Colorado | Colorado State University |
| Connecticut | University of Connecticut |
| Delaware | University of Delaware |
| Florida | University of Florida |
| Georgia | University of Georgia |
| Hawaii | University of Hawaii |
| Idaho | University of Idaho |
| Illinois | University of Illinois |
| Indiana | Purdue University |
| Iowa | Iowa State |
| Kansas | Kansas State University |
| Kentucky | University of Kentucky |
| Louisiana | Louisiana State University |
| Maine | University of Maine |
| Maryland | University of Maryland, college park |
| Massachusetts | University of Massachusetts, Amherst |
| Michigan | Michigan State University |
| Minnesota | University of Minnesota |
| Mississippi | Mississippi State University |
| Missouri | University of Missouri, Columbia |
| Montana | Montana State University |
| Nebraska | University of Nebraska-Lincoln |

[^102]Table B.1, continued

| Nevada | University of Nevada, Reno |
| :--- | :--- |
| New Hampshire | University of New Hampshire |
| New Jersey | Rutgers |
| New Mexico | New Mexico State University |
| New York | Cornell |
| North Carolina | North Carolina State |
| North Dakota | North Dakota State University |
| Ohio | Ohio State University |
| Oklahoma | Oklahoma State University |
| Oregon | Oregon State University |
| Pennsylvania | Penn State |
| Rhode Island | University of Rhode Island |
| South Carolina | Clemson University |
| South Dakota | South Dakota State University |
| Tennessee | University of Tennessee |
| Texas | Texas A\&M University |
| Utah | Utah State University |
| Vermont | University of Vermont |
| Virginia | Virginia Tech |
| Washington | Washington State University |
| West Virginia | WV University |
| Wisconsin | University of Wisconsin-Madison |
| Wyoming | University of Wyoming |

## APPENDIX C

Table C. 1
Land-grant universities and diversity planning efforts

| State | Institution | Diversity Planning Efforts <br> 2002 charge to develop diversity <br> action plan; external consultant <br> prepared strategic diversity plan <br> and submitted to president. Final <br> version not yet released (August <br> 2004). |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Alabama | Auburn University | Diversity initiatives addressed in <br> Goal 5 of Strategic Plan 2005. No <br> diversity action plan. |
| Alaska | University of Alaska |  |

Table C.1, continued

|  |  | 1997 draft diversity action plan. <br> Currently engaged in assessment <br> (September 2004). |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | Purdue University | 2002 charge to develop diversity <br> action plan; final plan will be <br> issued following incorporation of <br> results from 2003 climate study <br> (September 2004). |
|  |  | President's Commission on <br> Multicultural Affairs. Annual <br> reports through 2001. Draft <br> Iowa State |
|  |  | Fall of 2004; not available <br> externally. |
| Kansas |  | Recommendations of the <br> President's Commission on <br> Diversity, 2002. No diversity <br> action plan. |
|  | Kansas State University |  |

Table C.1, continued

| Montana | Montana State University | Campus Action Plan to Promote Multicultural Diversity and Increase Participation of American Indian and Ethnic Minorities, 1992-2002. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Nebraska | University of NebraskaLincoln | Comprehensive Diversity Plan, 1999 (revised draft) |
| Nevada | University of Nevada, Reno | Strategic Plan for Diversity Initiatives, 2002 |
| New Hampshire | University of New Hampshire | Annual reports produced by numerous presidential commissions; diversity planning underway (August 2004). |
| New Jersey | Rutgers | Student Affairs Committee to Advance our Common Purposes; no diversity action plan; conducting climate survey (August 2004). |
| New Mexico | New Mexico State University | Diversity reflected in strategic plan (1998-2002); no diversity action plan (December 2004). |
| New York | Cornell | The Cornell University Story: A Holistic Approach to Diversity and Inclusiveness, 2004 |
| North Carolina | North Carolina State | Diversity Initiative, 1997 (draft), 1999 (revised \& final) |
| North Dakota | North Dakota State University | President's Diversity Council completed climate survey in 2004, results will be used to develop plan. |
| Ohio | Ohio State University | Diversity Action Plan, 2000 |
| Oklahoma | Oklahoma State University | Institutional Diversity Strategic Plan, 2003 |
| Oregon | Oregon State University | Improving the Racial Climate at Oregon State University: Recommendations to the President's Cabinet, 1999; initiated diversity planning in 2003, currently drafting plan. |
| Pennsylvania | Penn State | Framework to foster diversity, 1998-2003; 2004-09 |
| Rhode Island | University of Rhode Island | Common Agenda: Developing a Diversity Plan (2001-02); no final plan (August 2004). |

Table C.1, continued

| South Carolina | Clemson University | Report by President's Commission <br> on the Status of Black Faculty and <br> Staff, 1999, 2001 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| South Dakota | South Dakota State <br> University | Diversity Enhancement Advisory <br> Council currently drafting plan <br> (November 2004). |
| Tennessee | University of Tennessee | No diversity action plan; <br> framework being proposed <br> (August 2004). |
| Texas | Texas A\&M University | Report by the President's Ad Hoc <br> Committee on Diversity and <br> Globalization, 2002 |
| Utah | Utah State University | No diversity action plan <br> (September 2004). |
| Vermont | University of Vermont | Diversity Plan, 1995; engaged in <br> assessment, 2004. |
| Virginia | Virginia Tech | Diversity Strategic Plan, 2000-05 |
| Washington | Washington State <br> University | Commitment to a diverse <br> community, 1997-2002; drafting a <br> strategic plan for equity and <br> diversity (December 2004). |
| West Virginia | WV University | President's Office for Social <br> Justice annual report, 2002-03; no <br> diversity action plan. |
| Wisconsin | University of Wisconsin- <br> Madison | Plan 2008: the campus diversity <br> plan (1999) |
| Wyoming | University of Wyoming | External consultant report on <br> diversity, 2002. |

## APPENDIX D

Research Journal Excerpt

November 26, 2004
The policies fail to "trouble" the concept of diversity. Most (all?) seem to define "diversity" broadly for the purposes of their plan, encompassing race, color, religion, sex, national origin, age, disability, marital status, political affiliation, sexual orientation, ethnicity, birthplace, ancestry, culture, language or linguistic characteristics, pregnancy, veteran status, and socioeconomic differences. (Idaho)
However, these lists of identity groups or statuses then remain undefined. This is further complicated when an identity-group, previously included in the definition of diversity, is later discussed as discrete from diversity. For instance, the University of Idaho (UI) plan states the Administration will "conduct an annual review of salaries and keep units informed of progress toward salary equity among faculty, staff, and administrators to identify disparities concerning gender and diversity, provide funding to eliminate such salary disparities, and provide annual reports to unit heads on percent raises awarded by gender and ethnicity in each rank" (my emphasis). ...

Particularly disturbing is failure to qualify the use of race and ethnicity - labels often used interchangeably. Additionally, the numerous identity groups are assumed (by all?) to be discrete categories. Institutions, seeking to increase or enhance diversity, identify the need to improve access for women, or increase representation for African-Americans, or improve accommodations for individuals with disabilities. No institution recognized that individual identities are complex; multiple identity categories intersect (Crenshaw), e.g., my identity as a straight, white, able-bodied woman. Finally, all (?) reports identified the disadvantaged status of "minorities;" yet, no (?) reports engaged in a discussion of the privileged status of some groups on campus (white, straight, able-bodied males), and none (?) examine the privileging conditions that sustain systems of advantage and disadvantage.

Why is the need to genuinely value the 'other' important? Does it have to do with my own need as a woman to be reflected and valued by these reports (rather than 'managed' as data for assessment purposes)? Further, does my angst - not just academic, but also clearly personal - about definitional ambiguities and terminological conflation come from some do-gooder commitment to equity and inclusion? Meaning, I want the betterment of all individuals, and education to 'do right' by/for 'them' - in what ways am I, in my role as researcher, performing the role of expert, in exactly the ways I am critical of how 'leadership' is ascribed in the plans with the burden/expectation of responsibility for the problem of diversity.

## APPENDIX E

Table E. 1
Summary of Codes ${ }^{137}$

| Problems | Solutions | Images |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |

Codes

| Access (not enough) | Increase access | Faculty |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Chilly climate | Improve climate | Staff |
| Leadership (lack of) | Policy | Students |
| Discrimination | Training and Development | Administrators |
| Competition | "Manage diversity" | Board-Trustee |
| Scarce Resources | Curriculum Development | Identity Status |
|  | Improve Retention | Victims |
|  | Remediation | At-risk |
|  | (strategic use of) Funding | Achiever |
|  | Quality \& Reputation | Resource |
|  | Open participation \& |  |
|  | Dialogue |  |

## Sub-codes

| Access (not enough) <br> - Barriers to participation <br> - Inadequate representation <br> - Attrition <br> - Under-representation <br> - Over-representation <br> - Exclusion <br> - Poor search, recruitment, selection processes <br> - Untrained search committees <br> - Limited pools <br> - Inaccessible facilities <br> - Slow to no advancement | Increase access <br> - Improve recruitment and selection processes (e.g., advertising, strategic hiring) <br> - Physically accessible facilities <br> - Improve search committees <br> - Identify diverse pools (e.g., pre-college programs, partnerships with MSIs) <br> - "grow your own" <br> - "borrow" <br> - Universal design <br> - Translation <br> - "widen the net" <br> - Appoint special recruiters | Faculty <br> - Tenure-track <br> - Post-doc <br> - Visiting Faculty, Fellows, or Lecturers <br> - full-time <br> - part-time <br> - junior <br> - senior <br> - department chairs <br> - faculty-of-color <br> - various religious and ethnic minorities <br> - from different backgrounds and cultures <br> - international <br> - mentors <br> - allies |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |

[^103]Table E.1, continued

| Chilly Climate <br> - segregated past <br> - exclusionary traditions <br> - racist mascot <br> - male-dominated fields <br> - negative stereotyping <br> - inconsistent and unfair treatment <br> - unsupportive work environment <br> - "less favorable" climate <br> - Treated with disrespect <br> - "they do not fit in very well" | Improve climate <br> - Honoring: recognition and awards; ceremonies; rewards and incentives <br> - Celebrate: cultural celebrations; holiday unity celebration; special meals; minority history events <br> - Develop resource office <br> - Support groups <br> - Advocacy services/personnel <br> - Ombuds <br> - Promote awareness of discrimination <br> - Sensitivity training <br> - civility training <br> - safe zone training <br> - Offer mediation and conflict resolution <br> - Bias Response Program <br> - Report Hate website <br> - Develop safe places <br> - Facilitate inter-group dialogue and contact <br> - Profess institutional commitment | Staff <br> - Academic and nonacademic <br> - Exempt and non-exempt <br> - Staff of color <br> - Professional staff <br> - Classified staff <br> - Summer staff <br> - international staff <br> - "traditional minority staff members" <br> - Mentors <br> - "skilled trades" <br> - Puerto Rican staff <br> - "homogeneous" <br> - Allies |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |

Table E.1, continued

| Leadership (lack of) <br> - Lack of commitment <br> - Inadequate progress toward goals <br> - Lack of will <br> - Insufficient accountability <br> - Poor management <br> - Failure to coordinate efforts <br> - Diffusion of responsibility <br> - White, male leadership | Policy <br> - Family-friendly <br> - Health/medical (e.g., contraception for women) <br> - Religious accommodation policy <br> - Domestic partner benefits <br> - Flex time <br> - Add sexual orientation and gender identity to non-discrimination policies <br> - Support non-traditional research in tenure and promotion <br> - Tenure clock adjustments (for childbirth and childrearing) | Students <br> - Under-represented <br> - Under-served populations <br> - Under-prepared <br> - Under-qualified <br> - disadvantaged <br> - economically disadvantaged <br> - low-income <br> - ALANA students <br> - First-year, second-year and transfer, re-entering <br> - returning adult students <br> - First generation <br> - graduate and professional student <br> - "qualified students" <br> - "academically high profile" <br> - "highest ability white students" <br> - In-state; out-of-state <br> - leaders <br> - athletes <br> - student teachers <br> - veterans <br> - international; foreign <br> - allies <br> - Conservative <br> - Open-minded <br> - members of the LGBT community |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |

Table E.1, continued

| Discrimination <br> - Historical and contemporary <br> - Unfair, discriminatory practices <br> - inequity in salary and benefits <br> - unequal start-up packages <br> - unsafe campus: harassment, bias incidents, hate crimes <br> - derogatory comments <br> - exclusion | Training and Development <br> - leadership training <br> - education <br> - awareness <br> - apprenticeships <br> - "pipeline development" <br> - "diversity maturity" <br> - "interactive theatre project" <br> - Workshops on tolerance and respect <br> - Skill development (e.g., ESL, adult basic ed) | Administrators <br> - Senior <br> - Academic <br> - Leaders <br> - mid-level supervisory positions <br> - highest level administrators <br> - deans, chairs and vice presidents <br> - Managers and supervisors <br> - "from under-represented groups, diverse ages, and abilities" |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Competition/Inability to compete <br> - Global marketplace <br> - Rapidly changing market conditions <br> - Changing demographic reality <br> - Fierce competition <br> - Global workforce | "Manage Diversity" <br> - Change job descriptions <br> - Conduct climate surveys <br> - Assess status of underrepresented groups <br> - "monitor" retention <br> - Improve procedures for tracking diversity progress <br> - Identify and promote "best practices" <br> - Compliance training <br> - Develop a "business case;" adopt business tactics <br> - Improve coordination <br> - Increase efficiency <br> - Centralize diversity efforts <br> - Inventory programs and resources <br> - Create databases <br> - Generate progress reports | Board-Trustee <br> - pass resolutions <br> - student-elected trustees <br> - women and minorities <br> - leaders <br> - decision-makers <br> - governing <br> - issuing mandates |

Table E.1, continued

| Scarce Resources <br> - Inadequate funds for salaries <br> - Benefits not competitive <br> - Declining public support <br> - Shrinking state support <br> - Under-funded <br> - Budget shortfalls <br> - Financial stress | Curriculum development <br> - "Infuse diversity" <br> - "transform and diversify" <br> - "curriculum infusion project" <br> - Develop \& expand area studies <br> - Service-learning <br> - Study abroad (students) <br> - International exchanges (faculty) <br> - Multicultural competencies through Gen Ed requirements <br> - Examine teaching styles; conduct faculty training | Identity Status <br> - Men <br> - Women <br> - African-American; Black <br> - Asian; Hmong <br> - Native American /Indian <br> - Latino; Hispanic; Mexican <br> - White-European <br> - Franco-American <br> - Puerto Rican <br> - Multicultural <br> - international <br> - members of the LGBT community <br> - heterosexual <br> - transsexual, intersex and transgender <br> - religious minorities; Christians <br> - Veterans <br> - disabled; able-bodied |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Improve retention <br> - Dual career program <br> - Living-learning programs in residence halls <br> - First-year experience courses <br> - Academic support services <br> - Mentoring programs | Victims <br> - of hate crimes <br> - "targeted victims" <br> - Suffer <br> - "unsafe" <br> - "abused" <br> - "silenced" <br> - "insulted" <br> - "harassed" <br> - "targeted groups" <br> - "discriminated against" <br> - "threatened" <br> - disrespected |

Table E.1, continued

|  | Remediation <br> - College prep programs <br> - Remedial courses <br> - Summer programs <br> - Pre-college enrichment <br> - "bridge" programs | At-risk <br> - Disadvantaged <br> - Economically <br> - Academically <br> - Under-prepared <br> - Needy <br> - Marginalized <br> - "Routinely limited" <br> - Unwelcome <br> - Undervalued |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | (Strategic use of) Funding <br> - Targeted use of financial resources <br> - Seek private funds, for faculty positions, endowed chairs, research programs <br> - Partnerships and contracts (e.g., pouring rights) <br> - Develop fellowships <br> - Increase financial aid and scholarships, both merit and need-based <br> - Offer summer stipends <br> - Waive application fees <br> - Enhance research packages <br> - opportunity hiring funds: for "attractive and competitive recruitment packages" | Achiever <br> - High achiever <br> - High profile <br> - High performing <br> - High ability <br> - High quality <br> - Promising <br> - Talented <br> - Scholarly distinction <br> - First-class <br> - World-class <br> - Prestige |

Table E.1, continued

|  | Improve and Emphasize Quality \& Reputation <br> - Performance indicators <br> - Measures of success <br> - National rankings <br> - Benchmarking <br> - Commitment to excellence <br> - Identify models to emulate <br> - Heighten attractiveness | Resource <br> - Key ingredient <br> - Key component <br> - Rich resource <br> - Source of excellence <br> - Valuable resource <br> - Important as technology |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Open participation and dialogue <br> - Participatory decisionmaking <br> - Presidential commissions <br> - Campus-wide dialogue <br> - "Town Hall" meetings <br> - Open forums, debate |  |

## APPENDIX F

Auburn University. (2004). Strategic Diversity Plan. Auburn, AL: Auburn University Office of the President, with Clayton and Associates.

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Virginia Tech University. (2000). Diversity Strategic Plan, 2000-05. Blacksburg, VA: Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University Office of Multicultural Affairs.

## BIOGRAPHY OF THE AUTHOR

Susan Van Deventer Iverson grew up in Washington, Maine and graduated in 1983 from Medomak Valley High School, in Waldoboro, Maine. Iverson attended Keene State College, in Keene, NH and graduated in 1988 with a Bachelor of Arts in English, with a minor in management. Iverson earned a Master of Education in counseling Bridgewater State College in Bridgewater, MA, and a Master of Arts in higher education administration from Boston College, completing both in 1992. Iverson has held various positions in student affairs administration at Bridgewater State College in Bridgewater, MA; Dean College in Franklin, MA; Sweet Briar College in Sweet Briar, VA; and the University of Maine in Orono, ME.

Susan is a candidate for the Doctor of Education degree in higher educational leadership with a concentration in women's studies from The University of Maine in December 2005.


[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ My use of the word diversity is consistent with its definition in diversity action plans: differences in age, ethnicity, gender, race, culture, nationality, sexual orientation, religion, class, and physical ability.
    ${ }^{2}$ I view the 1954 Supreme Court case Brown v. Board of Education as the catalyst for subsequent demographic changes in education, and the implicit date in this opening statement. Others (Valverde, 1998) cite the 1960s, namely passage of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act in 1964, as the impetus of the inclusion of historically disadvantaged groups in higher education.

[^1]:    ${ }^{3}$ Asian-Americans have experienced the biggest jump in enrollment since 1980, with $61.6 \%$ of AsianAmerican high-school graduates enrolled in higher education in 2000 (College Enrollment by Racial and Ethnic Group, 2003; Harvey, 2003).

[^2]:    ${ }^{4}$ This approach is consistently employed by higher educational administrators as evidenced by the proliferation of such documents (e.g., strategic plans, master plans). While some scholars criticize these planning efforts (Boyd, 1991; Hurst, 1986; Mintzberg, 1994), short- and long-range planning on various institutional concerns, including diversity, continues to be deployed as a strategy.

[^3]:    ${ }^{5}$ By institutional culture I mean the "shared values, assumptions, beliefs, and ideologies" that guide and shape campus norms and rules, contribute to faculty, staff, and students' perceptions of self and others, and "provide a frame of reference within which to interpret the meaning of events and actions" (Kuh \& Whitt, 1988, p. 162; see also Tierney, 1993).

[^4]:    ${ }^{6}$ Scholarly debate surrounds the origins of critical theory as a concept, though the term "critical theory" was first used by members of the Frankfurt School in the 1960s. Critical theory, while discrete from, can be informed by poststructuralism and several other areas of thought.

[^5]:    ${ }^{7}$ Some scholars use the terms postmodern and poststructural interchangeably. Lather (1991), distinguishing these two terms, denotes "postmodern to mean larger cultural shifts of a post-industrial, post-colonial era and poststructural to mean the working out of those shifts within the arenas of academic theory" (p. 4, original emphasis). I have chosen the term poststructural for its interest in texts (e.g., policy) and the discourse(s) that constitute social, cultural products (Ball, 1990; Foucault, 1977/1995). Yet, I also recognize, as Lather (1991) argues, that "any effort at definition domesticates, analytically fixes, and mobilizes pro and contra positions" (p. 5).

[^6]:    ${ }^{8}$ While the aim of this new designation was to increase the tribal colleges' connection "to mainstream institutions by sharing projects, resources, and information with other land grant universities" it is noteworthy that the "total appropriations for all 29 eligible TCUs are about equal to the amount given to just one state land-grant university each year" (Stein, Shanley, \& Sanchez, in Benham \& Stein, 2003, p. 81).

[^7]:    ${ }^{9}$ For a discussion of these and other non-discrimination laws in higher education, see Kaplin \& Lee (1995).

[^8]:    ${ }^{10}$ I have benefited from Yanow (2003) who uses this hyphenated term in her analysis of the production of race and ethnicity in America. I also recognize the risk involved in my use of this broad signifier (raceethnicity), namely the risk of casting a kaleidoscope of identity possibilities as one arbitrary, fixed group. However, I will defer to the scholarly debate and conflict about "identity pools versus identity pigeonholes" (Ibarra, 2001, p. 40), reserving the option to engage this challenge later in this text.

[^9]:    ${ }^{11}$ The transgendered person inhabits an identity that, as it gains its policy foothold, will likely disrupt existing identity categories. A few policies in this sample propose to add "sexual identity" to their institutional non-discrimination policies, a change that will likely demand dialogue about assumptions around gender and sexual orientation, and the seeming discreteness of identity categories.
    ${ }^{12}$ Persons who are gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transgender have not yet been granted civil rights equal to those of other citizens in the United States; however, a number of individual states and municipalities have done so (Sanlo, 1998).
    ${ }^{13}$ The Stonewall Riots of 1969 mark the beginning of the gay liberation movement in the United States (Sanlo, 1998). On June 27, 1969, violent protest erupted in New York City as crowds in a gay bar fought police who were raiding the bar.
    ${ }^{14}$ The Student Homophile League was the first recognized LGBT student organization on an American college campus (Mallory, in Sanlo, 1998, p. 321).

[^10]:    ${ }^{15}$ ALANA is an acronym for African, Latino, Asian, and Native American. ALANA is considered to be a derivative of AHANA which was originally introduced in 1979 at Boston College, and was trademarked by the institution in 1991 (Oslin, 2004).
    ${ }^{16}$ The NGLTF, originally founded as the National Gay Task Force, changed its named in 1985 (Task Force History, 2004).

[^11]:    ${ }^{17}$ ADA extended the concepts of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 to "public accommodations" which includes private institutions of higher education (Title III).

[^12]:    ${ }^{18}$ One diversity action plan in the sample selected for this investigation appended its 11-page report on disability access generated by a working group on disability access and accommodation (University of Illinois, 2002).

[^13]:    ${ }^{19}$ The notion of globalization and a global economy emerged after WWII; however, in the 1970s corporations began to make "a credible try at managing the world as an integrated unit" (Barnet \& Muller, in Readings, 1996, p. 202), and through the 1980s an "emerging global order" continued to increase exponentially, undermining "the effectiveness of national governments to carry out essential policies on behalf of their people" (Barnet \& Cavanagh, in Readings, 1996, p. 203).

[^14]:    ${ }^{20}$ For example, the numbers of international students enrolled in U.S. higher education have shown steady increases since the mid-1980s (Ibarra, 2001, p. 10). Additionally, the numbers of students enrolled abroad increased 29\% from 1980 to 1990 (Readings, 1996, p. 49).

[^15]:    ${ }^{21}$ However, I recognize that this premise is open to criticism and debate and the efficacy of these policy documents warrants future study.

[^16]:    ${ }^{22}$ French and Raven (in Fisher, 1984, p. 28) identify these bases of power as: coercive, charismatic, expert, referent, legitimate, and reward.
    ${ }^{23}$ Salancik and Pfeffer (1974) note that power in social systems may be vertical or horizontal, and involve interpersonal relations and organizational units; however, the scholarship is dominated with a concern for vertical interpersonal power.

[^17]:    ${ }^{24}$ See the discussion of silence as resistance, an act of protest rather than passive submission, in Maureen Mahoney, "The Problem of Silence in Feminist Psychology," in Freeman, Bourque, \& Shelton, Women on Power: Leadership Redefined, 2001.

[^18]:    ${ }^{25}$ The other two approaches, according to Denzin and Lincoln, are content analysis and semiotics.

[^19]:    ${ }^{26}$ The designation-"1862 land-grant"-derives from legislation passed in 1862-the Morrill Land Grant Act-that awarded land grants to states, and were extended to more institutions as present state boundaries were defined. Typically, references to land-grant universities do not include this designator (1862); however, it is important to acknowledge and differentiate from the "1890 land-grants" and the "1994 landgrants." For a complete list of land-grant universities in the U.S. see The 105 Land-Grant Colleges and Universities available from http://www.nasulgc.org/publications/Land_Grant/Schools.htm.

[^20]:    ${ }^{27}$ In 1862, institutions were educating students in agriculture, mechanical arts, and military tactics; today, land-grant universities are preparing students to function in an increasingly multicultural and pluralistic world (Campbell, 1995; McGowan, 1998).
    ${ }^{28}$ These institutions also belong to a common association, National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges (NASULGC). Founded in 1887, NASULGC is the oldest higher education association in the U.S. One NASULGC initiatives is a Task Force on Diversity that began meeting in 2004; its purpose is "to develop strategies, including working definitions, and assessment and accountability guides for maintaining, increasing, and integrating diversity into all areas of member institutions." It does not, however, prepare or issue templates for diversity action plans. FMI, see: http://www.nasulgc.org/initiatives.htm, accessed October 4, 2005.

[^21]:    ${ }^{29}$ These diversity-related groups include President's Council on Disabilities, President's Commission on Women, President's Commission on the Status of GLBT Issues, Provost's Committee on the Status of People of Color.
    ${ }^{30}$ While committees and reports have various titles, I was seeking plans that addressed diversity in the broadest sense. This parameter excluded reports generated by other committees charged by senior administrators, e.g., commission on women, disabilities.

[^22]:    ${ }^{31}$ Demographic information was gathered through common data sets archived electronically by offices of institutional research. In particular, I collected Fall 2003 enrollment data on undergraduate student ethnicity and gender. This information is included in the institutional profiles in Appendix A.

[^23]:    ${ }^{32}$ A summary of the codes and subcodes developed throughout the coding process is provided in Appendix E.

[^24]:    ${ }^{33}$ Many researchers commit extensive time in the field trying to gain access, build rapport, and acquire an "insider's" perspective, meaning acquire the knowledge of the community and its members, their specialized use of words and terms, or their assumptions and viewpoints (Miles \& Huberman, 1994). Then once acquired, insider-researchers face ethical challenges associated with insider roles, e.g., participants divulging more or less information because of their relationship with the researcher (McGinn, 2005). As an "insider's" to university life (described earlier in this chapter), thus, it was critical that I identify and employ strategies to abdicate any authority and knowledge that could influence my analysis and interpretation. I utilized reflective journaling and other strategies to become more aware of the assumptions I bring as a researcher to the data and the analytic process.

[^25]:    ${ }^{34}$ The diversity action plans refer to individuals using a variety of terms, e.g., members of historically disadvantaged groups, targeted groups, under-represented persons, those who have been historically marginalized and previously excluded, and diverse persons. For the purpose of this study, I collectively refer to individuals as diverse persons. This label may not be ideal, but allows for a consistent signifier throughout the text.

[^26]:    ${ }^{35}$ These findings build on a framework established by Allan's study $(1999,2003)$ of the discursive construction of women's status described in university women's commission reports.

[^27]:    ${ }^{36}$ This refers to the 1996 ruling in Hopwood v. Texas, which effectively said that it was illegal to use race and ethnicity in admissions decisions.

[^28]:    ${ }^{37}$ From this perspective, aptly represented by the pipeline metaphor, "higher education is a funnel that individuals pass through" (Tierney, 1992, p. 18).

[^29]:    ${ }^{38}$ Those who have pursued partnerships with assurances for reciprocity must negotiate many challenges along the way. For instance, practitioners involved in partnerships between the " 1862 land-grant" and the HBCU and/or tribal colleges in Missouri, North Dakota, and North Carolina acknowledge the structural inequalities that preclude HBCUs and tribal colleges from being equal partners with the "1862 land-grants" and produce barriers and impediments to building and sustaining inter-institutional relationships (Holbrook, Zotz, MacCallister, Middleton, Lineberry, \& Mathews, 2005).

[^30]:    ${ }^{39}$ Recognition that simply adding diversity is insufficient to erase the large inter-group gap in participation and representation is echoed in the scholarly literature (Bowen \& Bok, 1998; Massey, Charles, Lundy, \& Fischer, 2003).

[^31]:    ${ }^{40}$ Only one other diversity action plan identifies the phenomenon of privilege, recommending employees participate in a "workshop focused on white privilege" and that "certificate programs focused on social class, gender, ethnicity and white privilege" be developed (University of Maine, 2003).

[^32]:    ${ }^{41}$ The discursive strand of affirmation intersects with a discourse of discrimination (described later in this chapter) to make visible the problems described in this section.

[^33]:    ${ }^{42}$ The recent ban of Indian images by the NCAA provides impetus for this proposed change (Marot, 2005; Norwood, 2005).

[^34]:    ${ }^{43}$ This "problem" is echoed by the U.S. Department of Education's estimate that at-risk students make up anywhere from 20 to 40 percent of the United States’ student population (1994; also Freeman, 1998). The Department of Education elaborates that the vast majority of at-risk students are poor and reside in the inner city, rural areas, or on Indian reservations, and many have limited English proficiency.

[^35]:    ${ }^{44}$ Inter-group programs, pioneered in the mid-1980s, are designed to bring together diverse groups of individuals to engage in discussion of issues related to their diversity (Clark, 2002). Research has shown that "participation in [Inter-group Dialogue Programs] moves students from viewing [cross-group] interaction as negative ... to viewing it as something they can passively, positively engage" (Alimo, Kelly, \& Clark, 2002, p. 52). Yet, evidence about whether inter-group contact and dialogue will influence discrimination remains contradictory at best. For example, the National Conference for Community and Justice, in "Taking America’s Pulse II: NCCJ’s 2000 Survey of Intergroup Relations in the U.S.," reports that, while inter-group contact continues to increase, many Americans perceive that a great deal or some discrimination occurs against all examined groups except for whites.

[^36]:    ${ }^{45}$ Evident throughout the analysis of the diversity action plans was the almost interchangeable use of terms describing the "diverse individual" and the collective label "diversity"-the subject was often portrayed as an object. Thus, as I draw upon the language of the reports to write this chapter, some stretches of text may be awkward in their reference to a thing (diversity) to describe a person (diverse individual). Images of subjects were less visible in the discourses described in this chapter.

[^37]:    ${ }^{46}$ This quote serves as an example of the marketplace discourse-the report is emphasizing the need to invest ("financial resources will be targeted") in potential markets ("areas where there are high concentrations of diverse students"). However, it also illustrates how a discourse does not stand alone: the discourse of access (described in the previous chapter) is also evident through attention to recruitment of diverse individuals. Thus, the marketplace discourse, like others, is supported (and contested) by a web of other discourses circulating in diversity action plans. As Readings (1996) emphasizes in his examination of a discourse of excellence in universities, diversity action plans carry "divergent . . .discourses, even if one discourse dominates over the others at certain moments" (p. 14).

[^38]:    ${ }^{47}$ Readings (1996) refers to these as "indices of excellence" used to fill "charts of 'goal achievement'" (p. 133).

[^39]:    ${ }^{48}$ Benchmarking is another illustration of how a discourse does not stand alone, and that multiple discourses are circulating in diversity action plans. Benchmarking is evident in the discourse of excellence; yet, is also made visible by a discourse of managerialism that will be described later in this chapter.

[^40]:    ${ }^{49}$ Eight of the 16 institutions are in the sample for this investigation.

[^41]:    ${ }^{50}$ Some scholars have critiqued higher education for emerging in the past twenty years as more similar than different from a corporation (Bensimon, 1995; Readings, 1996).

[^42]:    ${ }^{51}$ Many of the inequities, inequalities, and injustices described in diversity action plans were discussed in the previous chapter as illustrative of the discourse of discrimination. This again serves as an example of how a discourse does not stand alone. Rather, a particular cultural reality is made visible by a web of discourses circulating in diversity action plans.

[^43]:    ${ }^{52}$ President Johnson, in his 1965 commencement speech at Howard University, told graduates "We seek...not just equality as a right and a theory, but equality as a fact and equality as a result" (cited in Corwin, 2001, p. 356).

[^44]:    ${ }^{53}$ These groups--committees, projects, task forces, and commissions--are referred to by many names and are typically convened by presidents, chancellors, vice presidents, and provosts. Their role is to address "identity-based" concerns, e.g., the status of women, or ethnic minorities, or persons with disabilities. I collectively refer to these groups as Presidential Commissions.

[^45]:    ${ }^{54}$ Carnevale \& Fry (2000), in a study by the Educational Testing Service, project that blacks, Chicanos and Latinos and Asian Pacific Islanders will make up 80 percent of the increase among those qualified to attend college in the next 20 years and that minorities will account for $37 \%$ of the undergraduates in the U.S. by 2015 (see also Higher Education Landscape, retrieved September 23, 2005 from http://www.collegeboard.com/highered/res/hel/hel.html).

[^46]:    ${ }^{55}$ Participants in a study by Tierney (1992) of the Native American experience in higher education, refer to this problem as "double jeopardy"-not enough come, and too many leave (p. 18).

[^47]:    ${ }_{56}^{56}$ This phrase is taken from the University of Idaho (2004) report.
    ${ }^{57}$ See Baez, 2002; Buzzanell and Liu, 2005; Cooper and Stevens, 2002.

[^48]:    ${ }^{58}$ Fuller and Meiners do note, however, that some language required in the grant proposal, such as nondiscrimination statements, "comes from the work of earlier paradigm changers" (p. 169) illuminating that change does occur (also Johnson, 2006).

[^49]:    ${ }^{59}$ Yanow (2003) suggests a set of questions that turns attention to geographic specificity (p. 211), and other questions that push policy-makers to interrogate the existing use of categories as a "system for managing difference" (p. 228).

[^50]:    ${ }^{60}$ This concept and related suggestions are theoretical "in that they require new ways of thinking, and, as a result, they are subject to practical application and evaluation" (Baez, 2002, p. 146).

[^51]:    ${ }^{61}$ The use of numbers in this section is not intended to serve as a ranking or suggest that some recommendations are greater priorities over others. Rather, it is a device for organizing and presenting these ideas.

[^52]:    ${ }^{62}$ Gilmore (2002) argues that "the problem is not the 'master's tools' as objects, but the effective control of those 'tools'" (p. 22, n3).

[^53]:    ${ }^{63}$ A quick search of electronic media (other than university sources) reveals bias incidents and hate crimes dating back to 1996. Additionally, The Black Caucus, a student organization, published a "history of hate at Penn State" on their site detailing incidents since 2000 (see http://www.clubs.psu.edu/up/blackcaucusweb).

[^54]:    ${ }^{64}$ Lewerenz, D. (2003, December 5). Blackface photo on web riles Black Caucus at Penn State. Retrieved November 29, 2005 from http://colorblind.typepad.com.

[^55]:    ${ }^{65}$ Minorities are defined as African Americans, American Indian/Alaskan, Asian or Pacific Islanders, and Hispanics. This percentage does not include 891 international students.
    ${ }^{66}$ Fraternities suspended. (2001). Black Issues in Higher Education, 18(20), p. 18.
    ${ }^{67}$ Through electronic correspondence in December 2004, I learned that the Multicultural Diversity Commission undertook a review of the Strategic Diversity Plan and published a revised (final) copy in May 2005; it is available at:
    http://www.auburn.edu/administration/specialreports/diversity_plan/diversityplanfinal.pdf

[^56]:    ${ }^{68}$ The policy definition is different from the Diversity Leadership Council’s definition: "the co-existence of people, processes and functions, characterized by both differences and similarities." Retrieved November 1, 2005 from http://www.auburn.edu/administration/diversitycouncil/definitions.html.
    ${ }^{69}$ Julian Bond helps dedicate Auburn Diversity Center. (2003). Black Issues in Higher Education, 19(26). Retrieved November 1, 2005 from http://www.auburn.edu/administration/multicultural_affairs/diversitycenter.pdf
    ${ }^{70}$ After both fraternity chapters were suspended, one filed a lawsuit alleging violation of First Amendment rights; the university settled, and both fraternities have been reinstated. See Yates, E.L. (2002). Auburn's Long Road to Diversity. Black Issues in Higher Education, 19(22). Retrieved November 1, 2005 from http://www.auburn.edu/administration/multicultural_affairs/longroad.pdf

[^57]:    ${ }^{71}$ Minorities are defined as African American, Native American, Asian American, and Latino, or student from multi-racial backgrounds.
    ${ }^{72}$ Powers, J. (1999, February 18). Faculty senate addresses diversity, campus climate. Cornell Chronicle. Retrieved November 26, 2005 from http://www.news.cornell.edu/Chronicle/99/2.18.99/Faculty_Senate.html.
    ${ }^{73}$ Powers, J. (2001, May 17). Faculty senate creates campus climate committee. Cornell Chronicle. Retrieved November 26, 2005 from
    http://www.news.cornell.edu/Chronicle/01/5.17.01/faculty_senate.html.

[^58]:    ${ }^{74}$ Murphy, S.H. (2000, November 9). CU vice president Susan Murphy issues report on campus climate. Cornell Chronicle. Retrieved November 26, 2005 from http://www.news.cornell.edu/Chronicle/00/11.9.00/Murphy_report.html.

[^59]:    ${ }^{75}$ Dullea, H. (1998, November 19). Cornell President Rawlings issues statement on harassment incidents. Cornell News online. Retrieved November 26, 2005 from
    http://www.news.cornell.edu/releases/Nov98/Rawlings.harassment.stmt.html.

[^60]:    ${ }^{76}$ Minorities are defined as Black, Native American, Asian, and Hispanic. This does not include 1,569 international students pursuing degrees.

[^61]:    ${ }^{77}$ Havemann, M. (2005, January 11). Federal officials investigate UVA policies. The Michigan Daily. Retrieved November 26, 2005 from http://www.michigandaily.com/.
    ${ }^{78}$ Diversity Advisory Committee Meeting Minutes. (2005, January 25). Retrieved November 26, 2005 from http://www.ncsu.edu/diversity/committees/pdf/DACMeetingMinutesJan2005.pdf.

[^62]:    ${ }^{79}$ Drago, R. (2002, March 30). Consulting report on gender equity and work/family issues. Retrieved November 26, 2005 from http://www.ncsu.edu/provost/offices/diversity/gender/Drago_report.pdf.

[^63]:    ${ }^{80}$ Minorities are defined as African American, American Indian, Asian American, and Hispanic. This does not include 3,799 foreign students pursuing degrees.

[^64]:    ${ }^{81}$ Conlisk, E. (2002, May 3). Progress toward diversity at OSU highlighted for trustees. Retrieved November 26, 2005 from http://www.osu.edu/news.
    ${ }^{82}$ Conlisk, E. (2002, June 7). New race and ethnicity institute will be named for Kirwan. Retrieved November 26, 2005 from http://www.osu.edu/news.

[^65]:    ${ }^{83}$ Minorities are defined as Black, American Indian/Alaskan Native, Asian/Pacific Islander, and Hispanic. This does not include 839 international students pursuing degrees.

[^66]:    ${ }^{84}$ Schmidly, D.J. (2005, October 6). Fall Convocation Remarks. Retrieved November 28, 2005 from http://osu.okstate.edu/president/speeches/fall05conv/.

[^67]:    ${ }^{85}$ Minorities are defined as African American, Native American, Asian American, and Hispanic. This does not include 3,086 international students pursuing degrees.

[^68]:    ${ }^{86}$ Dubilet, A. (2004, September 9). U. declines to set policy on photo alterations. The Daily Pennsylvania. Retrieved December 3, 2005 from http://www.dailypennsylvanian.com/vnews.

[^69]:    ${ }^{87}$ Fong, V. (2003, November 13). Update on the Plan to Enhance Diversity. The Penn State Diversity Newswire. Retrieved November 28, 2005 from http://live.psu.edu/index.php?sec=vs\&story=4666.
    ${ }^{88}$ Swift, T. (2001, June 26). Penn State student group holds sit-in to protest school’s handling of alleged racist incident. The Daily Texan, 101(166). Retrieved July 25, 2005 from
    http://tspweb02.tsp.utexas.edu/webarchive/06-26-01/2001062606_s01_Penn.html.

[^70]:    ${ }^{89}$ Minorities are defined as Black, American Indian, Asian, and Hispanic. This percentage does not include 3,657 international students pursuing degrees.

[^71]:    ${ }^{90}$ Gates creates a new VP position for institutional diversity. (2002, December 12). Aggie Daily. Retrieved November 28, 2005 from http://www.tamu.edu/univrel/aggiedaily/news/stories/02/121202-11.html

[^72]:    ${ }^{91}$ Final report retrieved December 3, 2005 from http://www.tamu.edu/women_genderequity/Files/PDFs/Campus\%20Climate\%20Final\%20Report.pdf

[^73]:    ${ }^{92}$ Wright, M. (1999). How can gay students survive at Texas A\&M? The Touchstone, 9(4). Retrieved December 3, 2005 from http://www.rtis.com/reg/bcs/pol/touchstone/september99/gaysurvival.html.
    ${ }^{93}$ Hurtado, S., Maestas, R., Hill, L., Inkelas, K.K., Wathington, H., \& E. Waterson. (1998, November). Perspectives on the Climate for Diversity: Findings and suggested recommendations for the Texas A\&M University Campus Community. Campus Climate Survey Report prepared by University of Michigan Center for the Study of Higher and Postsecondary Education. Retrieved December 3, 2005 from http://studentaffairs.tamu.edu/DiversityConnection/CampusClimate.

[^74]:    ${ }^{94}$ Minorities are defined as African Americans, Native Americans, Asian Americans, and Hispanics. This percentage does not include international students. Their inclusion increases the percentage by $.039 \%$.
    ${ }^{95}$ Underutilization, as defined by the EEO/AA regulations, means having fewer women or minorities in a job group than might reasonably be expected given their availability. According to the University of Arizona diversity assessment and action report (2002), when underutilization occurs, the University establishes a goal and is required to make good faith efforts to fill vacancies in these job groups at a rate equal to availability.

[^75]:    ${ }^{96}$ Minorities are defined as Blacks, Native Americans, Asian/Pacific Islanders, and Hispanics. This percentage does not include 895 international students.

[^76]:    ${ }^{97}$ Smith, B. (2002, May). A mosaic: Diversity at The University of Arkansas. All Things Academic, 3(2). Retrieved November 22, 2005 from http://libinfo.uark.edu/ata/v3no2/mosaic.asp.

[^77]:    ${ }^{98}$ Minorities are defined as Blacks, American Indians or Alaska Native, Asian or Pacific Islanders, and Hispanics. This percentage does not include 694 international undergraduate students.

[^78]:    ${ }^{99}$ Minorities are defined as African Americans, Native Americans, Asian Americans, and Hispanics; however, the university draws a distinction by defining under-represented groups as African Americans, Native Americans, and Hispanics. The university reports that, in 2002, over $20 \%$ of graduate students were international students.
    ${ }^{100}$ Veilleux, R. (2001, February 5). Taylor appoints committee to develop diversity plan. Advance on the web. Retrieved November 22, 2005 from http://www.advance.uconn.edu/2001/010205/01020509.htm.

[^79]:    ${ }^{101}$ Veilleux, R. (2002, April 8). Diversity plan puts forward wide-ranging goals. Advance on the web. Retrieved November 22, 2005 from http://www.advance.uconn.edu/2002/020408/02040802.htm.

[^80]:    ${ }^{102}$ Defined by Faculty Senate Bylaws as a period of reflection devoted to intensive discussion of topics of great concern to the university community.
    ${ }^{103}$ Maryanski, F. (2000, March 6). Chancellor’s Column. Advance on the web. Retrieved November 22, 2005 from http://www.advance.uconn.edu/2000/000306/00030607.htm.

[^81]:    ${ }^{104}$ Minorities are defined as Black/African American, American Indian, Asian/Pacific Islander, and Hispanic.

[^82]:    ${ }^{105}$ Hebel, S. (2000, July 26). Use of Race in Admissions at U. of Georgia Is Struck Down by Federal Judge. The Chronicle of Higher Education. Retrieved November 22, 2005 from http://chronicle.com/daily/2000/07/2000072601n.htm.

[^83]:    ${ }^{106}$ Rankin, B. \& R. McCarthy. (1999, July 13). UGA reviews racial policies. Access Atlanta, on line. Retrieved from http://www.accessatlanta.com/news/1999/07/13/uga.html.

[^84]:    ${ }^{107}$ Minorities are defined as Black/African American, American Indian, Asian/Pacific Islander, and Hispanic. This does not include 645 international students.

[^85]:    ${ }^{108}$ Barnard, K. (2004, April 5). UI restructures diversity administration to devote more dollars to programming. Today@Idaho. Retrieved November 23, 2005 from http://www.today.uidaho.edu/Details.aspx?ID=2552.

[^86]:    ${ }^{109}$ Ramsey, W.L. (2004, December 20). The late unpleasantness in Idaho: Southern slavery and the culture wars. History News Network. Retrieved November 23, 2005 from http://hnn.us/articles/9142.html.
    ${ }^{110}$ Barnard, K. (2002, November 15). Climate survey shows UI students, employees comfortable on campus. Today@Idaho. Retrieved November 23, 2005 from
    http://www.today.uidaho.edu/Details.aspx?ID=1937.

[^87]:    ${ }^{111}$ Minorities are defined as African American, Native American, Asian-American, and Latino/a. This does not include 645 international students.
    ${ }^{112}$ Mabry, B. (2000, December 7). Committee charged with developing plans to improve campus diversity. Inside Illinois, 20(11). Retrieved October 1, 2005 from http://www.news.uiuc.edu/ii/00/1207diversity.html.

[^88]:    ${ }^{113}$ Paul, J. (2005, November 11). NCAA bans ‘Chief Illiniwek.’ The Lincoln Courier Online. Retrieved November 25, 2005 from http://www.lincolncourier.com/sports/05/11/12/sc.asp.
    ${ }^{114}$ Heckel, J. (2005, August 6). Ruling's effect on Chief still unknown. The News-Gazette Online. Retrieved October 1, 2005 from http://www.news-gazette.com/localnews/story.cfm?Number=18733.

[^89]:    ${ }^{115}$ Minorities are defined as Blacks, Native Americans, Asian Americans, and Hispanic. This percentage does not include international students. Their inclusion increases the percentage by $2 \%$.
    ${ }^{116}$ Livingstone, P. (1998, May 1). Diversity protest demands change. The Maine Campus, The University of Maine [student] newspaper.

[^90]:    ${ }^{117}$ 12.3\% Black/African American, 13.8\% Asian/American, 5.5\% Hispanic/American, and 0.3\% American Indian.

[^91]:    ${ }^{118}$ In 2002, AAC\&U's Office of Diversity, Equity, and Global Initiatives assumed full responsibility for the website.

[^92]:    ${ }^{119}$ Minorities are defined as Black, Native American, Asian, and Hispanic. This does not include 1,670 "foreign" students.

[^93]:    ${ }^{120}$ University-Wide Diversity Committee 2003-04 Progress Report to the Board of Regents. (2004, April 23). Retrieved November 25, 2004 from http://www.nebraska.edu/about/200304DiversityReportREV1.pdf.
    ${ }^{121}$ University-Wide Committee on Gender Equity 2003 Report to the Board of Regents. (2003, October 17). Retrieved November 25, 2004 from http://www.nebraska.edu/about/2003GenderEquityReport.pdf. ${ }^{122}$ University-Wide Diversity Committee 2002 Report to the Board of Regents. (2002, August 30). Retrieved November 25, 2004 from http://www.nebraska.edu/about/commdivreport2002.pdf.

[^94]:    ${ }^{124}$ Minorities are defined as Black, American Indian/Alaskan, Asian/Pacific Islander, and Hispanic.

[^95]:    ${ }^{125}$ See "2005 Student Diversity Goals and Enrollment Report" for most current figures. Retrieved November 25, 2005 from http://www.unr.edu/sapd/documents/Div_StuGoalsRept_05Binder1.pdf.

[^96]:    ${ }^{126}$ Minorities are defined as African America, Native American, Asian American, and Hispanic. This percentage does not include 3,571 international students pursuing degrees.
    ${ }^{127}$ Moon, A. (2000). Cut and paste diversity. Boundless webzine. Retrieved December 3, 2005 from http://www.boundless.org. In fall 2004, African American students comprised 2.3\% of enrollment (http://www.wisc.edu/about/facts/).

[^97]:    ${ }^{128}$ Retrieved December 3, 2005 from http://www.uwsa.edu/oadd/plan/phase2plans/madison-phase2.pdf.
    ${ }^{129}$ Yachnin, J. (2000). Black and white (and red all over). The Chronicle of Higher Education, 47(5), p. A9. Retrieved December 3, 2005 from http://chronicle.com/weekly/v47/i05/05a00901.htm.

[^98]:    ${ }^{130}$ Women were admitted as regular students in 1921. All courses except the military were open to them. But most organizations would not admit them; the yearbook, The Bugle, refused to include them in its pages of students for nearly twenty years; and the corps of cadets opposed their presence on campus. In 1944, VPI merged with nearby Radford State Teachers College, and most women's programs were moved to Radford for the next twenty years, until 1964 when the merger with Radford College was dissolved. The first Black student enrolled at Virginia Tech in 1953. Today, the student body is still only 6\% Black, while Blacks comprise about $20 \%$ of the state's population.
    ${ }^{131}$ Minorities are defined as African American, Indian, Asian, and Hispanic. This does not include 1972 international students pursuing degrees.

[^99]:    ${ }^{132}$ Hincker, L. (2005, March, 14). Principles of Community emphasizes university-wide commitment to diversity. Virginia Tech News. Retrieved December 2, 2005 from http://www.vtnews.vt.edu/story.php?itemno=638.

[^100]:    ${ }^{133}$ Hutchinson, S.R. \& P. Hyer, with D. Collins. (2000). The campus climate for diversity: Student Perceptions. Blacksburg, VA: Virginia Tech Office of the Senior Vice President and Provost. Retrieved December 2, 2005 from http://www.vt.edu/diversity/pdf_documents/studentperceptions.pdf.
    ${ }^{134}$ Hyer, P., Conley, V. \& G. McLaughlin, with T. Gravely. (1999). The campus climate for diversity: Faculty perceptions. Blacksburg, VA: Virginia Tech Office of the Senior Vice President and Provost. Retrieved December 2, 2005 from http://www.vt.edu/diversity/pdf_documents/facultyperceptions.pdf.

[^101]:    ${ }^{135}$ Hyer, P., LaBoone, E.L. \& E.L. Mottley. (1998). Women and minorities at Virginia Tech. Blacksburg, VA: Virginia Tech Office of the Senior Vice President and Provost. Retrieved December 2, 2005 from http://www.vt.edu/diversity/pdf_documents/women.pdf.

[^102]:    ${ }^{136}$ For a complete list, see The 105 Land-Grant Colleges and Universities. Retrieved July 17, 2004 from http://www.nasulgc.org/publications/Land_Grant/Schools.htm

[^103]:    ${ }^{137}$ Codes do not necessarily correspond with those in adjacent columns.

