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Shifting Narratives in Doctoral Admissions: Faculty of Color Understandings of Diversity, Equity, and Justice in a Neoliberal Context

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SHIFTING NARRATIVES IN DOCTORAL ADMISSIONS: FACULTY OF COLOR

UNDERSTANDINGS OF DIVERSITY, EQUITY, AND JUSTICE IN A NEOLIBERAL

CONTEXT

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO

THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

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PROGRAM IN HIGHER EDUCATION

BY

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ABSTRACT

Little is known about how faculty make decisions in the doctoral admissions process or how they conceptualize diversity, equity, and justice in those same processes. Understanding how students are selected into graduate programs is increasingly important to supporting diverse leadership bodies and shaping a dynamically diverse campus cultural context. This qualitative study utilized semi-structured interviews, focus groups, and critical discourse analysis to explore how faculty of color understand diversity, equity, and justice norms, values, and behaviors in the doctoral admissions process in Higher Education and Student Affairs (HESA) doctoral programs in Predominantly White Institutions (PWI) and how professors of color navigate those norms, values, and behaviors with their multiple intersecting identities. Data reveals that faculty of color resist the utilization of standardized measures of success, are attracted to students of color and students aiming to do conduct equity work, and consider diversity at all times in the admissions process. Faculty also feel constrained in their ability to fully engage in the admissions process due to marginalization of their identities and their tenure status. Relatedly, faculty understand the values of their university through (in)actions taken when critical community incidences occur and find tensions in conflating international students of color with domestic students of color.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Understanding how students are selected into doctoral programs and how faculty navigate institutional norms, values, cultures, and behaviors related to diversity, equity, and justice within the graduate admissions context is increasingly important to supporting diverse leadership bodies and student populations, and to shaping a dynamically diverse campus context (Bowen, Bok, & Shulman, 1998; Garces & Jayakumar, 2014; Smith, 2009). Bowen and Rudenstine (1992) called doctoral education the "apex" (p. 3) of the United States education system and Holley and Joseph (2013) argued, "the doctorate holds a key role in the country's scientific ambition, future economic security, and knowledge production" (p. 2). These two realities make the analysis of doctoral education integral to ensuring the success of United States postsecondary education and of greater society. Research on doctoral education is also important because many students who enroll in these programs prepare to work in university administration or become faculty members themselves upon graduation. Doctoral graduates may also work in not-for-profit research think tanks and associations or work in a variety of industry influencing society, community, and education (Holley & Joseph, 2013; NCES, 2014; Nettles & Millet, 2006).

Even though graduate education provides many positive outcomes, research is lacking compared to that on undergraduate education. Graduate student enrollment has

increased over the last few decades while little attention has been paid to how students are admitted into graduate programs (Posselt, 2013a). In particular, there is a dearth of research on how institutional culture, norms, values, and beliefs affect the enrollment decision-making processes of graduate program faculty within postsecondary institutions (Posselt, 2013a).

In this chapter, I present an overview of this research project. I highlight the continuing problem of a lack of diversity in graduate education and how faculty hold the power to address this issue. I address how these issues relate to graduate admissions processes. Next, I present my research questions and study scope. This is followed by how this study contributes to the canon of literature on graduate education. Lastly, I present my definitions of diversity, equity, and justice in higher education.

Problem Statement

Although graduate school enrollments rose 78% to approximately 2.9M students between 1985-2011 (National Center for Educational Statistics [NCES], 2013a), graduate education, particularly doctoral education, remains understudied (Bowen & Rudenstine, 1992; Nettles & Millet, 2006; Posselt, 2013a). Of the almost three million students enrolled in a variety of post-baccalaureate programs, doctoral programs enrolled 15%, or 450,000 students in 2008 and the number is rising (Choy & Cataldi, 2011). Doctoral education is increasingly important to preparing a "talented, well-motivated, and well-trained [workforce that contributes] critically to our collective ability to generate ideas and educate new generations of students" (Bowen & Rudenstine, 1992, p. 3). Indeed,

students who graduate from doctoral programs become leaders in a variety of disciplines and industry including future faculty and staff of colleges and universities.

An examination of racial disparities in doctoral education provides one impetus for study. One can paint a picture of exclusion by examining the racial/ethnic and sex demographics of doctoral enrollment and completion. The narrative of exclusion has predominantly been reported as a story of these numbers (Bowen & Rudenstine, 1992; Nettles & Millet, 2006). Historically, only data on racial/ethnic diversity and sex have been collected by institutions and reported to the federal government. The reporting of only two data points (i.e., race and sex) define what is considered important in discussions of diversity and contributes to this persistent cycle of exclusion. Those statistics alone fail to measure the structural diversity representative of other identities such as sexual orientation, gender identity, international status, or ability.

There is no standardized process to collect data beyond these two variables related to identity. Universities wishing to collect more extensive data must do so on their own accord. This limitation has led to a proliferation of research on race and racism in the academy, rightly so, but has also constricted the scope of many projects and also how diversity is defined on college campuses (Morrish & O'Mara, 2011). Data analysis remains incomplete when the focus is so narrow. Due to this reality, the data presented in this chapter relate to race/ethnicity and sex.

That being said, this project attempts to take an intersectional look at how faculty of color engage in the doctoral admissions process. That is, identities such as age, religion, gender, race, and sexual orientation are centered and examined through a lens

that allows for more nuance in understanding faculty experiences if those identities influence decision-making at all. Through these faculty member's identities, I examine how they make decisions related to diversity, equity, and justice in the doctoral admissions process. Based on the conceptual framework presented in the next chapter, I attempt to bring more complexity to the discussion of diversity, equity, and justice on college campuses through the lens of doctoral admissions. It should also be noted that faculty of color are not a monolith and their identities are important and nuanced in their own ways. For instance, a Black faculty member may not experience racism in the same ways as an Asian American faculty member and race may not be their most salient identity. I attempt to provide this nuance while maintaining confidentiality.

Examining the data. Currently, large disparities exist between White students and racial/ethnic minority groups. In 2012, 74.3% of students enrolled in graduate education (Master's level and beyond) were White, while 7.4% were Black, 5.8% were Hispanic, 11.8% were Asian/Pacific Islander, and .7% were American Indian/Alaska Native (NCES, 2012a). This is in light of undergraduate education being comprised of 15% Black students, 15% Hispanic, 6% Asian, .3% Pacific Islander, 1% American Indian/Alaska Native, and a growing recognition that racial minority enrollments in higher education will increase dramatically over the next decade (see Table 1; U.S. Department of Education, 2011). Large differences in White and Asian student numbers may be as a result of the subjective measures utilized in graduate admissions (Posselt, 2013a) that lead to exclusion of specific groups. Because data is self-reported and graduate and undergraduate data is reported differently to the federal government, I

combined Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders. To compare, according to Humes,

Jones, and Ramirez's census report (2010) Whites make up 75.1% of the U.S. population,

Black or African Americans make up 12.6%, American Indians .9%, Hispanic 16.3%,

Asians 4.8%, Native Hawaiians, .2%, Some Other Race, 6.2% and Two or more races

2.9%.

Table 1. Percent post baccalaureate enrollment by race: 2011/2012

Race/Ethnicity	Graduate	Undergraduate
American Indian or Alaska Native	.7	1
Asian, Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander	11.8	6.3
Black or African American	7.4	15
Hispanic or Latino	5.8	15
White	74.3	60.2

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics
(NCES), Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS).

Of doctoral graduates, less than 7% were Black, 5% were Hispanic, 10% were

Asian, <1% were Pacific Islander, and <1% were American Indian/Alaska Native in

2012. These numbers combined with inequitable hiring and tenure and promotion

practices in the faculty ranks, for instance, have led to faculty of color only making up an

average of 20% of the full-time faculty population (15% at Full rank, 20% at Associate

rank, and 25% at Assistant rank; NCES, 2012b). This pathway issue is one catalytic

example for studying how students of color enter doctoral programs, how those students

enter into faculty and administrator roles in colleges and universities, and then in turn

affect how those administrators and faculty contribute to the racial minority students

graduate experience.

The field of education may play a major role in this cyclical system as it is among the top five fields with the largest percentage of graduate students enrolled and degrees awarded. In the 2011-2012 academic year schools of education conferred 9,990 doctoral degrees, an approximately 51% increase from 1985 conferrals (see Table 2; NCES, 2014). Of those 9,990 degrees, 6,365 were awarded to White (64%) students. 1,901 Black (19%), 678 Hispanic (7%), 346 Asian (3.5%), 15 Pacific Islander (<1%), 72 American Indian/Alaska Native (<1%), 71 people of two or more races (<1%), and 542 international students (5%) were awarded doctoral degrees. Only 32% of those graduates were men (see Table 3; NCES, 2013b). Higher Education and student affairs programs awarded 468 of those degrees and 24 in College Student Counseling and Personnel Services, the focus of this study (see Table 4; NCES, 2013c). Once again, only race and sex are presented as that is the only data collected by the Department of Education.

Because graduate faculty have great latitude to select whom they want in graduate programs (Agosto, Karanxha, & Bellara, 2014) decisions can be made without much deference to particular outside influence (e.g., administrator influence), though some influence may still exist, a phenomenon this study explores. This freedom makes the argument for exploring how individual faculty make those decisions more salient. Despite persistent calls to faculty and administrators to diversify a global workforce (Bikson & Law, 1994) and the undergraduate degree increasingly becoming "inadequate preparation" (Bowen, Bok, & Shulman, 1998, p. 91) for many careers, racial diversity in graduate education is dismal. For instance, 64% of 2012 doctoral graduates in schools of education, the focus of this project, were White (NCES, 2013). Statistics such as these

provide a clarion call to researchers, faculty, and administrators to focus attention on racial diversity in graduate education. Additionally, the U.S. Census Bureau (2012) predicted increasingly racially diverse U.S. demographics that placed non-Hispanic Whites at below 50% of the general population by 2043. These realities require that administrators anticipate a more racially diverse U.S. population and re-conceptualize how admissions occurs at all levels (i.e., undergraduate and graduate) and to examine how the admissions process has historically disadvantaged racial/ethnic minority groups. This is nothing to say for the multiple other "uncounted" student identities that universities fail to recognize (e.g., sexual orientation, gender identity, socio-economic status; Morrish & O'Mara, 2011).

Table 2. Schools of Education percentage doctoral degree conferral by race: 2013

Race/Ethnicity	Percentage
American Indian or Alaska Native	<1
Asian	3.5
Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander	<1
Black or African American	19
Hispanic or Latino	7
White	64
Two or more races	<1
International students	5

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics (NCES), Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS).

Table 3. Schools of Education percentage doctoral degree conferral by sex: 2013

Sex	Percentage
Female	68
Male	32

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics (NCES), Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS).

There is additional concern that university faculty do not appropriately reflect the growing diversity of the student body (Levin, Jaeger, & Haley, 2013). Doctoral education prepares students to become future researchers, teachers, and administrators in colleges and universities. Racially diverse faculty and staff on campus use student-centered learning techniques, and students who take classes with faculty of color take part in more collaborative learning and increased learning with different others (Milem, 2003). Diversity benefits are also realized through the diversification of curricula (Astin, 1993) as well as through interactions with diverse faculty (Saenz, Ngai, & Hurtado, 2007). Additionally, racial isolation, microaggressions, and invisibility begin to be mediated with the increase in diversity in graduate programs, including diversity of faculty and staff (Ellis, 2001; Flowers & Howard-Hamilton, 2002; Fries-Britt & Kelly, 2005; Gildersleeve, Croom, & Vasquez. 2011; Levin, Jaeger, & Haley, 2013; Museus & Neville, 2012; Poon & Hune, 2009; Young & Brooks, 2008). These benefits cannot be met without diverse bodies in doctoral programs that eventually become diverse bodies in the university faculty and administration.

Table 4. Doctoral degrees conferred in higher education/higher education administration and college student counseling and personnel services, by race/ ethnicity and gender: 2012-13

Race/Sex	Total Sum
Grand total	**500**
Grand total men	200
Grand total women	300
American Indian or Alaska Native total	**2**
Men	1
Women	1
Asian total	**8**
Men	3
Women	5
Black or African American total	**111**
Men	30
Women	81
Hispanic or Latino total	**22**
Men	10
Women	12
Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander total	**0**
Men	0
Women	0
White total	**283**
Men	122
Women	161
Two or more races total	**10**
Men	7
Women	3
Unknown/international total	**64**
Men	27
Women	37

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics (NCES), Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS).

At the same time, administrators, faculty, and staff must ensure that policies, programs, and resources exist at equitable levels for all demographic groups (Garces & Jayakumar, 2014). This can only be accomplished through the realization of dynamic diversity on college campuses campus (Garces & Jayakumar, 2014). Research over the last decade showed that dynamic diversity increased the educational benefits for students and faculty in postsecondary education (Gurin, 1999; Gurin, Dey, Hurtado, & Gurin, 2002; Jayakumar, 2008; Smith, 2009). Dynamic diversity can be met by ensuring proper representation of bodies and worldviews with which diverse groups bring to institutions. Dynamic diversity moves beyond simple structural representation and is realized when "contextual factors of the learning environment set the stage for and facilitate productive interactions and exchanges across racial lines" (Garces & Jayakumar, 2014, p. 117) and other social difference (Smith, 2009). Therefore, campuses that want to benefit from diverse student bodies should not only aim to increase structural diversity, but also attend to campus climate including curriculum, faculty demographics, and equitable policies and practices. It should be of the utmost concern for colleges and universities to prepare students to work in a diverse society (Bikson & Law, 1994; Bowen & Bok, 1998; Milem, 2003). These circumstances make examining higher education and student affairs programs key to understanding diversity in the broader field of education, particularly at the university level.

As racial preferences are continually attacked and class-based preferences relatively untested, attention must be turned toward meeting dynamic diversity goals without affirmative action and legal ways to hold universities accountable to the original

intended goals of affirmative action. The moral and ethical imperative in this case is under attack by an increasing conservative neoliberal logic, a free market-based, individually focused worldview. Neoliberalism and its subsequent policies and practices shift the historic collectivist, or at least the inclusive "multicultural" mindset of the 60's and 70's – one where assimilation of culture was not the goal, but rather celebration of differences – toward a new way of thinking where "all forms of social solidarity [are] to be dissolved in favour of individualism" (Harvey, 2005, p. 23). Neoliberalism is forcing universities to take on globally focused, market-based practices to support their ventures while launching an assault on groups with marginalized identities and putting a larger wedge in between elites and the poor (Giroux, 2015).

A new moral imperative must be recreated in the form of an anti-racist, anti-neoliberal, anti-classist, anti-sexist collectivist movement that reconceptualizes higher education as a public good and returns society to a more democratic state in order to support a more just, equitable society where all citizens have equal opportunity for personal and economic success (Giroux, 2015). These similar and collectivist movements have been seen more recently in the wake of police brutality of Black communities (Parker, 2015). However, in a neoliberal state, the moral imperative for some will be community-based, focusing on uplift for all with the benefits of diversity apparent and visible; for others, the moral imperative will remain economic (Harvey, 2005). This might be the future of diversity – a discussion that has to be "reinvented to deal with contemporary conditions and potentialities" albeit one in a neoliberal state that is resistant to solidarity in order to build a capitalistic empire (Harvey, 2005, p. 206).

Rather there may be an ethical imperative couched in an interest convergence mentality (Bell, 1979) that relies on leaders not shutting down the doors of their universities. If conversations from those aligned with the tenants of justice and equity cannot change the hearts and minds of those who are not, the ethical imperative may be all that promotes dynamic diversity.

Attending to the decision-making process of faculty provides insight into how diverse students are admitted to doctoral programs and may provide better guidance for those administrators and others who are interested in increasing diverse graduate student representation. This study also reveals the ways that neoliberal practices are encroaching on dynamic diversity's goal and faculty of color's ability to create diverse learning communities.

Prior research showed that faculty homophilies, or attraction to likeness, play a role in the decision-making processes of faculty in elite doctoral admissions (Posselt, 2013a) and grant funding panels (Lamont, 2009). However, current research does not center how faculty of color make these decisions. While the literature about faculty of color's experiences is evident and shows experiences decidedly wrought with racism, sexism, isolation, and incongruent expectations from their White peers (Viernes Turner, Gonzalez, & Wood, 2011), no research to date has centered how faculty of color utilize their agency and subjectivity in interactions with peers in admissions processes or how they are influenced by both institution and self-regulation in those processes. This study fills that gap.

Study Scope

The primary purpose of this study is to examine how faculty of color understand and are influenced by their university's institutional logics of diversity, equity, and justice in the doctoral admissions process in higher education and student affairs programs. These faculty came from mainly large, public, research universities. To understand how faculty of color approach doctoral admissions, I examined key documents related to diversity, equity, and justice at the university level. This critical discourse analysis allowed me to identify how the university "talks about" diversity, equity, and justice while also analyzing those documents for intentional and unintentional bias and discrimination (van Dijk, 1997). This data was supplemented by one-on-one semi-structured interviews with 13 assistant and one newly tenured associate faculty members of color. These interviews provided deep, rich insight into how faculty of color experienced their campuses, how those experiences influenced and interacted with faculty personal identities and, subsequently, faculty decision-making in doctoral admissions. To help strengthen my findings, I held a focus group where faculty participants were able to member check my initial findings and provide more insight. Because faculty were at the beginning of the doctoral admissions process during the interviews and completed the selection of their doctoral cohorts by the focus groups data was clarified. This focus group also provided a space where faculty of color who are often in isolation in their programs could build a space of resistance and support (hooks, 2009) with each other.

Research questions. This qualitative study utilized a neo-institutional theory framework paired with Critical Race Theory, that I call the Critical Race Institutional Logics Perspective, to explore how faculty of color navigate the doctoral admissions process. I supplemented these theories with Foucault's (1977) conceptualizations of polyvalent power and Weber's social action theory (2009). To that end, the research questions guiding this project were: How, if at all, do institutional logics influence how faculty of color understand diversity, equity, and justice in Higher Education and Student Affairs doctoral admissions processes? How do faculty of color navigate those logics and their multiple intersecting identities, values, beliefs, and experiences when discussing diversity, equity, and justice? How do faculty of color find support when discussing diversity, equity, and justice in the doctoral admissions process?

Contributions to the research. This study responds to a significant gap in the literature on doctoral education. Only one study currently exists examining the faculty decision-making process in doctoral admissions (Posselt, 2013a). This study examined a broad swath of programs at elite universities and the merit versus diversity debate within those deliberations. Other researchers examined faculty decision-making in presidential hiring practices (Birnbaum, 1988) and on grant funding boards (Lamont, 2009).

First, this study expands what we know about the faculty decision-making process. Based on the literature review for this study, faculty utilized both cognitive understandings of excellence and non-cognitive tools (e.g., standardized tests, interviews) to admit doctoral students to graduate programs (Posselt, 2013a). Commensuration tools such as grade point average and Graduate Record Exam scores help homogenize

applicants regardless of student identity. Faculty also utilized "cool" factors, homophilies, and "diversity" to make decisions on candidates (Lamont, 2009). These tools are employed at varying times in varying ways. From this body, we know that faculty characteristics play a role in how they conceptualize a suitable candidate for admission. Therefore, it is important to examine how various faculty characteristics impact doctoral admissions. My study centers predominantly on one faculty characteristic, race, and examines how race impacts decision-making while at the same time allowing for other salient identities to emerge as influencers on the doctoral admissions process.

Secondly, this study examines how power may constrict decision-making for faculty of color. The literature revealed that faculty of color may be seen as not collegial by White faculty if they act in ways that are counter to the norms and values of a department or university (Ahmed, 2012; Delgado-Bernal & Villalpando, 2002; Griffin, Bennet, & Harris, 2011). This study analyzes the power dynamics between the faculty of color participants and other faculty in the university, both White and of color, through various theoretical lenses to shed light on the many ways that faculty of color bodies are excluded, marginalized, made to feel invisible and then potentially surveilled and restricted (Foucault, 1977). This surveillance and restriction, or technologies of domination, may inhibit how and when faculty enact their agency in the admissions process (Ahmed, 2012). To date, this process has not been explored. A Critical Race Institutional Logics Perspective provides the unique opportunity to examine both

organization and human experience simultaneously and navigate the ways that structure and person act on each other during a particular university function.

Third, this study reveals the ways that faculty of color resist these dominations both through exercising their agency and through other processes such as mentorship (Fries-Britt & Kelly, 2005), service (Baez, 2000), or building networks outside their departments (Griffin, Pifer, Humphrey, & Hazelwood, 2011). In an attempt to highlight strength and resilience in these faculty, this critical transformative study aims to both illuminate potentially debilitating experiences while also uplifting the positive experiences of these faculty. The methodology utilized in this study aims to provide a space for these faculty to come together to examine and be in solidarity with each other around their shared identities as people of color and faculty members in predominantly White institutions.

Last, neoliberal practices in universities are examined. Neoliberalism is a global economic theory that describes the political practices of the reduction of regulations to produce a free-market (Harvey, 2005). These practices are examined as they relate to diversity, equity, and justice on college campuses. Based on this analysis, I hope to make clear the ways that neoliberalism continues to support and increase international relations (globalization), foreign investments (neocolonialism), an increasing chasm between elites and low-income groups, and disenfranchises already marginalized groups through fiscal austerity (e.g., higher education; Giroux, 2015; Harvey, 2005). By examining these practices, one can examine how organizations "talk to" and interact with their various communities (e.g., students, faculty, town/gown). Only through aligned organizational

action with community values can universities begin to gain parity toward dynamic

diversity.

Defining Core Concepts

This study particularly analyzes how diversity, equity, and justice are embedded

within institutional norms, values, behavior at predominantly White institutions and how

faculty of color navigate those norms, values, cultures, and behaviors with their racial and

other intersecting identities. These terms are used in diffuse and compounded ways

across a variety of literature and therefore require some explicating. In this section, I

attempt to provide nuance and foundation to how I define these terms. These terms were

utilized in co-constructing participant's understandings of their university logics around

these concepts as well as in analyzing the data from this study.

Defining diversity, equity, and justice in higher education and student affairs is an

arduous endeavor; however, necessary in order to illustrate the wide array of

operationalizations present in the field and to clarify the aims of this study. Hurtado,

Milem, Clayton-Peterson, and Allen (1999) identified structural diversity, or

representational diversity, as a key component of measuring racial and ethnic diversity in

universities. Stemming from such seminal affirmative action court cases as *Board of

Regents v. Bakke* (1978) and subsequently *Grutter .v Bollinger* (2003), the civil rights

movement, Black students' movement, and additional federal legislation (Morrish &

O'Mara, 2011), racial and ethnic diversity has been the defining and ongoing mission of

diversity efforts in higher education. This project is not without merit, as racism persists

as a defining characteristic of U.S. society (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001), White people

are predicted to be below 50% of the U.S. population by 2043 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012), and there are significant benefits to maintaining and integrating a racially diverse student population (Milem, 2003). This shift in demographics, in particular, provides a clarion call for those interested in education and equitable representation to critically examine how diverse populations are provided access to or excluded from higher education (Garces, 2012).

Studies of diversity from simply race and ethnic understandings have expanded to include other social identities (e.g., sexual orientation, gender, class, geographic location, nationality) and the intersections and saliency of those identities has complicated identity understandings (Crenshaw, 1989, 1991; Jones & Abes, 2013). In doing so, the operationalized definitions in research and in praxis have also changed (Smith 2009). Even though "diversity is an imperative that must be embraced if colleges and universities are to be successful in a pluralistic and interconnected world" (Smith, 2009, p. 3), definitions remain as diverse and interchangeable as the people who write about the topic. Indeed, if diversity is to serve as a "powerful facilitator of institutional mission and societal purpose" (Smith, 2009, p. 3), there must be some consistency in how the terms are understood and utilized.

Diversity. antonio, Milem, and Chang (2012) noted that there are two main discourses of diversity in U.S. higher education. First is one that stems from the Civil Rights Movement and addresses representational diversity to offset historic exclusions of racial/ethnic minorities. A second is a more complex definition with "respect to [multiple] ideas, attitudes, values, [identities] and experiences that can serve as an

organizational asset for learning" (antonio, Milem, & Chang, 2012, p. 373). For the purposes of this dissertation, I employ a more specific understanding of how diversity is understood in higher education.

Ahmed (2012) in her study of university diversity professionals warned against "happy talk" (p. 10) and "the smile of diversity" (p. 164). She noted that diversity is praxis and cover up; it is not a language of reparations for past ills. Rather, it is a way to divert attention away from racism, sexism, and other societal oppressions, and a way of dehumanizing/making subject of marginalized populations. Diversity is simply a word with no teeth. This can be seen in the progression of such terms in the field like multiculturalism, diversity, inclusion, and social justice; words that may or can mean different things but which may all have a similar goal. These terms without specificity dangerously reify White supremacy in education (Gillborn, 2008; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Solórzano, 1998; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). White supremacy is not simply the thought group that White people are superior to all others, but White supremacy maintains deficit thinking about racial minority groups, attempts to pit racial groups against each other (as in the case of the Model Minority Myth), and interlocks with other systems of oppression such as classism and sexism to create what hooks (1981) called a White supremacist capital patriarchy. In this system, people of color (or in hooks' case women of color) are continually marginalized, stereotyped, and devalued in society, media, education, and a milieu of other venues.

This is in contrast to diversity as a word that moves toward eradicating oppression and marginalization, in conjunction with equity and just action. Unfortunately, to many

university administrators today, a mission to increase "diversity" is a simply a lexical tool purporting to de-Whiten the university without actually taking action in doing so (Ahmed, 2012) as those in power in universities work toward maintaining power and dominance (Lipsitz, 2006). The need to talk about diversity undergirds the fact that universities have a problem with Whiteness in the first place (Ahmed, 2012). In a maintaining of Whiteness (Lipsitz, 2006), administrators employ tools, such as diversity, to divert attention away from institutional isms in order to maintain the status quo.

Smith (2009) argued that "rather than engaging diversity as a list of identities" (p. 63) diversity should instead be a mission of engaging in furthering and bettering the mission of an institution. She believed that thinking of diversity in broader terms would minimize "diversity fatigue" and "linguistic fashion" (Ahmed, 2012, p. 60), the exhaustion, real or perceived, of discussion and action around "diversity" or the fad of diversity. However, as universities work under neoliberal frameworks (Giroux, 2002), diversity is simply becoming a "performance indicator…a marketable signifier" (Morrish & O'Mara, 2011, p. 974). Morrish and O'Mara (2011) completed a content analysis of university diversity statements to discover the types of diversity that universities most included as they argued for the inclusion of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer populations. They found that universities often utilize the term diversity to elevate prestige and build institutional capital, not to be inclusive or move toward equity and justice. Osei-Kofi, Torres, and Lui's (2013) critical discourse analysis of university admissions viewbooks found little racial and ethnic variation regardless of institutional type or geographic location. They argued that universities claim excellence by showing

seemingly diverse and inclusive campuses. These institutions may show this diversity without supporting those populations beyond admission. Additionally, Butler (2013) argued that we must "consider at what expense and for what purposes the terms are used, and through what relations of power such categories have been wrought" (p. 21). Indeed, diversity holds many meanings to many different people.

These scholars find great error in using the term diversity as it has been previously utilized, and it's a "signifier of everything and yet nothing; it is conveniently unspecific" (Morrish & O'Mara, 2011, p. 974). I agree and argue that it should not be understood as anything more than representational diversity. Moving toward a critical definition of "diversity" away from simply an identity-based definition may be moot based on the current state of affairs in U.S. higher education, an institution that remains highly segregated and stratified by race and class. Therefore, it must be paired with terms such as equity and justice, terms that add necessary nuance to a broader mission of dismantling oppression and marginalization in postsecondary education. These terms are discussed in the following section. To that end, I revert the term diversity to its more simplistic intention. Diversity is a *lexical tool characterizing the structural representation of multiple marginalized societal groups (not: White, male, European in ancestry, able bodied, native born, English language speaking, binary gender identifying, Christian, and heterosexual) in a given institution based on geographical context.*

Equity. While structural diversity in and of itself is a goal that all organizations should strive to increase, diversity alone does not attend to existing and persistent inequities that have accrued for particular groups across time. Carnevale and Fry (2002)

recognized that students have unequal resources before attending college, particularly those who come from marginalized backgrounds. Much has been written about how various forms of capital (Yosso, 2005), racial identity, lack of high school counselors (Engberg & Gilbert, 2013), Advanced Placement courses, financial resources (Bell, Rowan-Kenyon, & Perna, 2009), community outreach programs (Perna & Swail, 2001), and standardized test preparation have affected student engagement in higher education (Perna & Kurban, 2013). Many university processes and programs ignore these facts when admitting new students. Regarding the recruitment of graduate students of color, much of the literature failed to address campus climate, institutional dynamics, and how other practices (e.g., lack of representational diversity) negatively affect the college choice process of diverse graduate students (Munoz-Dunbar & Stanton, 1999; Olson, 1988). Prior educational experience, hidden costs of education, and lack of cultural capital are often not addressed (Dower et al., 2001; Ntiri, 2001; Minorities in Medicine, 2005). Seemingly value free programs, policies, and decisions do not come without a cost to marginalized student groups.

Additional attention must be paid to the negative portrayals of marginalized populations, particularly racial groups. Deficit framing in educational research and praxis has painted these groups as needy or lacking in some way. Deficit thinking paradigms understand marginalized groups as having "internal deficits or deficiencies. Such deficits manifest, it is alleged, in limited intellectual abilities, linguistic shortcomings, lack of motivation to learn and immoral behavior" (Valencia, 1997, p. 2). The outcomes of this thinking are an imbalance in programs and decision-making that

aim at "helping" or "saving" these groups rather than programs that empower or celebrate them. In the neoliberal paradigm under which U.S. universities operate, all decisions are made with zero-sum assumptions (Giroux, 2002). That is, to support one group, something must be taken away from another. This requires administrators to make difficult decisions based on unclear standards. Butler (2013) noted that queer theorizing of equity work might "initiate a resurgence of both feminist and anti-racist mobilization…or open up new possibilities for coalitional alliances that do not presume that these constituencies are radically distinct from one another" (p. 21). In this way, universities can understand diversity under a new paradigm that does not privilege one identity over another, or create false dichotomies when creating funding structures for diversity work. This work is the work of equity. Equity engages in the action of moving toward understanding both the present and past in order to reach fair educational outcomes (Bensimon, Hao, & Bustillos, 2006).

Equity, in this case, refers to *institutional policies, program, and practices that are free from discrimination, bias, and inequalities; institutional leaders who make democratic decisions to equilibrate opportunity and remove social oppression based on addressing past imbalances, and prior and present negating circumstances; institutional leaders who highlight the positive, important, and centralizing experiences, behaviors, and characteristics of all their community members.*

Justice. The term justice is inextricably linked to equity. Reason and Davis (2005) described procedural justice. They wrote: "Procedural justice focuses on influence during the decision-making process (Tyler & Smith, 1998). How much input

the group has in the decision-making process relative to other groups is a matter of procedural justice" (p. 6). Giroux (2004) made slight distinctions in his writings on critical pedagogy when he asked, "What is the relationship between social justice and the distribution of public resources and goods?" (p. 34). By asking the question and separating the two components, he implies that there is a distinct difference. In the neoliberal university, Giroux (2002) argued that,

> knowledge as capital in the corporate model is privileged as a form of investment in the economy, but appears to have little value when linked to the power of self-definition, social responsibility, or the capacities of individuals to expand the scope of freedom, justice, and the operations of democracy. (p. 441)

Injustices in his mind are linked to the specter of corporatization of public goods (e.g., education) in today's society but also to the constricting of capacity to collectively act in democratic ways.

Soja (2010) in his study of spatial justice in Los Angeles distinguished between equity and justice and how those two concepts must coexist to fully realize a democratic society. In his case, the city of Los Angeles defined equity in "administrative and territorial terms" (p. xiii) – if there were equitable mass transit options across all districts, then there was justice. However, this perspective failed to understand the "uneven" terrain regarding multiple constituencies. Justice in this case required an understanding of "discrimination through disproportional investments and attention [for marginalized groups that] remained seriously and systematically underserved" (p. xiv) and action toward remedying this reality. Action with enlightened knowledge is what produces justice (Freire, 2000). With this, justice is *deliberation, and democratic and equitable action, both collectively and individually, that moves toward education as a public good.*

Definitions in research context. I conceptualize diversity, equity, and justice as acting in a three-way mutualism relationship. *Diversity* as a concept can exist independently. Diversity alone provides the foundation for truly rich environments (Milem, 2003). In this study's case, diversity is realized when a faculty member reads applications for a set of prospective doctoral students and recognizes that students with multiple and differing identities provide value and richness to a program. They then accept those students. *Equity* comes when that faculty member also realizes that students from various backgrounds have faced persistent inequality of education, college preparation, access to resources, and cultural capital based on a range of factors such as race or socio-economic status. However, that faculty member makes that realization without taking any action toward rectifying those inequities. Understanding inequity may help the faculty member make the decision to accept that student though. Once again, equity as a concept can stand alone, but without a connection to engaging a wide-range of different groups, equity alone may still leave groups on the margins. *Justice* is the action taken to rectify those inequities. Faculty who engage in justice work recognize diversity as a value, identify how students may have been disenfranchised in a variety of ways (i.e., equity), and then take action toward supporting those students. This support might come from funding packages, increased mentorship, or assistantships. Justice may be understood singularly, but it is only realized when action is taken; justice is realized when it engages in a relationship with diversity and equity. These are just a few examples.

It is important to recognize that diversity and equity can exist as concepts, but cannot exist in action without each other if true dynamic diversity is to be reached. When

they are understood separate from each other, it may become harder for administrators and faculty to create critical masses of diverse bodies (Garces & Jayakumar, 2014), create strong communities, decrease the marginalization of minority students, and increase student success rates. Therefore, while these terms can be understood separately, they ideally act in mutualistic symbiotic relationships to ensure both a dynamic diversity and successful student body.

This concept is embedded within a macro-understanding that actors make decisions within organizations that have their own norms, values, cultures, and behaviors. Diversity, equity, and justice as concepts are linked to organizations through the actions administrations take, the policies they create, the decisions that are made, and through behaviors that change historical normativity. For example, GRE scores may be lower for people from lower socioeconomic backgrounds or people of color due to stereotype threat; however, they are valued as the predominant measure of merit. To be more equitable and just would require a value reconceptualization of the merit versus diversity debate (Posselt, 2013a). University values that lead to institutional behaviors are seen in the language utilized in mission and diversity statements. Cultures are created through the behaviors that administrators take when incidences happen on campuses that are seen to affect the dynamic diversity on campus. Therefore, there is an additional imperative to utilize organizational frameworks to study diversity, equity, and justice related topics to examine the ways in which institutional behaviors affect the related actors.

Overview of Dissertation

In this dissertation I present a review of a body of relevant literature, a conceptual framework, and the proposed methodology for this study. The literature review is broken into four sections. The first examines the history and purpose of graduate education and higher education and student affairs programs. The second interrogates the recruitment practices of racially diverse graduate students. Thirdly, I explore the faculty decision-making and tools utilized in the graduate admissions processes. The last body of literature regards the experiences of faculty of color in higher education. A conceptual framework, a neo-institutional theory of organizations, follows this body of literature. This theory is strengthened by Critical Race Theory, notions of polyvalent power, and social action theory. Chapter three explains my critical qualitative methods (i.e., semi-structure interviews, focus groups, and critical discourse analysis). Chapter four and five present the findings of this study through a constructed narrative. In this form of data presentation, analysis and discussion are reserved for chapter six as to not disrupt the flow of the narrative. Chapter six includes the analysis and discussion, implications, future research, and the conclusion.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND FRAMEWORK

This dissertation seeks to better understand how faculty of color in higher education and student affairs doctoral degree granting programs receive and understand diversity, equity, and justice norms, values, cultures, and behaviors from their universities and how they navigate their multiple identities and those norms, values, cultures, and behaviors in the doctoral admissions process. To date, there is little literature on the cognitive decision making processes of faculty in doctoral admissions (Posselt, 2013a), and no specific literature on how faculty of color make those decisions. The first section of this chapter presents a review and synthesis of literature on the history of doctoral education and higher education and student affairs programs in particular, graduate admissions, and recruitment of diverse students into graduate programs. The second section presents the experiences of faculty of color in U.S. higher education at predominantly White institutions. The third, and final section, presents the conceptual framework for this paper, a Critical Race Theory perspective on neo-institutional theory.

U.S. Doctoral Education

The first United States Doctor of Philosophy degree, or Ph.D., was awarded at Yale University in 1860 (Nettles & Millet, 2006). However, the Ph.D. existed in many other countries before the U.S., namely Germany where many students seeking advanced education originally visited to gain that education (Walker, Golde, Jones, Bueschel, &

Hutchings, 2008). The U.S. Ph.D., modeled after the German Ph.D., was "conceived as

the degree awarded to an elite cadre of serious students for extended study as they

prepared for careers as scholars and researchers" (Nettles & Millet, 2006, p. 1). Indeed,

the Ph.D. is the "monarch of the academic community" (Walker et al., 2008, p. x).

Before the Ph.D. became the terminal degree for a wide range of careers, it was

conceptualized as the degree that prepared one to become a member of the university

professorate as academic researchers and teachers. Although some scholars recognize

changes in the conceptualization of the doctoral degree, Walker and associates (2008)

argued that while there is some change, the protective nature of academic disciplines and

their faculty has led to a general calcification of the doctorate over the last half a century.

It was only after an influx of research money in the 1960's and 70's related to scientific

expansion did faculty move away from teaching and focused on research. This change

influenced the increase in graduate student teaching and research assistants and part-time,

adjunct faculty.

The largest changes have been the external influences on doctoral education,

namely a professionalization of certain degrees and diversifying demographics.

Nonacademic employment has risen for doctoral graduates who are seeking diverse

opportunities outside of the university. Walker and associates (2008) wrote:

> As differences among fields in terms of structure, culture, governance, funding,
> career paths, and other features have become more pronounced, so too have
> questions about doctoral education's purpose and its ability to meet future needs.
> (p. 27)

Additionally, in the last 30 years, less than 10% of doctoral degrees were awarded to

racial and ethnic minority students. There has also been an increase in international

students and an uneven distribution of women across the academy (Walker et al., 2008).

This conglomeration of external change and student need challenges the norms of

doctoral education as it is currently conceptualized setting the stage for a "resistance in

many quarters to adopting policies and practices that deliberately and systematically

diversify the student population" (Walker et al., 2008, p. 36). Resistance to self-

evaluation, change, and recognition of changing demographics creates a continued trend

of exclusion.

   History of exclusion. Discussions of race in higher education began in the mid-

1800s with the impending Civil War (Rudenstine, 2001). Scholars such as W.E.B.

Dubois (the first African American student at Harvard University in 1885; Nettles &

Millett, 2006) chronicled their experiences as African Americans in Predominantly White

Institutions (PWI) in the late 1800's. It was not until post-World War I, the creation of

the GI Bill, the enactment of The Morrill Land Grant Act, World War II, and the Great

Depression that diverse student groups were recognized as populations requiring attention

regarding access to higher education (Altbach, 2011). Up until that point, education

leaders were mainly concerned with the access for people of color as racism was, and

continues to be, a "disease engrained in the fabric of American society" (Hale, 2004, p.

5). Returning veterans, immigrant populations, and women were now considered

populations to consider.

   But even with increased attention on these populations, many remained (and

remain) marginalized and "continued to find only limited ports of entry" (Rudenstine,

2001, p. 32) into postsecondary education. From the mid 1970's to 2000, racial minority

student enrollments remained relatively stagnant with a stark jump in the early 2000's, but have remained stagnant again for the last 15 years. These jumps may be attributed to affirmative action decisions that provided greater access to higher education for racial minority groups. The "prevailing notion [of affirmative action] was that by opening the doors to higher education the inequities of exclusion would be remedied" (Smith, 2009, p. 52). This would not be the case as inequalities persisted and contention over access to higher education continues.

  Affirmative action. Most notably in the discussion on access for diverse racial groups to graduate education (and higher education generally) is the continued conversation around affirmative action, a practice that justifies narrow utilization of race as a consideration in admissions in order to maintain a critical mass of underrepresented racial minority students. In *University of California Regents v. Bakke* (1978), a case about access to graduate medical education, Justice Powell maintained that diversity is indeed a compelling interest for universities and the "positive educational values that are fundamental to the basic mission of colleges and universities," and the long term development of students post-graduation (Rudenstine, 2001, p. 38). Race could not be used as a deciding factor, diversity may not be increased for diversity's sake (Moses & Chang, 2006), and schools were not able to set quotas for underrepresented racial minorities. Holistic application review including race, was allowed. For almost thirty years, this ruling stood, while at the same time, federal courts began a time of conservative growth. Without foresight to offset future attacks, higher education admissions began being challenged (Rudenstine, 2001).

States have found ways to dismantle affirmative action, particularly through state referendum (Garces, 2012). These include California (Proposition 209), Washington (Initiative 200), Florida (One Florida Initiative), Michigan (Proposal 2), Nebraska (Initiative 424, Arizona (Proposition 107), and New Hampshire (legislative vote). Texas (*Hopwood v. Texas,* 1996) banned affirmative action through challenging the state judiciary system, but the use of race in admissions as a "plus factor" was later upheld in *Grutter v. Bollinger* (2003).

Two of the most visible affirmative action cases are *Grutter v. Bollinger* (2003) and *Gratz v. Bollinger (2003).* In *Grutter*, the Supreme Court upheld affirmative action in a case that focused on law school admissions at the University of Michigan. The university argued that it was a state interest to maintain a "critical mass" of students of color to ensure that isolation and tokenism, did not exist and there was adequate opportunity to people of color, namely African Americans. Ultimately, the university's use of race was tailored narrowly as to not be considered a quota or point system. In the point system, all students are rated on a numbered scale. In an affirmative action point system, certain groups, namely African Americans are given additional points simply for their race. In *Gratz* (2003), this point system was challenged in the University of Michigan's undergraduate admissions process. The point system was seen as unconstitutional and not allowed in admissions.

Some scholars, in critiquing the *Grutter* decision, highlighted a growing "resegregated" (Jones, 2006, p. 17) student body noting that "*Grutter* privatizes the project of inclusion and divorces all discussion of minorities from any reference to

history or current social context of continuing patterns of discrimination" (Jones, 2006, p. 27). In this argument, while affirmative action helps to increase the enrollment of students of color, it does not do enough to offset the historical past of societal discrimination and race should be considered throughout the application process (Guinier, 2003). Arguments differ on whether this was the purpose of affirmative action in the first place (Rudenstine, 2001). In fact, statistics from the Department of Labor show that White women were the main beneficiaries of affirmative action policies even though they may also challenge affirmative action in universities such as in *Fisher v. University of Texas* (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002).

Examining enrollments is one way to study the effect of affirmative action on higher education. Garces (2012a, 2012b, 2013) explored the role of affirmative action bans on graduate admissions, finding significant negative effects on enrollments among students of color. Arizona, California, Michigan, Washington, Nebraska, Florida, and New Hampshire all have some kind of ban on affirmative action, whether through voter initiative or executive/legislative action. Kidder (2003), Chapa and Lazaro (2998), and Wightman (1997) found that affirmative action bans dramatically decreased the percentage of students of color within law and business graduate schools by up to 4%. Karabel (1998) saw 38% drops in African American and 29% drops in Hispanic enrollment in medical schools in the University of California system. Looking more broadly at 51 graduate programs in 118 public, non-Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU) institutions in Texas, California, Washington, and Florida, Garces (2012a) found that affirmative action bans resulted in a decline in the percentage of

graduate students of color by 1.2%, with effects being larger at smaller institutions (up to 3%). Converted into an overall percent decline, there was a 12.2% decline in the proportion of underrepresented graduate students since only 9.9% of graduate students were students of color nationally. She did not include Asian Americans in this group because she did not want to conflate the many distinct ethnic groups within that large pan-Asian identity. Conversely, Garces (2012b) found that the use of affirmative action post-*Grutter* in Texas resulted in a 3.4% increase in graduate and professional school students of color. Before that point, graduate student enrollments had drastically decreased when bans were in place by 26% in engineering, 19% in the natural sciences, and 15% in the social sciences (Garces, 2013).

As recently as 2013, court battles have been waged against affirmative action. In *Fisher v. University of Texas* (2013), Abigail Fisher, a White student, challenged the courts to examine the use of race in securing a "critical mass" of students of color (Garces & Jayakumar, 2014). The case was later remanded to a lower court arguing that the lower court did not utilize "strict scrutiny" is determining if race is a "compelling interest" of the university and if the University of Texas policies are "narrowly tailored" enough to meet that interest. Therefore, the court made no determination about race as a consideration in admissions. Ultimately, the pattern of persistent challenge is a call to educational researchers, lawmakers, and educational administrators that affirmative action is under attack and while the benefits of diversity are considerable, new avenues of meeting that goal are necessary.

Some scholars (Gaertner & Hart, 2015; Sander, 2014) have called for the use of socio-economic status (i.e., class) as a proxy for race. These scholars argue that utilizing class will yield as many, if not more, spots for people of color without utilizing race. However, there is skepticism that a complete move away from race-based affirmative action to class-based affirmative action will have deleterious effects on the benefits of diversity as were argued and upheld in *Grutter* (2003). Class-based policies alone do not attend to the historical exclusion of racial minority groups, do not ensure a sufficient mix of students across race and class, and class has not necessarily been shown to provide more equitable access for students of color, as seen in California and Michigan, two states who have banned race-based admissions (Reardon, Baker, & Klasik, 2012); rather, a combination of race- and class-based affirmative action may have more benefits than class-based alone (Park, 2014). Additionally, with the decrease in funding for higher education, it remains skeptical whether universities are willing to admit more students who may not be able to afford to pay tuition with minimal financial aid support. In this case, more middle and upper class students of color would be admitted to colleges, potentially negating any benefit of admitting a racially diverse class at the intersections of race and class identity. Indeed, in a neoliberal society, there is a "financialization of everything" (Harvey, 2005, p. 33). Neoliberalism does not support uplift of a lower class; mainly it supports the uplift of an upper class and the growing chasm between the poor and the rich.

International enrollment. In addition to continued discussions around affirmative action in graduate admissions, there is an increased interest in globalizing higher

education. Post-World War II, many institutions increased their presence in countries around the world while also maintaining and increasing the internationalization of research and scholarship on home campuses (Schulz, Lee, McClellan, & Woodard, 2007). This globalization trend also increased the number of international students who sought out higher education in the U.S. and points to an important juncture in understanding higher education broadly and in relation to a globalized capitalistic economy driven by neoliberal ideologies (Rhoads & Liu 2008). With a 72% increase since 2000, over 886,000 students are international, making up 4% of total enrollment (Institute of International Education, 2014). In Science, Technology, Engineering, and Math fields, international graduate students make up anywhere from 50-70% of enrolled students (Anderson, 2013). There was a 1% decrease in Education fields. Students also tend to come mainly from certain countries. In 2014, there was a 26% increase enrollment of students from India, 3% from China, and 32% from Brazil (Council of Graduate Schools [CGS], 2014). Overall, there was an 8% increase in graduate enrollment of international students (CGS, 2014). Particularly as universities continue to admit large numbers of international students there is a growing conversation around the implications of the recruitment of these students in lieu of admitting domestic racially and ethnically diverse students (B. Olave-Torres, personal communication, April 25, 2015) and the reasons for admitting one group or the other. Some scholars found that international students contributed over $27B to the U.S. economy in 2013, international graduate students add to university prestige and rankings, and they have a direct and positive impact on patent applications and grants (Chellaraj, Maskus, & Mattoo, 2008;

Lee & Rice, 2007; Rhoads & Liu, 2008). These benefits speak directly to neoliberal policy and practice. To date, the globalization discussion related to HESA preparation programs is sparse and focused on providing training to future student affairs practitioners so they are able to better provide services to international students and work in a globalized economy (Shulz et al., 2007). Trice (2001) found that faculty in four departments who taught graduate students believed that international students did have transition issues that required additional support including language barriers, international student segregation, engagement in the classroom, and issues with student learning assessment. However, there was no discussion on how faculty were prepared to support these students. Faculty often put the onus of supporting international students on the students themselves or the department chair's organization of research groups (Trice, 2007).

History of Higher Education and Student Affairs Preparation Programs

Despite a lack of attention to international students, education scholars have spent much time discussing issues of access to postsecondary education particularly in classrooms in disciplines such as Higher Education and Student Affairs. This study focuses on faculty in higher education and student affairs preparation programs (HESA); therefore, it is necessary to provide a brief history of these programs and explicate their importance for studying. An overview of the seminal documents in HESA, as well as an overview of the professional organizations in the field is described with attention to the organization's role in engaging with issues of diversity, equity, and justice. Over time, the field of higher education and the field of student affairs, as two separate academic

disciplines have intertwined (hybrid), co-existed (two programs in one School of Education), or singularly (only one program in one School of Education) existed in Schools of Education across the country.

　　　　Program distinctions.　Higher education and student affairs programs as distinct entities have existed for a century (Goodchild, 1991).　The first higher education program was created at Clark University in the early 1900's and soon after, a proliferation of higher education programs were created at large institutions across the country (e.g., University of Chicago, University of Michigan; Wright, 2007) most likely reflecting an increase in diverse student enrollments following World War I, The Great Depression, World War II, and the Morrill Land Grant Act (Thelin & Gasman, 2011).　At the same time, student affairs as a profession began to form as organizing bodies such as the American Council on Education (ACE) met to better define the field that was reflecting diverse enrollments (e.g., race and sex), increased student protests, and a more complex understanding of student learning and development.　In their 1937 meeting, *The Student Personnel Point of View* (1937, 1949) was penned and that document continues to be a seminal document in the field (Dungy & Gordon, 2011) by providing context to the field and guiding its pursuits–namely one main objective: "the full maturing of each student–[that] cannot be attained without interest in and integrated efforts toward the development of each and every facet of his [sic] personality and potentialities" (ACE, 1949, para. 7). While some programs remain distinct, many programs have become hybrid or combine programs that prepare a student to work in myriad jobs within higher education and student affairs.

There is often some confusion between higher education and student affairs programs, both in name and in purpose. Therefore, some explanation is required. First, both faculty members' general foci of study remain the university; however, specific attention within that domain remains distinct. That is, higher education scholars more often study issues such as governance, finance, and policy—broad systemic issues related to the functioning of universities as organizations. In contrast, student affairs scholars investigate issues related to the person (e.g., students, faculty, staff) and those population's psychosocial development and experiences within and related to postsecondary education. Faculty are not held to studying one domain or the other and often overlap and intertwine research foci.

That being distinguished, students who enroll in these programs may enroll in one or the other type of program or a hybrid program. Their foci of study generally reflect their faculty's scholarly pursuits. Students in higher education programs typically expect to work as future faculty members, policy-makers, or in policy think tanks. Students in student affairs programs tend to work as campus student affairs administrators (e.g., residence life, orientation, unions). Once again, students from either program have and will continue to engage in the domain of the other. While some programs have chosen to purposefully distinguish between higher education and student affairs programs, generally across the United States, programs offers courses that span both sub-fields and prepare students for a variety of jobs post-graduation. Increased confusion occurs because of a lack of systemic clarity in naming programs (e.g., *Higher Education*, *Higher Education and Student Affairs*, and *Higher, Adult, and Lifelong Learning*).

Program roles in diversity, equity, and justice. The expansion of higher

education and student affairs programs mirrored an increase in the enrollment of diverse

student groups including veterans, Black students, women, and other racial minority

groups (NASPA, 2004; Thelin, 2011). Issues of diversity, equity, and justice can be

found throughout documents stemming from *The Student Personnel Point of View*

(1949). For instance, three goals drove the latest draft of the document, an update from

the 1937 version. Those goals included:

> 1. Education for a fuller realization of democracy in every phase of living;
> 2. Education directly and explicitly for international understanding and
> cooperation;
> 3. Education for the application of creative imagination and trained intelligence to
> the solution of social problems and to the administration of public affairs. (para.
> 4)

While the language does not reflect modern day conceptualizations of diversity, equity,

and justice, the intent is clear. HESA administrators should ensure that students

understand issues surrounding the inequality of the world and work toward democratizing

the citizenry and correcting societal ills. This should in turn mean that faculty and

students in programs also understand these concerns and focus their studies on systemic

societal issues (ACPA/NASPA, 2010; Council for the Advancement of Standards, 2006;

McEwen & Roper, 1994; Pope & Mueller 2011).

While many have engaged in both the teaching, praxis, and scholarship of

diversity, equity, and justice over the past century (Smith, 2009; 2011), there are

continued calls for a more radical understanding of diversity, equity, and justice in

preparing future postsecondary leaders (e.g., Bensimon, Polkinghorne, Bauman, &

Vallejo, 2004; Bondi, 2012; Giroux, 2002; Manning, 1994; Obear & martinez, 2013;

Osei-Kofi, Shahjahan, & Patton, 2010; Rhoads & Black, 1995). For instance, Manning (1994) called for a "Freirian philosophy in student affairs" (p. 94) by urging student affairs practitioners to develop a critical consciousness and engage in praxis to "fully improve the educational opportunities for students of color…[and] *all* who compose university communities" (p. 94). Social justice work, versus "the smile of diversity" (Ahmed, 2012, p. 164) works "to center subjugated knowledges in the academy, to honor different ways of knowing, and to work for progressive social change by engaging in projects that create an academy that is truly inclusive" (Osei-Kofi, Shahjahan, & Patton, 2010, p. 338). This work moves away from an understanding of diversity as simply diverse representations of peoples coexisting peacefully (though arguably important), toward helping students build agency in working to dismantle systems of oppression and marginalization. This "critical cultural perspective" (Rhoads & Black, 1995) obligates educators to "recognize the theoretical implications of their work…to create an environment where students have the opportunities to learn about and debate the social, economical, historical, and political forces that limit or enhance democracy" (p. 418). McEwen and Roper (1994) however, noted that most preparation programs have "not provided necessary and sufficient information for [higher education and] student affairs practitioners [and researchers] to be well equipped for multicultural environments" (p. 46).

This push for radicalizing HESA programs, drives the definition of diversity, equity, and justice outlined in the introduction of this study and is necessary for the type of work that graduates in these programs engage in daily including academic advising,

residential programming, leadership development, teaching, mentoring, admissions, among many others. Indeed, even though higher education and student affairs work is often under recognized as important or existent, the daily ongoing actions of the university are in fact dictated or influenced by the work of these professionals (Schloss & Cragg, 2013). Therefore, it is of the utmost importance that students who enroll in higher education and student affairs programs, the faculty members teaching in the programs, and the curriculums taught reflect an understanding of diversity that is complete and complex in order to better serve a student population that is showing up on campus in increasingly diverse ways. Additionally, this set of actors–students, faculty, and future administrators/faculty–may influence the enrollment management process and its effects on diverse student groups as they take on diverse roles on college campuses (Birnbaum, 1988; Schloss & Cragg, 2013). For example, although affirmative action policies are top-down policies, they are implemented in a bottom-up way where administrators within institutions have some discretion regarding the extent to which they implement a policy (Garces, 2012b). Therefore, administrators and faculty may consider alternate variables in place of race in states with affirmative action bans or implement additional outreach and recruitment activities may attempt to offset application declines. These actions and activities create more welcoming environments and help equalize chilly environments or "psychic costs" (Garces, 2012b, p. 106) associated with policies that negatively affect racial/ethnic minority students. With that in mind, the following scholarship explores evidence-based practices for recruiting racially diverse enrollments in graduate education.

Practices That Facilitate Racially Diverse Graduate Recruitment and Enrollment

A body of literature on practices that facilitate diverse graduate recruitment and enrollment extends from professional associations (American Dietetic Association, 2000; American Medical Association, 1999; American Psychological Association Office of Ethnic Minority Affairs, 2000). There are additional empirical discourses that explore how institutions attract diverse student bodies to their campuses (Gitchell & Fritz, 1985; Griffin & Muniz, 2011; Haskins & Kirk-Sanchez, 2006; Ibarra, 1996; Olson, 1998; Posselt, 2013a). Despite having some evidence of how graduate recruitment and enrollment occurs, compared to undergraduate enrollment management, there is a relative dearth of knowledge. This section explores scholarship on the recruitment and enrollment of diverse students in graduate education.

Current studies showed there are a variety of avenues utilized to support the recruitment and enrollment of diverse graduate students. They are: (a) enhancing financial support to underrepresented student groups (Looney, 1990; Munoz-Dunbar & Stanton, 1999; Pruitt & Isaac, 1985), (b) creating research opportunities, including at the undergraduate level (Crawford, Suarez-Balcazar, Reich, Figert & Nyden, 1996), (c) facilitating success along the K-16 pipeline (e.g., summer academic camps; Aspray & Bernat, 2000; Olson, 1988), (d) targeted recruitment from historically minority-serving institutions (Aspray & Bernat, 2000; Rogers & Molina, 2006), and locating pathways for minority student enrollment including non-traditional pathways (e.g., non-profit organizations, current workforce leadership; Aspray & Bernat, 2000; Pruitt & Isaac, 1985), (e) addressing racial climate concerns on campus (Tierney, et al, 2004; Griffin &

Muniz, 2011; Posselt, 2013a), (f) organizing visit weekends (Looney, 1990) and assisting

with applications (Thomason & Thurber, 1999), (g) faculty and staff mentoring

opportunities (Laden, 1999; Rogers & Molina, 2006), (h) recruitment of diverse faculty,

and (i) diverse curriculums.

Holistic approaches must be taken when recruiting diverse student bodies (Poock

and Love, 2001). This means that avenues above and beyond standard program

advertising should be considered, particularly if programs are actively seeking diverse

candidates. These more holistic practices incorporate an understanding of how historical

actions such as redlining, redistricting, and the divestment in public education have

marginalized racial minorities across time (Lipman, 2011). Marginalization in grade

school has continued negative effects in undergraduate education (Bowen, Chingos, &

McPherson, 2009) and may affect the ability for students to enroll in graduate education.

Holistic practices extend beyond the admissions process and also attend to the

organizational factors impeding diverse enrollments (Griffin & Muniz, 2011; Pruitt &

Isaac, 1985). Ultimately, if strategic diversity initiatives are to be successful, researchers

must examine existing policies and procedures for discrimination bias and institutionalize

new diversity initiatives (Kezar, 2007, 2013; Smith, 2009; Williams & Wade-Golden,

2013). Many current strategies do not attend to larger systemic issues and therefore may

be seen as add-on programs utilized to offset embedded understandings of diversity

recruitment and enrollment. One of these understandings is the continued conversation

around merit versus diversity (Posselt, 2013a). Indeed, there is little evidence on how

faculty, staff, community, or students have worked toward changing campus climate and

attitude around graduate recruitment and enrollment although this is an often-recommended technique. Understanding the effect of prior education on success in the graduate application process is important since standardized tests and grade point average are major components utilized in assessing a student's ability to be successful graduate school (Denton, 1991; Minorities in Medicine, 2005; Olson, 1988; Pruitt & Isaac, 1985).

Enhance financial support to underrepresented student groups. Consistently across all research, providing financial support to diverse student groups proved to be a successful recruitment tool (Bersola, Stolzenberg, Fosnacht, & Love, 2014; Dower, McRee, Briggance, & O'Neil, 2001; Looney, 1990; Munoz-Dunbar & Stanton, 1999; Pruitt & Isaac, 1985). Boyer and Butner (2011) found that African Americans were more likely to take out loans and leave graduate school with more debt than White or Hispanic students although loans were still taken out at high rates for Hispanic students. In interviews with 10 graduate admissions professionals at elite universities, fellowship aid was the most common form of support given to racial minority students (Looney, 1990). Rogers and Molina (2006) corroborated this in their study of 11 graduate psychology programs, adding that the tuition waivers included in financial aid packages sometimes did not support the student throughout their entire tenure in a program. While funding has been provided to minority students, much was still based on merit which may limit the amount of aid given to lower-socioeconomic students and racial minority students who may not score as highly on those measures of success (Heller, 2013; Perna & Kurban, 2013).

Much of the onus to provide this type of funding has shifted to the professional organizations that work with governmental and non-governmental agencies to provide fellowships, programming, and other financial support to diversify their workforces (American Psychological Association [APA], n.d.; Dower et al., 2001; Griffin, Muniz, & Espinosa, 2012). For instance, at the University of California, Santa Barbara, graduate students in psychology can receive four-year diversity or APA minority fellowships while other funding has come from private-public partnerships. This shift is in light of findings that most schools provide no specific support to minority students (Looney, 1990).

Decidedly throughout the literature, grants and assistantships, forms of financial aid that do not need to be repaid, are preferred over loans as ways to support minority students (Bersola, Stolzenberg, Fosnacht, & Love, 2014; Heller, 2013; Pruitt, 1989; Pruitt & Isaac, 1985). Although much less is known about how financial aid effects graduate student participation, Bersola, Stolzenberg, Fosnacht, and Love (2014) found that doctoral students did not base their entire matriculation decisions on financial aid options, rather making decisions on institutions more holistically. It is well known, however, that undergraduate participation is negatively affected by the use of loans over grants, particularly for low-income students (Heller, 2013; Looney, 1990; Munoz-Dunbar & Stanton, 1999; Pruitt & Isaac, 1985). It would seem apt to conclude that the same would be true for diverse graduate students. Mirroring the undergraduate literature on the influence of finances in enrollment, in their study on Native American graduate students in psychology, Thomason and Thorber (1999) suggested providing admissions and

financial aid decisions simultaneously. Earlier identification of funding sources for

students may prove to help improve enrollment of low-income students into graduate

programs as it has at the undergraduate level (Heller, 2013; Haskins & Kirk-Sanchez,

2006; St. John, Daun-Barnett, & Moronski-Chapman, 2013).

Create research opportunities. In addition to providing financial aid, engaging

diverse student groups in learning about certain fields, gaining experiences working in

fields, and academically preparing them for the graduate admissions process occurred

through research opportunities. The American Psychological Association and the

National Association of General Medical Sciences connected 15 major research

universities, minority-serving two-year institutions, and minority-serving four-year

institutions into five Regional Centers of Excellence in Minority Research Training

(Holliday, 2011). Over the course of 15 years, the program staff focused on systemically

changing academic cultures, building faculty capacity to engage with diverse students,

and engaging in pipeline training to assist students in going to graduate school.

Currently, over 140 students from the program are enrolled in graduate school in various

disciplines including students who enrolled in 2-year school sector and later transferred.

Programs such as these take time and substantial money; however, they have proven

effective to increasing the success of racially diverse students in graduate education.

Beside access to graduate education, sustained research provides students with

extended contact with faculty members, practical experience, career discernment,

financial support, and publication opportunities (Crawford, Suarez-Balcazar, Reich,

Figert & Nyden, 1996; Holliday, 2011; Thomason & Thurber, 1999). The Social Science

Research Opportunity Program is another example of a research-based program aimed at increasing racial minority representation (Crawford et al., 1996). In this program, 40 racial minority men and women took part in a senior year research program. In the end, 45% enrolled in graduate school, 32% took a break to gain more experience, and 22% could not enroll because of financial and familial barriers. This last finding might signal that a single recruitment activity approach may not be enough to increase enrollment of racially diverse student groups. Beside enrollment in graduate education, contact with faculty members was a secondary outcome of these two programs; therefore, mentoring was a major component in recruiting racially diverse students to graduate education.

Faculty and staff mentoring opportunities. Successful diverse graduate students often have mentoring opportunities throughout their education (Davidson & Foster, 2001; Freeman, 1999; Fries-Britt & Kelly, 2005; Nettles, 1990; Thomas & Hollenshed, 2001; Young & Brooks, 2008). Graduate students of color are more successful when they have faculty who take roles outside of being an academic advisor (Young & Brooks, 2008). Faculty help foster intellectual and personal growth of their students. While much narrative has been written around racial minorities seeking mentors who have a similar racial/ethnic minority background, for women this is not always the case. Kurtz-Costes, Helmke, and Ulku-Steiner (2006) found that while women enjoyed having women mentors, they did not mind having male mentors as long as male mentors were supportive of their needs overall. Dower et al. (2001) noted that mentors were essential in offsetting tracking and mediating low expectations of diverse students in the health fields. While Rogers and Molina (2006) noted that staff of color

were "noted for being instrumental in offering support to entering students, dispensing information about negotiating the graduate school experience, and providing ongoing moral support to students" (p. 154). Holliday (2011) argued that providing faculty incentives may be the best way to ensure that all faculty engage in mentoring activities.

Facilitate success along the K-16 pipeline. Summer academic camps and programs like Upward Bound help assist diverse student groups in enrolling in undergraduate institutions, but graduate scholars also believe that these programs help facilitate access to graduate education particularly through early identification of students (Aspray & Bernat, 2000; Olson, 1988). With these programs, recruitment begins in high school or earlier and helps students to understand more about academic fields, build the requisite skills to enter into graduate programs, and also be successful within them (Denton, 1991; Thomason & Thurber, 1999). Medical schools' largest issue is that there are a low number of applicants stemming from high dropout rates in high school and before (Minorities in Medicine, 2005). Early intervention programs can help students identify a passion, build efficacy, and be supported along a pathway to particular fields.

However, limited evidence of success in some of these programs exists and evaluation measures are not standardized (Fenske, Geranios, Keller, & Moore, 1997; Perna & Swail, 2001). Perna and Swail (2001) noted that there is little consensus as to how early interventions should take place. For instance, programs such as Project 3000 by 2000 which focused on enrolling 3000 minority students in medical school by 2000 failed to meet its numeric goal (Terrell & Beaudreau, 2003). Some of this was based on affirmative action bans in certain states. Conversely, the Regional Centers of Excellence

in Minority Research Training program is one example of a program that effectively met its goal. Olson (1988) and Thomason and Thurber (1999) suggested that universities should partner with local high schools and middle schools to encourage diverse students to apply to college, answer questions, provide admissions materials, and help align curriculum to ensure students are academically ready to apply for undergraduate education and subsequently graduate education. This suggestion mirrors research that outreach to and training of high school counselors may increase enrollments of students at the undergraduate level (Engberg & Gilbert, 2013).

Locate pathways for minority student enrollment. As universities are not always capable of creating programs that reach into the K-12 arena, targeted recruitment from historically minority-serving institutions is another avenue for connecting with graduate students (Aspray & Bernat, 2000; Griffin & Muniz, 2011; Rogers & Molina, 2006). Minority Serving Institutions (MSI) such as Historically Black Colleges and Universities, Hispanic Serving Institutions, Tribal Colleges, Women's Colleges, and Asian Native American Pacific Islander Serving Institutions are universities that enroll large proportions of racial/ethnic and female students. These institutions are ideal locations to build connections to undergraduate faculty, student affairs offices, and student organizations to begin to recruit students that are historically underrepresented. Fifty-five percent of the faculty in Rogers and Molina's (2006) study of faculty at universities that did an exemplary job of recruiting students of color (as identified through a Minority Achievement Award nomination from the American Psychological Association) said that creating and fostering connections at an MSI provided the most

reward. Facilitating those networks provided a "steady stream of minority applicants who applied because they knew someone like themselves who was already enrolled at the school" (Roger & Molina, 2006, p. 152). This action provided an ancillary effect of creating a perceived critical mass of students, faculty, and staff at the graduate institutions by showing students that people of color existed at graduate institutions. The students in the study echoed this finding. Identifying "feeder" schools (Griffin & Muniz, 2011, p. 68) provides a consistent stream of potential student applications. These relationships, some schools even being a part of a consortium, allowed administrators including Graduate Diversity Officers to build long-term relationships rather than short-term experiences where schools and students feel used in the effort to meet an enrollment goal (Griffin & Muniz, 2011).

Including non-traditional pathways (e.g., non-profit organizations, current workforce leadership;) in recruitment efforts and utilizing organizational networks that those groups build with racial/ethnic minorities (e.g., tribal governments; Indian organizations; Thomason & Thurber, 1999) are two ways to support recruit of diverse graduate students (Aspray & Bernat, 2000; Pruitt & Isaac, 1985). One such organization is the national society Minorities in Agriculture, Natural Resources, and Related Services (MANRRS). Agriculture and Natural Resources has had a strong negative connotation for racial/ethnic minority students since the field is often associated with farming and Black people at one time were used as slaves on plantations and Latino people who work on farms are often thought to be undocumented workers (Talbert, Lark, & Jones, 1999). Additionally, the field is male dominated; therefore, women are less likely to apply to

agriculture programs. In a case study and document analysis of this organization on two land grant colleges (Texas A&M and Purdue University), Talbert, Lark and Jones (1999) found that mentoring in these programs helped students to build strong connections to the field and support through the recruitment processes into graduate school. These connections even extended to high school students, strengthening the program administrator's ability to recruit diverse students (both racial/ethnic and women) into the field across time.

      Organize visit weekends and assist with applications. Campus visit events are widely utilized and effective ways to recruit diverse graduate student groups to campus (Griffin & Muniz, 2011; Looney, 1990; Thomason & Thurber, 1999). Formal long-term outreach and K-16 pipeline programs can act as proxies for formal visit weekend events where students have extended and engaging campus experiences (Holliday, 2011). However, visit events are an additive benefit in the recruitment of diverse students by allowing prospective students to connect with faculty, staff, and current students. Graduate Diversity Officers often use these visits as an opportunity to connect with students from Minority Serving Institutions and for students to meet others across disciplines (Griffin & Muniz, 2011). Once again, seeing like others is an important factor in recruiting diverse student groups and lacking diversity is seen as a hindrance to enrolling new diverse student groups; this was particularly true for clinical psychology graduate students, but has been reported in other studies (Munoz-Dunbar & Stanton, 1999; Bersola, Stolzenberg, Fosnacht, & Love, 2014).

For Native American graduate students in psychology, Thomason and Thurber (1999) found that campus visits were an effective tool for those students. These visits allowed students to better assess if their cultural values aligned with the campus' values and services, an important factor for Native American graduate student success (McKinley, Brayboy, Solym, & Castagno, 2014). Additionally, since many Native American students were first-generation students, providing assistance with applications was important to increasing the number of applications (Tierney, et al, 2004). This finding might hold true among other first-generation diverse student groups who may have little to no experience filling out financial aid forms and completing necessary application materials (Perna & Kurban, 2013). Olson (1988) noted that if students are unable to visit campuses, phone calls from current students are effective ways of recruiting students and act as a "balancing factor" (p. 37) in graduate student choice.

Address racial climate concerns on campus. No amount of recruitment can remedy the existing systems of marginalization inherent on a campus. Therefore, some scholars attended to the deeper injustices embedded within institutional policy and practice and suggested wider reaching implications for those concerned with the recruitment of diverse student populations (Dumas-Hines, Cochran, & Williams, 2001; Griffin & Muniz, 2011; Griffin, Muniz, & Espinosa, 2012; Kallio, 1995; Looney, 1990; McKinley et al., 2014; Posselt, 2013b; Tapia, Lanius, & Alexander 2003; Smith, 2009, 2011; Tierney et al., 2004). Kallio (1995) noted, in her study of almost 3,000 graduate students at the University of Michigan, that the social environment of the university significantly affected graduate students' decision to attend the institution. Indeed, much

is already known about how campus climate affects student experience and learning

(Gildersleeve, Croom, & Vasquez, 2011; Milem, 2003; Poon & Hune, 2009).

Gildersleeve, Croom, and Vasquez (2011) found that African American and Latinx

doctoral students often felt "active engagement with struggle and resiliency" (p. 100) in

their programs. Poon and Hune (2009) examined the experiences of 114 Asian American

graduate students and found that they often felt invisible and were affected by racism.

Similar findings were supported by Nadal, Pituc, Johnston, and Esparrago (2010) study

on Filipino graduate students.

Tierney, Campbell and Sanchez's (2004) report for the Center for Higher

Education Policy Analysis provided the most comprehensive guidelines for addressing a

lack of diversity in graduate education attending to institutional-wide attitude change

toward diversity. They pointed to "leaks" (p. 3) in the pathway to graduate school

suggesting benchmarking against peer institutions and creating criteria for diversity

including a definition of diversity (see also Dumas-Hines, 2001). Olson (1988) noted:

> there needs to be a philosophical commitment to the belief that diversity enriches
> the total university community, the plan must be designed to permeate the entire
> university with an atmosphere suggesting that all students can expect a sense of
> community while they pursue their educational goals. This concept must be
> supported at all levels of the administration. (p. 34)

Studying the campus climate for graduate students ensures that diversity is valued

across all levels of hierarchy particularly with graduate deans (Looney, 1990).

Coordinating diversity projects across the university, professionalizing the doctoral

curriculum, strengthening the student to faculty pathway, provide mentoring and

research, and continual evaluation are improved when diversity is valued across the

institution. Inherent in these processes is that engaging in change across the university, particularly related to diversity, is a long-term commitment that requires significant funding (Holliday, 2011; Kezar, 2007; Tapia, Lanius, & Alexander, 2003). Institutionalization of practices only occurs when people hold as a core value that diversity in graduate education is a valued commitment of the university and work toward true racial diversification of student bodies (Kezar, 2007).

Creating diverse curriculums. Graduate students of color found readings related to their identities missing in the curriculum (Young & Brooks, 2009). Young and Brooks (2009) recognized that curricula that "do not represent perspectives from scholars of color and that do not adequately address issues of racial equity are likely to discourage graduate students of color and impart the implicit message that their views will not be respected or valued" (p. 400). Because diverse faculty and diversity course requirements at the undergraduate level supports student learning, cross cultural interactions, and interracial friendships and relationships, graduate courses that attend to issues of non-majority identities may provide similar results.

Although based in undergraduate classrooms, research has shown that diverse curricula have positive outcomes for all students leading to more a more socially conscious student body potentially leading to a more inclusive campus climate. Astin (1993) found that when faculty emphasized diversity in their courses, students showed increased racial understanding and satisfaction with college. For instance, race and gender predicted the use of student-centered learning techniques, collaborative learning, and learning with different others (Milem, 2003). Students who take diversity courses

had positive, significant quality interactions with diverse students post-coursework

(Nelson Laird, Engberg, & Hurtado, 2005). In their study utilizing the Student Thinking

and Interaction Survey, Nelson Laird, Engberg, and Hurtado (2005) found that diversity

courses prepared students to work in a diverse workforce such as working in groups and

communication with diverse others (Bikson & Law, 1994). Students also showed post

college effects that are important to engaging in a diverse society (Bowman, 2012a,

2012b). For instance, students showed increased social action engagement, a factor of

responsible citizenship (Nelson et al., 2005). Faculty of color also presented information

from a wider array of diverse authors and diverse faculty research interests resulted in

gains of student cognitive and affective growth (Astin, 1993), making the recruitment and

hiring of faculty of color a potential factor in the recruitment of students of color who

may be seeking inclusive campus climates.

Recruiting diverse faculty. Graduate students of color often feel alone in their

programs and a lack of community (Levin, Jaeger, & Haley, 2013). Feelings of isolation

often compound with the issue of lack of diverse curricula for many students of color

leading to this sense of being alone. But when given support by faculty of color, they

were more likely to report being satisfied with their program and committed to pursuing

careers in academia (Levin, Jaeger, & Haley, 2013). Students in student affairs

programs, the focus of this study, reported feeling alienated in their classrooms because

of a lack of faculty of color and a lack of students of color (Flowers & Howard-Hamilton,

2002). Nadal, Pituc, Johnston, & Esparrago (2010) examined the experiences of Pilipino

students and found similar experiences of invisibility, lack of support stemming from

their race/ethnicity, and racist interactions with others. Their marginalization was only

diminished when they interacted with faculty and outside support systems.

Students may also be faced with a hidden curriculum in graduate school, one that

is difficult to navigate without faculty support (Laden, 1999). Graduate students of color

in particular who may not have mentors or role models, may be more apt to be

overlooked in the process (Nettles, 1990; Poon & Hune, 2009). Nettles (1990) found that

Black graduate students are less likely to receive fellowships and assistantships and more

likely to report racial discrimination. Williams (2000) found that Native American

students felt the least satisfied with their overall doctoral program including fairness in

grading, distribution of financial aid, and accessibility of faculty. Some of these findings

may be due to a lack of mentorship from faculty of color or faculty who understand that

graduate students from diverse backgrounds require different types of support (Flowers &

Howard-Hamilton, 2002; Laden, 1999). Faculty relationships influenced the experience

of graduate students by "influencing the quality of training…access to professional

opportunities, the mentoring relationship…self-confidence…and whether the student

persists" (Kurtz-Costes, Helmke, & Ulku-Steiner, 2006, p. 139).

In order to support the recruitment of students of color to universities,

administrators must attend to the representation of faculty of color on their campuses.

Supporting practices that help provide access to faculty positions include similar

approaches to those for graduate students including mentorship opportunities, direct

outreach and recruitment, and attending to campus climate (Carter & Obrien, 1993).

Attending to pathway issues in graduate education and the success of graduate students

who may ultimately become faculty is another concern, and one of this dissertation as well. Additional tactics to recruit diverse faculty include: grant writing workshops and assistance; start up packages and professional development funding; and family leave policies that support the tenure and promotion of faculty (Leonard, Horvat, & Tiley-Tillman, 2002).

Limitations. A review of the research on recruitment and enrollment practices of racially diverse students in graduate education reveals an uneven, under-researched, and limited body of knowledge. While the last section examines suggestions related to examining the overall climate of a campus and working toward changing campuses into institutions that are more inclusive, diverse, and just, most of the literature fails to take into account the campus climate, geographical location, current institutional demographics, or other factors that may affect how these practices work on individual campuses (Munoz-Dunbar & Stanton, 1999; Olson, 1988). There is also an absence of consideration of systemic issues like prior education and the hidden costs associated with going to graduate school, particularly for older students or students with families (Dower et al., 2001; Ntiri, 2001; Minorities in Medicine, 2005). Additional attention may be given to examining how lack of cultural capital can be offset with these recruitment efforts (although, there is an implied assumption that some of these efforts exist to do so; Espino, 2014). Without an attention to these factors, many of these recruitment activities must be taken at face value and assumed to be effective only under specific circumstances. In relation, many of these recruitment activities assume that all racial/ ethnic groups and women expect the same support from a university. Many do not reflect

the disaggregated diversity of populations' culture and beliefs (Thomason & Thurber, 1999). An attention to the difference between international graduate students and U.S.-born graduate students is also important to consider and little research explicitly distinguishes between the two.

As Tierney et al. (2004) proposed, institutions must analyze their own campuses, provide a plan for implementation, and assess their campus activities. Success and failure can only be deemed so within the context of an institution and college/school level (Griffin & Muniz, 2011). Improving recruitment and enrollment of diverse graduate students requires long-term commitment (Williams & Wade-Golden, 2013) of institutions and there are varying ways of understanding the success of these programs (Fenske et al., 1997). Therefore, institutional resources must be dedicated toward these efforts and implemented on a case-by-case effort.

This study does not directly address the recruitment of graduate students of color; however, it presents a more complete picture of the persistent marginalization that students of color face throughout the educational pathway. These realities may shed light on some of the challenges faculty face when determining the type of diversity that is valued most highly and the quantities of applicants that exist from minority racial groups. Once again, this body of literature examines recruitment of students of color leaving aside recruitment literature, if existent, on other populations. Because this body of literature is focused on students of color, administrators and, in turn, faculty may be more likely to only consider race/ethnicity in the recruitment and admissions process.

Influencers on the Graduate Admissions Process

Faculty play a strong role in recruiting graduate students of color by providing structural diversity, supporting academic opportunities, and in presenting potential mentorship opportunities. Within graduate admissions processes, faculty also play a significant role in selecting which students are admitted and ultimately enroll (Agosto, Karanxha, & Bellara, 2014; Walker et al., 2008). This is in slight contrast to undergraduate admissions that are coordinated and managed mainly by non-faculty administrators, but administrators who still hold similar freedoms (Steinberg, 2002). Indeed, one of the defining factors of U.S. higher education is that individual universities, colleges, departments, or programs have the autonomy to utilize varying and disparate factors when admitting students (Liu, 2011). Although these main actors facilitate graduate enrollment management, additional actors may play a role in the decision-making process as well, such as Graduate Diversity Officers (Griffin & Muniz, 2011) or Chief Diversity Officers (Williams & Wade-Golden, 2013).

The extant literature on the topic predominantly examined the role of graduate faculty within the admissions process including what measures of success faculty used and how they conceptualized various candidates' qualifications (e.g., merit, diversity, probability of success). Seeing that the majority of the literature and this study focus on the faculty role, this review mainly pertains to graduate faculty and their decision-making processes.

Chief Diversity/Graduate Diversity Officers (CDO/GDO). A limited amount of evidence suggests that Chief Diversity Officers (CDO) and Graduate Diversity

Officers (GDO) play a role in the admissions process of graduate students. The

prevalence of diversity officers on college campuses did not occur until the early 2000's

around the time that affirmative action in higher education came under assault (Williams

& Wade-Golden, 2013), suggesting a prediction that affirmative action bans would

negatively affect diverse enrollments on college campuses including at the graduate level

(Garces, 2012a, 2012b, 2013). A diversity officer is the chief executive in charge of

guiding the university through its diversity initiatives (Williams & Wade-Golden, 2007).

Diversity officers build institutional structures that support the recruitment, retention, and

development of diverse bodies within the university that allow the university to be

"credible, effective, and viable in a pluralistic society" (Smith, 2011, p. 481). Whereas

Chief Diversity Officers often oversee an entire university, Graduate Diversity Officers

may only oversee a particular school or division (Griffin & Muniz, 2011). Nine of the 14

officers interviewed in Griffin and Muniz's (2011) study of Graduate Diversity Officers

fell into the latter category, only overseeing particular schools or divisions. Williams and

Wade-Golden (2013) completed a mixed-methods study of Chief Diversity Officers, first

interviewing 100 CDOs and then creating a survey instrument with 772 respondents.

They then focused their findings on 110 purposefully selected individuals based on the

criteria of a) self-classification as CDO, b) directly reported to a President or Provost, c)

high institutional rank, and d) diversity element in the title.

CDO/GDOs while not intimately linked to the admissions decision helped faculty

create and implement diversity processes (Griffin & Muniz, 2011; Williams, 2012),

identify resources, work with local communities, collaborate across campus units, and

disperse diversity resources across campus (Arnold & Kowalski, 2012; Espino, 2014; Gose, 2006; Williams, 2012; Williams & Wade-Golden, 2007, 2013). Griffin and Muniz (2011) also found that GDOs travelled to graduate school fairs, conferences, organizational meetings, and connected with students of color. Many of the GDOs interviewed were members of a racial/ethnic minority and therefore felt they were able to connect well with prospective students. Graduate Diversity Officers recognized that the admissions process was decentralized and that without a broader university commitment to diversity, they would have little effect on the programmatic level (Kezar, 2007). GDOs noted that faculty members increasingly relied only on the GRE when evaluating students and often under-appreciated minority serving institutions. Both of these actions have implications for decreasing the number of students of color in graduate education. While GDOs can play a major role in the recruitment of diverse students, they have very little control over who gets admitted (Griffin & Muniz, 2011).

Faculty. Unlike Graduate Diversity Officers or Chief Diversity Officers, faculty members are the main actors in the graduate admissions processes. Program/department faculty members influence the admission process in significant and varying ways. The graduate admissions process is the gateway process by which one gains access to limited resources (e.g., faculty, research) both to further one's own wellbeing through increased forms of capital, but also to pursue opportunities with which to effect change in the world (Wendler, et al., 2010). Therefore, faculty have the complicated task of choosing the "correct" students to gain access to these opportunities.

Hagedorn and Nora (1996) stated:

From an institutional perspective, each accepted student reflects the quality, reputation, and goals of the institution and the department. Faculty and administrators must make every effort, therefore, to adopt the most appropriate criteria that validly and accurately predict the selection of those students with a high likelihood of developing professional competencies and appropriate institutional fit, and who are likely to complete all degree requirements and to be satisfied with the program. (p. 31)

The literature on faculty decision-making is limited in graduate admissions, but some inferences can be made based on decision-making literature in higher education more broadly. Additionally, the literature diverges into two strands; the first examines the traditional and non-traditional criteria analyzed by faculty (e.g., test scores, interviews, writing samples; Hagedorn & Nora, 1996) and the second explores the internal decision-making processes utilized by faculty (e.g., homophily, logics; Lamont, 2009; Posselt, 2013a, 2013b, 2014).

Tools utilized. Initial literature on faculty decision-making focused on the non-cognitive behaviors of faculty members–what metrics faculty used to admit graduate students. Standardized graduate exams, grade point average, and undergraduate institution selectivity were used across most studies (e.g., Attiyeh & Attiyeh, 1997; Brink, 1999; Dawes, 1971; Gardner, 2009a). Attiyeh and Attiyeh (1997) examined the records of five disciplines across 48 institutions in the early 1990's seeking to test for bias in the admission of diverse student groups. They found that citizenship, gender, ethnicity, and age affected the conditional probability of acceptance for students in their sample. In their study, the probabilities were in favor of some underrepresented groups (e.g., women, non-Asian racial minorities) and against others (e.g., older students, international students, Asian Americans). Giving attention to identity-related criteria

were actionable steps stemming from a national discourse at the time to increase diversity in graduate education (Attiyeh & Attiyeh, 1997). Dawes (1971) found that faculty could eliminate 55% of students who would not have been admitted to a program by utilizing the GRE, GPA, and undergraduate institution quality. While his formula would assist with increasing admissions efficiency, he cautioned against utilizing this formula for Black, Mexican American, or Native American students stating, faculty "cannot escape the ethical responsibility for the decision making simply because [they] make it systematically. Nor, on the other hand, does the fact that it is made systematically- for example-by computer, mean that it is not our decision" (p. 187). Brink (1999) supplemented this list of tools by adding that faculty should use interviews and questionnaires to assess "motive and purpose" (p. 520) and "convincing evidence of ability to pursue graduate work" (p. 521). What counts as convincing is not defined. To offset some of the current understanding about how testing and GPA biases against certain groups, Hagedorn and Nora (1996) suggested differential weighting be given to the various criteria to ensure that criteria utilized matches program mission and program outcomes.

Interviews were a widely utilized admission tool in graduate admissions (Fauber, 2006). Applicants and reviewers increasingly expected to have some sort of face-to-face contact with their future advisor or student, respectively. This expectation created a system where students applied to work with a certain professor instead of a program and only that professor would read the student's materials. This often put the student at a disadvantage, as it essentially required the student, as the adage goes, to "put all their

eggs in one basket." Fauber explained that this sort of application process "emphasizes the applicant's match with a particular faculty member's research more than with the programs general goals and philosophy of training" (p. 230). Applicants may also be disadvantaged in this process if they have previously been unable to appeal to the faculty member prior to the application (Milkman, Akinola, & Chugh, 2014). Women and minorities often face differential bias from faculty members even before they apply to institutions. These students may not have the same opportunity to engage with faculty prior to the interview process. The discrimination was not consistent within and between programs but may influence how easily a diverse group member accesses graduate education (Milkman, Akinola, & Chugh, 2014; Wendler et al., 2010). The role of capital also affects how an applicant succeeds in this type of process (Bourdieu, 1986; McDonough, 1997; Yosso, 2005). Applicants who have greater insight into the faculty member's mindset, research agenda, or networks, as well as more financial resources to boost standardized test scores, are more likely to craft application materials that appeal to that faculty member's liking (Lamont, 2009).

Standardized Measures of Excellence. The leveling of value given to a particular measure and the practice's effect on graduate admissions (or commensuration) has been explored throughout faculty decision-making literature (Lamont, 2009; Posselt, 2013a; Steinberg, 2002). When one uses commensuration, they are able to compare dissimilar people utilizing similar metrics; commensuration "transforms all differences into quantity" (Esplande & Stevens, 1998, p. 408). Posselt (2013) found that faculty often used indicators such as GPA, GRE, or SAT scores during the admissions process to

compare applicants who are seemingly un-alike. This has also been shown to be true in undergraduate admissions where applicants are rendered relatively similar by way of standardized test scores and GPA, requiring admissions counselors to identify extracurricular activities, volunteer work, or jobs as distinguishing characteristics on which to measure value (Steinberg, 2002). When students are seen as similar according to standard metrics, additional variables become integral to determining proper fit in a graduate program.

Defining these additional variables becomes increasingly difficult in a country where the myth of meritocracy (Liu, 2011) perpetually infiltrates higher education admissions. In a meritocracy, people are seen as being uplifted by their own hard work despite the various societal systems at play. The opposite is also true; those who do not make it are seen as failures because they did not work hard enough. Killgore (2009) studied 17 elite colleges and found that academic and extracurricular activities are used as initial indicators of merit and then additional variables are weighed against institutional need (e.g. athletic ability). Baez (2000) noted that merit is defined intra-organizationally and in relation to status attainment; definitions of merit are only applicable within a given organizational structure and cannot be cross-compared. Meritocracies portend an equal playing field where each person has the same capital capacities which aid them in successfully completing one's goals; however, people often start off with uneven advantage based on power, socio-economic status, or identity, for example (Liu, 2011; McDonough, 1997). One way this plays out in the admissions process is when administrators compare the test scores of a student with little financial

support to allocate to test preparation to a student who attended a year-long standardized test preparation course. Guinier (2003) called an admission committee's inability to "grapple with the complexity and arbitrariness of our current normative conceptions of merit" a "failure to society" (p. 114). Certainly, a well prepared and coached student's scores cannot carry the same weight as a student's scores who received no coaching; in this case, equal opportunity under the meritocracy was not equal at all. Literature from studies on college choice and access show that interaction with knowledgeable high school counselors (Engberg & Gilbert, 2013), involvement in outreach programs (Perna & Swail, 2001), informed and involved friends and family (Engberg & Wolniak, 2010), strong academic preparation (Bowen, Chingos, & McPherson, 2009), and financial knowledge (Bell, Rowan-Kenyon, & Perna, 2009) all contributed positively to students' college choice and access opportunities. Research on graduate students point to similar factors affecting admissions, success, commensuration of metrics, and meritocracy, and are explored throughout this section.

Graduate Record Exams and Grade Point Averages. Faculty do not make decisions absent of a range of information on applicants. Among the many criteria utilized by faculty to evaluate graduate students are Grade Point Average (GPA) and graduate standardized test scores (e.g., Graduate Record Exam, Law School Admission Test, Graduate Management Assessment Test, Medical College Admission Test; Attiyeh & Attiyeh, 1997; Meggison, 2009; Walker, 2008; Walpole, Burton, Kanyi, & Jackenthal, 2002). In higher education and student affairs programs, the GRE is the most often used standardized test and therefore the other tests are not discussed in this section.

Much discussion concentrates on the use of standardized tests in predicting the success of students in graduate education (Kuncel, Hezlett, & Ones, 2001). Despite evidence proving that standardized tests may have a marginalizing effect on racial and ethnic minorities and women, they are still used as blanket criteria in the graduate admissions process (Attiyeh & Attiyeh, 1997). Whether intentional or not, faculty may utilize tests as a gatekeeping tool to restrict access to diverse student populations to graduate programs, such as those in law (Attiyeh & Attiyeh, 1997; Jones, 2006; Stake 2006). To this point, most studies on standardized tests are undertaken after students are already enrolled in graduate programs and focus on predicted student success (Dodge & Derwin, 2008); therefore, it is hard to truly understand the full effect of standardized tests and GPAs on the application process limiting what faculty and administrators know about potential talent, but may shine light on how tests and GPAs influence decision-making in the admissions process. This section examines what is known about the Graduate Record Exam and GPAs and how these understandings may influence the graduate admissions process.

The Graduate Record Exam (GRE) is one of the most widely required tests for entrance into graduate schools outside of business, medical, and law (Young, 2005). The GRE is often required for programs in the humanities, social sciences, education, engineering, life sciences, and the physical sciences (Education Testing Services, 2013). The GRE was created in 1949 to measure verbal reasoning, quantitative reasoning, analytical writing, and critical thinking. Since its creation, researchers have tested the

validity in predicting student success to improve its utility in determining eligibility for admittance to graduate programs (Kuncel, Hezlett, & Ones, 2001).

Standardized test scores, particularly the GRE, have been used to predict graduate student success as well as academic readiness (Freely, William, & Wise, 2005; Morrison & Morrison, 1995) for over 40 years despite conflicting evidence of utility (Kuncel, Hezlett, & Ones, 2001). In one meta-analysis of the predictive validity of GRE on graduate GPA, the quantitative and verbal sections of the GRE accounted for only 6% of variance (Morrison & Morrison, 1995). At the same time, other meta-analyses found significant predictive power in the test (Kuncel, Wee, Serafin, & Hezlett, 2010). This unresolved controversy remains problematic as Attiyeh and Attiyeh (1997) found that GRE scores are "highly significant determinants of the admissions decision" (p. 541) in their study of 48 institutions and over 60,000 applicants. They found that for every 50 point increase on the GRE an applicant's chance of admissions rose anywhere from 7% to 15%. Scores may also be used to "sort" students into groups based on arbitrary cut-off scores (Veselack, 1994) with little attention to non-traditional criteria (e.g., letters of recommendation, interviews, portfolios) making the use of the GRE alone a powerful tool in the graduate admission arsenal.

There is additional widely recognized research showing that stereotype threat (the risk fulfilling a negative stereotype about one's group) negatively affects African Americans (Steele, 1997; Steele & Aronson, 1995; Stricker & Rock, 2014), women (Jamison & Harkins, 2009; Steele, 1997; Wicherts, Dolan, & Hessen, 2005), and students with low-socioeconomic status' standardized test scores (Vaseleck, 1994). Also at issue

are cultural and psychosocial behaviors (e.g., Protestant work ethic) that do not align with dominant ideology that may negatively affect how African American students perform on the GRE. Awad (2005) found that Black students did in fact perform more poorly on the GRE than those who aligned their behaviors with dominant ideologies. Stricker and Rock (2014) studied the effect of a Black role model (i.e., President Barack Obama) on Black student GRE success finding that the "Obama effect" resulted in no positive change for those students. Reasons for the lack of change could not be pinpointed, but the authors hypothesized that testing centers created marginalizing environments, that role models that are of too high a stature made Black students feel that a high level of success is unattainable for themselves (e.g., Obama as President of the U.S.), that previous negative thinking about academic ability carried over into testing, or that the role model was not deserving the of position of power/visibility. The combination of these factors may have made the salience of Obama's influence too weak to overcome the burden of stereotype threat.

When testing the predictive validity of the GRE for minority groups on certain success variables, the findings do not positively favor racial/ethnic minority students. In their study of 160 minority graduate students (64% women and 90% Black), Sampson and Boyer (2001) found that a series of variables including the GRE-Verbal, age, major, and undergraduate GPA predicted 25% of the variance of first-year grade point average with the GRE-Verbal only accounting for 15% of the overall variance. Students had a wide range of test scores, some below the top 20% of their institutions top score. This mirrors the findings of House and Johnson (1993) who examined how the GRE and other

academic background variables (e.g., undergraduate GPA, major GPA, last 60 credit GPA, and GRE) predicted degree completion of psychology students and Freely, William, and Wise's (2005) study on communication students. GRE and academic background characteristics did not accurately predict graduation for graduate students in psychology. These studies lend more credibility to the discussion that alternative forms of assessment must be taken into consideration, particularly for racial minority candidates.

When examining average GRE scores of diverse student groups, it is clear that White students outperform their racial and ethnic minority peers. White students average up to 100 points higher than their peers on the GRE-Verbal, up to 130 points higher than some of their peers (except Asian/Pacific Islanders) on the GRE-Quantitative and analytical sections (Educational Testing Services, 2001). Overlaying this with Briihl and Wasieleski's (2004) study of Master's level psychology program requirements, these scores would disqualify everybody except White people, Asian/Pacific Islander people, and American Indian Men. These studies are some of the very few that focus specifically on diverse student groups specifically. House (1989) found that GRE scores under predict GPA for older students, and over predict GPA for younger students in a variety of education programs.

Despite varying findings for the GRE, Kuncel, Hezlett, and Ones (2001) and Kuncel et al. (2010) utilized meta-analysis to determine that the GRE was an appropriate measure of Graduate GPA and faculty rating at both the master's and doctoral level. Kuncel, Hezlett, and Ones (2001) attempted to correct for range restrictions (most studies

only utilized currently enrolled student data), sample size, and criterion reliability (using

GRE to measure non-cognitive factors) through a meta-analysis that "allows for the

correction of statistical artifacts that bias the average observed validity estimate and

allows us to estimate the amount of variance attributable to sampling error, range

restriction, and unreliability" (Kuncel et al., 2010, p. 345). The authors analyzed 1,743

independent databases. They found that all GRE sections (i.e., verbal, quantitative, and

analytical) were "generalizably valid predictors" (p. 174) of graduate GPA, first-year

GPA, faculty ratings, comprehensive exam scores, and citation counts. Kuncel et al.

(2010) later found with an updated dataset that the GRE was a valid predictor on graduate

GPA, first year GPA, and faculty ratings at both the Master's and doctoral level, though

this data was not disaggregated by race. In this meta-analysis, GRE accounted for up to

36% of the variance of the graduate GPA, 38% of the first-year GPA, and 20% of degree

completion variance. Ultimately, they argued that any predictor whether having 10% or

40% variance is useful in ensuring graduate student success and that field specific GRE

tests are the most able to predict success. The discrepancy between this work and the

previous authors' works requires additional analysis particularly since the GRE is heavily

utilized in graduate admissions.

In 2011, the Educational Testing service released the GRE revised General Test.

This new test modified the older version in a few ways. First, it was made of three

sections: Verbal Reasoning, Quantitative Reasoning, and Analytical Writing. Second, the

score ranges and increments were modified. Additionally, some modifications were

made within the individual test, such as the use of variable writing prompts for the

Analytical Writing section.

More recent studies show that the Revised general GRE Quantitative and Verbal Reasoning sections had a high predictive validity for academic performance in MBA students (Young, Klieger, Bochenek, Li, & Cline, 2014). There was no data reported by race and data was not disaggregated by gender. Howel, Sorenson, and Jones (2014) found that a higher undergraduate GPA led to a shorter time to graduate school graduation and the graduate GPA was best predicted by the quantitative score, the writing score, and undergraduate GPA. The sample for this study was limited however to 92 graduate students in an MS program for engineering students. Additional study on the revised GRE is lacking and even newer studies related to the GRE still utilized data from the older GRE (e.g., Rockingson-Szapkiw, Bray, & Spaulding, 2014).

Limitations. Multiple critiques can be forwarded regarding the GRE. First, authors utilized different methods to analyze GRE scores providing for different statistical artifacts such as sampling error, range restriction, and unreliability to influence the results (Kuncel et al., 2010). It is difficult to fully understand how results are obtained without truly understanding what the data sets and the subsequent analyses completed on them were. Additionally, in meta-analyses, some datasets were disqualified from use because of missing data that may provide broader generalizability and more nuanced analysis of individual groups. With exception of the few studies noted, none of the studies ran analyses on the diverse student groups including racial and ethnic minorities and differences in sex. The studies that looked specifically at racial/ethnic minorities and women found differences by race and sex. Native Hawaiian

and Pacific Islander are collapsed with Asians and Native American students having been removed from all statistical analyses because of lack of representation. This leaves faculty without any knowledge on these two groups. Meta-analysis that disaggregates by these groups may provide a clearer picture of predictive validity for these groups.

Meta-analysis of these studies found that 22 of 30 studies utilized graduate GPA as the determinant of graduate student success (Morrison & Morrison, 1995). Identifying this outcome seems appropriate for the utilization of quantitative methods. However, this may not be appropriate for a broader field of education where non-cognitive measures of success should be understood as just as important, if not more so, than cognitive measures. Additionally, these programs are drastically different in regards to curriculum, pedagogy, and program requirement. Measuring success within multiple disciples with one test is problematic. Kuncel et al. (2010) argued that the GPA is an accurate descriptor because it represents a final product that is the culmination of both cognitive and non-cognitive behaviors, skills, and knowledge that is given a grade marker. This understanding does not account for grading bias, inconsistent grading, or a slew of alternative variables related to faculty (e.g., number of faculty, faculty mentoring), curriculum (e.g., changes, difficulty, electives), and student evaluation in the classroom.

Finally, the studies included in the meta-analyses are grossly outdated. Most studies in Kuncel, Hezlett, and Ones (2001) study were from the 1950-1980's. This poses major problems as it is assumed that the majority of students within these programs were White men and the curriculums were certainly different than they are now. Therefore, generalizability to a current day student body and within a modern curriculum

would be minimal at most. Indeed, in 1967, only 265,000 women compared to 600,000

men were enrolled in post-baccalaureate programs. In 2012, there were 1.7 million

enrolled compared to 1.2 million men (National Center for Educational Statistics

[NCES], 2013), a significant growth and switch in structural diversity. In 1977,

approximately 51,000 Master's degrees were earned by racial minorities compared to

268,000 in 2011 (NCES, 2012a). In 1977, 11,000 doctoral degrees were earned by racial

minorities compared to 2011 when 59,000 were earned (NCES, 2012b).

Faculty cognitive decision-making. The previous literature showed that faculty

use measures of excellence that are thought to be value free (Hagedorn & Nora, 1996).

Although some studies suggested that these measures must be analyzed for their biases

(Dawes, 1971), there is still rhetoric around merit and how these metrics are used in a

meritocracy. For instance, Brink (1999) wrote:

> By permitting mediocre and inadequately prepared students to undertake graduate
> work, injustice is done not only to the students, but to society as well. It is
> obviously unfair to encourage young people to embark upon graduate study
> unless they are intellectually qualified for it, unless their undergraduate
> preparation is of such character as to make further student profitable, and unless
> they possess essential personality characteristics. (p. 517)

Brink's (1999) remarks reflect a mixed attitude effort in graduate education

admissions. Attitudes such as these reveal that assessment tools such as the GPA, GRE,

or interviews are in fact value-laden and must be interrogated. This second body of

literature attempts to build upon the surface level understanding of what tools faculty use

when making decisions and focuses on how faculty make those decisions.

While there is a lack of evidence on how faculty make decisions in the admissions

process, Lamont (2009) examined decision-making on faculty panels for grant proposals

and Posselt (2014) completed a meta-literature review examining decision-making

literature in higher education more broadly (e.g., administrator hiring, grant proposal

processes). Posselt (2013a) is currently the only scholar interrogating the faculty

decision-making process in graduate admissions. Lamont (2009) found that faculty often

make decisions that are influenced by their discipline and institutional logics. Discipline

and institutional logics stem from one's epistemological understandings and/or university

prestige. For instance, faculty who have more positivistic epistemologies are more likely

to utilize efficiency and convenience tactics to select students. Additionally, these logics

also set standards for what is valued in a discipline; therefore, students who do not

conform to discipline norms and share an academic worldview of the faculty may be

disproportionately negatively affected. Lamont (2009) found however, that "academics

rely on various, and sometimes inconsistent or contradictory, frames to give meaning to

their actions" (p. 109) including comparing excellence to only the group of applicants in

front of them rather than to the broader set of scholars in the field, or by employing

extraneous metrics (e.g., homophily, race, gender, topic of study) to bolster an applicant's

chance of being selected. Additionally, faculty decision-making has "a history, and can

be shaped by folk stories about past conflicts, interpersonal hatreds, and the like"

(Lamont, 2009, p. 140).

These various metrics are employed following the utilization of standardized

forms of evaluation such as the SAT, GRE, and GPA since "intellectual prowess helps

define a scholar's identity and is a prerequisite for excellent academic work; therefore, it

represents a reasonable basis for admissions and other forms of gatekeeping" (Posselt,

2014). Following making objective decisions on students, faculty will then use more subjective measures. For instance, faculty act with research homophily, or attraction to applicants who have like research interests, have an "it" (p. 188) factor, or are interesting (though interesting is different for each faculty member).

   Homophily. Homophilies play an interesting role in graduate admissions because they are intricately linked to the faculty member's emotions. Posselt (2013b) described faculty homophilies as being an emotion-based sub-conscious attraction to an applicant that fulfills a sense of fit within the department. This attraction compels the faculty member to advocate on behalf of the applicant because that faculty member has a unique connection, and therefore ability, to judge that applicant. Faculty then are able to modify commonly utilized admission metrics to argue for admittance.

   Homophilic actions can play out in two ways. Actions that ascribe some level of intelligence, prowess, or otherwise greatness can perpetuate cycles of in-group selection that reinforces marginalization of unlike groups. For instance, faculty who attended elite universities may only find students who attended elite universities preferable (Posselt, 2013b). On the other hand, depending on the composition of the selection committee, faculty may choose an applicant that has a unique characteristic, minoritized social identity, or interesting background because that faculty member shares a similar "story" with that applicant (Lamont, 2009). This action thereby helps to uplift a possibly marginalized student and adds diversity to the organization.

   Four homophilies emerged as dominant narratives in the selection process. Faculty were attracted to students who came from elite pedigrees and/or were involved in

academic organizations. Students who were "cool" were also attractive to faculty. Cool students were those who dressed well, had novel research interests, used current and radical jargon, or utilized interesting technology. Students could also be born in places other than the U.S. or have experiences outside the local culture. This third type of homophily preferences globalization and international experience but only for students who come from or studied in countries that were less travelled.

A fourth, more altruistic, homophily is related to advocacy for socially mobile students. After identifying those students who attended less prestigious schools or who had lower socio-economic status, faculty attempted to bypass negative outcomes associated with having less cultural capital by allocating their own social capital in advocating for a student's admittance. Although all forms of homophily occurred within admissions committees, Posselt (2013b) found that the outcomes were often unpredictable depending on the saliency of the homophilies to other faculty members and whether that characteristic is seen as worthy of consideration.

Capital. Guinier (2003) argued that race should be considered throughout the application process because it "has the potential to push educational and political leaders to align admissions choices with institutional mission in ways that open up access to higher education to poor and working-class whites as well as to Blacks and Latinos" (p. 115). After faculty make decisions based on standardized metrics, those who fall into a "maybe" category, or for decisions that warrant a diversification of awardees, elegance and cultural capital play a role in decision-making (Birnbaum, 1988). This is also where diversity plays a role in the decision-making process (Posselt, 2014).

"Faculty equated elegance with an applicant's level of capital and one's ability to package them with 'poise'" (p. 192); poise is generally linked to ones' class membership (Bourdieu, 1986; Lamont, 2009). The morality or worthiness of an applicant may also be taken into consideration. Morality is defined as risk-taking, determination, humility, and authenticity. Each of these additional components may be analyzed through the lens of various forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1986; Yosso, 2005) and examined for their inherent value-laden nature. Certainly, if all of these metrics were utilized to analyze candidates of underrepresented groups, a continuation of past injustices may never be redressed (Posselt, 2014).

Diversity. Lamont (2009) argued that diversity is never compared against merit in faculty deliberations, but instead are used as an additive. Diversity is "valued as a component of excellence and as a means of redressing past injustices, leveling the playing field, and shaping the academic pipeline" (Lamont, 2009, p. 203). Diversity included institutional, disciplinary, topic, gender, racial, and geographic variables. From limited studies, class is hardly mentioned (Lamont, 2009). Posselt (2013a) corroborated this finding in her study of faculty decision-making on twelve elite Ph.D. admissions committees. She found that diversity is "secondary to conventional, quantitative notions of merit—both in overall importance and temporally in the evaluative process… what counts as merit only includes diversity when judging among a handful of borderline applicants" (Posselt, 2014).

Diversity played three roles in the admissions process: 1) it helped level the representation of historically underrepresented groups, 2) faculty saw it as a legitimate

way to improve the education provided to all students, and 3) faculty used diversity to compete against other programs who may also be seeking diverse students (Posselt, 2013a). In this third form of diversity, its role had the potential to reflect a self-serving intent during the admissions process. Interest convergence (Bell, 1980), or the theory that support of racial justice is valid only if there is a benefit to the person in power, is utilized clearly in admissions committees by certain faculty. These faculty felt the need to assert their power only to admit minority candidates if there was a competitive advantage against other programs or if they believed that their program was behind the trend in diversifying their programs (Posselt, 2013a). Altruistic intents were not often referenced. There is also some evidence that programs that are more positivistic may show bias against students who come from religious backgrounds, particularly clinical psychology. Students who showed that they have some sort of religious background may be seen as being less able to fulfill their roles in that field and therefore less successful (Gartner, 1986).

Success. Within these discussions are varying understandings and definitions of success. In fact, faculty are often engaging in conversations about what it means to be a successful graduate student when they are reading applications and subsequently applying various metrics to make those determinations. Often times there is an "implied relationship" (Gardner, 2009b, p. 394) between attributes and metrics such as intelligence and GRE. This chain of attributes ultimately leads to success. For instance, high GRE equates to high intelligence, which equates to high production of research and scholarship, which equates to better chance of graduating and obtaining a reputable job

role (Posselt, 2014). Different disciplines define success differently with discipline logics playing a role in defining success. For example, communication faculty thought that self-directed students were successful whereas oceanographers wanted happy, nice, helpful, and collaborative students (Posselt, 2013a). There is currently no understanding of how education faculty define success.

Understanding what factors faculty members consider is increasingly important particularly if measures that negatively affect certain student groups are utilized (e.g., GRE). Looney (1990) wrote that faculty evaluated graduate students inconsistently and there are subtle forms of discrimination throughout. Rumania (1996) believed that some of the graduate admissions process was just plain luck. What is understood about influencers on graduate admissions is that there are varying, non-standardized, objective and subjective measures, personal, and political reasons for admitting students to graduate education. At the same time, there is still much to learn.

Limitations. While a body of literature is emerging around graduate admissions, there is a wide gap to fill. The overall consideration regarding this literature base is that all of the current studies examine elite programs. Posselt's (2013, 2013b, 2014) studies, the only current studies on PhD admissions, analyzed data from twelve elite universities and in limited fields. Lamont (2009) provided much insight into faculty mindsets; however, she studied decision-making on grant awarding panels, not in the admissions process. Ancillary data does not specifically address graduate admissions. These data sets provided valuable data; yet, they focused on elite students and scholars thereby essentially eliminating consideration of attitudes of a wide swath of actors within other

graduate education programs, and also professional and medical programs. As elite programs are bastions for exclusionary practices (Steinberg, 2002), only a sliver of knowledge is gained from examining this small population of students and faculty.

Researchers of current studies showed that faculty preferences and characteristics can offset capital based benefits that applicants possess (Posselt, 2013a). This finding begs further inquiry on faculty who work in programs that have social justice orientations or faculty who identify as critical scholars. Might faculty who hold these attitudes be more attuned to the marginalizing effects of standardized metrics of evaluation and be more willing to engage around conversations of power and oppression? This mindset may offset heavy-handed objective measures with more subjective measures for predicting success. There is also little literature on how underrepresented faculty groups or minorities make decisions on admissions committees. There is some literature that links low-SES faculty to the admittance of low-SES students by way of socially mobile homophily (Posselt, 2013b). But there is little evidence of clear link between other social identities such as race, sexual orientation, age, or gender and admissions benefits particularly at the graduate level (Lamont, 2009). This study directly addresses these two points by attempting to recruit participants who are racial/ethnic minorities and that hold multiple other salient identities. These identities can then be explored in relation to who the faculty member admits and if there is a connection to their own identity.

Within group differences are also a branch of research that may benefit this body of literature. Little is known about how faculty rank plays in decision-making. Lower ranked faculty members often show deference to those who have higher rank in their

departments for fear of retribution around resource allocation and tenure/promotion decisions (Lamont, 2009). Logical links to the admissions process would mean that lower ranked faculty would also be less likely to advocate for borderline or contingently admitted students for fear of retribution. Layering other identities would provide a more nuanced understanding of faculty relationships and dynamics during this process (e.g., women of color, trans* faculty of color; Baez, 2000; Menges & Exum, 1983).

This body of literature directly reflects the topics examined in the methodology presented in the next section. This study will examine how faculty of color utilize homophily in admissions, how they balance merit and diversity, among other unknown factors. Additionally, I purposefully sample faculty without tenure or those newly tenured to delve deeper into the experiences of power in decision-making. This multiple marginality provides nuance to the current body of literature.

Faculty of Color Experiences

Beginning to explore how diverse graduate students can be recruited and how faculty of color approach graduate admissions begins with understanding the faculty of color experience in the academy. Extant literature showed that faculty of color experience the academy in different ways than their White peers and in turn may see their role in organizing and managing the university differently. Faculty of color worked harder, experienced more isolation, felt silenced, and perceived the norms of the academy in different ways (Aguirre, 2000; Ahmed, 2012; Delgado-Bernal & Villalpando, 2002; Patitu & Hinton, 2003; Turner, 2002, 2003). This section examines the literature on faculty of color experiences in U.S. universities including how faculty of color practice

resistance against racism and sexism (Thomas & Hollenshead, 2001).

Faculty of color often worked harder than their White peers and their work may not be as valued (Aguirre, 2005; Delgado-Bernal & Villalpando, 2002; Patitu & Hinton, 2003). Aguirre's (2005) personal narrative as a Chicana female faculty member highlighted stories about how her work and place in the academy was constantly questioned by her peers. Griffin, Bennet, and Harris (2011) found similar experiences in their mixed-methods study of Black faculty at two research universities. Black male faculty often had doubt about their abilities as faculty members and Black female faculty reported not being treated like peers until, and even after, they received tenure.

Aguirre (2000) described the academic workplace as "chilly and alienating" (p. 39) for women and minorities. Many times, a faculty person of color may be the only person of color in their department or entire college (Kelly & McCann, 2014; Turner, 2003). This isolation led to issues of tokenism for faculty of color. Medina and Luna (2000) interviewed three Latina education faculty and found that tokenism led to a "proving" culture where they felt pressured to outperform their peers and dually felt insecure in their own abilities. Mirroring tokenism was a feeling of being othered and placed on the periphery by their peers. This relationship put faculty of color in a dehumanizing double bind–they are highly visible, but at the same time unseen. This dehumanizing feeling made faculty feel like there was a silencing of their voice (Aguirre, 2000, 2005; Turner, 2002).

Additional isolation came from faculty being placed in peripheral academic roles that are reserved for women and minority faculty (e.g., mentoring/advising minority

students, diversity committees). Multiple scholars corroborated this finding (Eddy &

Gaston-Gayles, 2008; Patitu & Hinton, 2003; Turner, 2002) also noting that minority

faculty are less likely to serve on budgeting and finance committees or tenure and

promotion committees, committees that provide members a certain amount of power in

their departments. Kelly and McCann (2014) nuanced this finding in their study of

women faculty of color (WFOC) who left their institutions before obtaining tenure

finding that WFOC were not able to be on meaningful committees and when they were

they often felt as though they were not valued as highly. The placement of faculty of

color into service activities at disproportionate rates led to a "cultural taxation"

(Hirshfield & Joseph, 2012) intended to put racial minority faculty on display for the

purposes of flaunting "diversity" to a broader public. For Black faculty, Griffin, Bennett,

and Harris (2011) called it a "Black tax." Stein (1994) found that Native American

faculty members are overtaxed in their schools because they are asked to write federal

grants for the university, administer those grant programs, and are tightly tied to serving

their native tribal communities. Though, Baez (2000) found that sitting on race-related

service committees did provide some faculty of color at a private PWI a way to cope with

isolation in their departments.

Related to service, as one of the three main components of faculty life, faculty of

color noticed changing and unclear rules for tenure compared to their White peers (Eddy

& Gaston-Gayles, 2008; Patitu & Hinton, 2003; Turner, 2002; Kelly & McCann, 2013,

2014; Williams & Williams, 2006) leading to faculty of color being worried about job

retention (Pitatu & Hinton, 2003). Many tenure and promotion rules seem unbiased,

however, the bias has been institutionalized (Blackshire-Belay, 1998). Blackshire-Belay (1998) highlighted multiple cases of faculty of color who chose to publish in less well-known journals that better fit their research topics only to later be denied tenure. When their work was seen as too practical and related to communities of color, it was also undermined or questioned. Kelly and McCann (2013) found in their study of WFOC who successfully obtained tenure that WFOC perceived race-based scholarship as less accepted and a lack of mentorship around conducting research and teaching about race. When it came to the tenure committee meeting, one participant, a Black woman faculty member had to speak up to challenge her committee's perceptions of her work and to make sure that all of her scholarship was included in the tenure file after information was omitted from her program chair. However, even though she resisted her chair's attempt to lessen her scholarship's worth in order to present an even playing field with her White peers, the fact that this faculty member had to speak up at all, still points toward unequal evaluative methods in the tenure process for WFOC.

Eddy and Gaston-Gayles (2008) interviewed 12 new faculty members in higher education administration programs about stressors related to new faculty life. They found that because of a lack of information, faculty of color felt unprepared, isolated, in limbo, and had to "piece together information on how to best prepare for tenure" (p. 100). Faculty often noted difficulties managing "unwritten service-related expectations" ultimately leading to a feeling like these faculty were "set up to fail" (Griffin, Bennet, & Harris, 2011, p. 51). Even when rules were written, such as was a case in Delgado-Bernal and Villalpando (2002) Critical Race Theory counterstories of faculty of color,

White tenure and promotion faculty compared a Latina faculty member's choices for

publication venue and professional disposition as an interdisciplinary scholar against their

own value-laden, "Eurocentric" (p. 176) epistemological judgments. These judgments

allowed White faculty to decide criteria for what makes a good education scholar, what

that scholar should write about, and where that scholar should publish. These seemingly

objective and meritocratic standards created double standards for faculty of color and

treated them as objects who were unable to withstand subjective reasoning like their

White peers often can be judged upon. Indeed, changing standards for tenure are not

abnormal when a majority White faculty feels that Schools of Education are being

devalued by WFOC attempting to obtain tenure (Kelly & McCann, 2013). Kelly &

McCann (2013) found that one Dean increased the number of manuscripts required to

obtain tenure when too many faculty of color were obtaining tenure. Williams and

Williams (2006) interviewed Black male junior faculty and found that these double

standards created a political minefield of sorts that was more subjective than objective

and to receive promotion and tenure the minefield would have to be navigated carefully.

Researchers also recognized that civility and collegiality were understood

differently for faculty of color (Ahmed, 2012; Delgado-Bernal & Villalpando, 2002;

Griffin, Bennet, & Harris, 2011) and at times racist and hostile incidences happened in

the university (Aguirre, 2005; Griffin, Pifer, Humphrey, & Hazelwood, 2011). In his

personal narrative piece as a Chicano faculty member, Aguirre (2005) told the story of

his experiences in the academy. He opened up his narrative with an exchange between

himself and a student. The student's family owned a farm tended to by Mexican

undocumented immigrants with low educational levels; the student called them

"wetbacks." Aguirre asked the student if the student considered Aguirre a wetback

because he had Mexican roots but was educated. The student replied in the affirmative.

Griffin, Bennett, and Harris' (2011) interviews with Black faculty illuminated

narratives that mirrored these findings. One faculty member noted:

> You're very, very cautious about what you say. You tend not to speak your mind…because anything you'd have to say you would think may have racial consequences because you're the only racial minority. You have to be twice as good as people who work in other areas. (p. 51)

For this faculty member, speaking up had potentially negative consequences for him.

Delgado-Bernal and Villalpando (2002) found that faculty of color had to be wary of

being seen as "militant" or "against" White faculty when researching topics that may be

seen as more radical or on issues related to race/ethnicity. These findings highlight that

faculty of color can often be seen as the "problem" (DuBois, 2005, p. 1) in their own

departments particularly when they are seen as going against the "normative" behaviors

of their peers.

Many of these issues must be doubly understood for women of color (Aguirre,

2000; Medina & Luna, 2000; Thomas & Hollenshead, 2001). Haag (2005) described

collegiality as a code word for bias during tenure review with "inherent subjectivity" (p.

58). She highlighted multiple cases of women faculty members who were denied tenure

because of unmet gender roles and expectations based on their peer's expectations. She

noted "collegiality can cut dangerously close to the core of [women's] identities" (p. 60)

and that women who are seen at "uppity" or "confrontational" are particularly prone to

tenure denial. Saldana, Castro-Villarreal, and Sosa (2013) wrote personal scholarly

testimonials about their lives as scholars. The "intersection between social and cultural norms and gender in the academy" (p. 39) proved to be a point of struggle in balancing high expectations in both motherhood and professional life. Some of the women found support in strict scheduling, mentorship, and collaboration. These points of resistance and support helped them to balance these multiple points of conflict in the academy.

Practices of resistance. Many faculty of color "resist from the margins" (Thomas & Hollenshead, 2001) despite the many obstacles presented by institutional racism and sexism (other social identities are greatly understudied in the literature). For instance, some faculty find support in mentoring from peers (Butner, Burley, & Marbley, 2000; Fries-Britt & Kelly, 2005), though issues of racism and sexism may still exist (Griffin & Reddick 2011). For example, Fries-Britt and Kelly's (2005) scholarly personal narratives of a Black female faculty member and a Black female graduate student illuminated how the two colleagues created a positive environment through mentoring that "enabled [them] to survive and resist [their] marginalized status in the academy" (p. 223). This environment was situated in a shared trust, vulnerability, identity, positive reinforcement, and personal and professional development and support. This act of service was identity-related and was a place where the two scholars could resist racist and sexist structures in their university and support each other in other aspects of their personal life. Because of the inherently mutually beneficial relationship there was little or no "cultural taxation" as other scholars have found to be true in mentoring and advising relationships.

Others have learned to say "no" when they felt overstretched (Thomas &

Hollenshead, 2001), though male and female faculty said no at different levels (Griffin,

Bennett, & Harris, 2005). But for those who did engage in this "race-related work"

(Baez, 2000, p. 374), there were positive outcomes (Griffin, Pifer, Humphrey, &

Hazelwood, 2011). Baez (2000) interviewed 16 faculty of color at a private university

finding that by engaging in service, faculty of color built agency that supported faculty

success over time. Some of these faculty built capital within their racial/ethnic group

communities. Engaging with like others provided spiritual and cultural outlets and

support as well as places to discuss academic politics.

Faculty in Baez's (2000) study believed that engaging in race-related work

provided faculty an opportunity to advocate on behalf of traditionally marginalized

students and to change institutional policy and structures to be more just, and "thwart

dominant perspectives" (Hill-Brisbane & Dingus, 2007, para. 12). The work of the

university extended to these faculty members' work in the community as some tied their

scholarship to their service. These stories also allowed consumers of this research to

reconceptualize how service acts as a place of resistance for faculty of color and to

redefine service's status in the triumvirate of faculty life (i.e., research, service, teaching;

Baez, 2000).

Lastly, Griffin, Pifer, Humphrey, and Hazelwood (2011) found in their multi-case

study with 28 Black faculty at two research universities that Black faculty resisted by

building external networks away from their departments. They found that Black faculty

members found allies and support in other departments and often redefined themselves

not as Black faculty at their particular institutions, but "Black faculty, scholars, parents,

and community members" (p. 511) broadly. These faculty engaged with campus organizations, community groups, and other departments away from their formal "home" departments. For Latina scholars, these engagements allowed them to be creative and reflective on their own positionalities and what it meant for them to be scholars of color (Medina & Luna, 2000). In some ways, this spoke to a "biculturation" (Sadao, 2003, p. 411) of faculty who balance minority race/ethnic identity with their professional dominant White university norms. "Elite" racial/ethnic minority faculty in Sadao's (2003) study noted that being able to navigate their professional and personal identities allowed them to be successful in the academy. This code switching provided necessary skills to navigate the university system and was gained through exposure to certain cultural capital in youth (e.g. international traveling, mentorship, cultural immersions).

Limitations. While important, the majority of this work examined the experiences of Black faculty and Black women faculty. While some work examines the experiences of Latinx faculty (Garcia, 2005; Medina & Luna, 2000) and Asian American faculty (Lee, 2002; Loo & Hoo, 2006; Hune, 2011) more work must be done to move beyond race and sex as the main units of analysis. Jennings (2010) conducted a study on lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender faculty's level of outness and its relation to teaching evaluations. In their quantitative study of three "out" faculty members in a university in Southern California, they found mixed results and that lower teaching evaluations were not "inevitable" (p. 336). This is the only study related to this topic. This study examined the experiences of faculty of color from a variety of diverse backgrounds (e.g., race, sexual orientation, religion) to expand the knowledge base

around the experiences of these faculty. Additionally, this study provides space for faculty to foreground their most salient identities at various times in their experience with doctoral admissions thereby shifting the focus away from race to other identities as needed (Abes, Jones, & McEwen, 2007).

Summary

This literature review reviewed the history of graduate education and higher education and student affairs programs in particular. This section also addressed the current literature on best practices for recruiting diverse graduate students. Attending to historical inequities and supplementing standard recruitment practices may prove to help increase enrollments. Additionally, the faculty role in graduate admissions and the tools and cognitive frames utilized by faculty is explored to better understand how admission decisions are made. While this body of literature is growing, there is much more to explore particularly as it relates to how faculty of color make decisions. To better understand how faculty of color experience the doctoral admissions process, attending to their general experiences in the academy is important to explore. The final body of literature examined these experiences.

This synthesis of literature stands to argue that more research on graduate education broadly must be done to examine the ever growing and diversifying U.S. population. Specifically, there is much to be learned about how faculty, the dominant decision-makers in doctoral education provide or restrict access to the terminal degree. Attending to these actors' decision-making processes better allows administrators addressing inequities in graduate education to attend to equalizing access. By focusing

on faculty of color, a more complicated picture emerges. Faculty of color experience racism and sexism in the academy, are challenged by peers, placed in the periphery of decision making and power wielding, and may be silenced. Therefore, it is unknown how these factors affect how they can have their voices heard and advocate for certain applicants in the doctoral admissions process. By focusing on this population intentionally and specifically, there is potential for rich, thick description of experiences particularly as the conceptual framework forwarded in the next section attends to issues of organizational influence.

Conceptual Framework

This section describes the conceptual framework for this study. The study takes a neo-institutional perspective on the doctoral admissions process. In particular, this framework helps explicate how faculty of color experience the doctoral admissions process in higher education and student affairs programs. While the institutional logics perspective is a strong analytical tool, only by attending to issues of power and surveillance in how actors make or do not make decisions is the analytical power of the frame strengthened. Strengthening of this frame is done through the integration of Critical Race Theory (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001), Foucault's (1977) understanding of power and surveillance, Weber's (2009) social action theory, authentic leadership principles (Avolio & Gardner, 2005), and understandings of civility and collegiality for faculty of color (Haag, 2005). I am calling this the Critical Race Institutional Logics Perspective.

The institutional logics perspective (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012) is a lens through which doctoral admissions decision-making processes can be viewed in HESA preparation programs. Institutional logics are the "socially constructed, historical patterns of cultural symbols and material practices, including assumptions, values, and beliefs, by which individuals and organizations provide meaning to their daily activity, organize time and space, and reproduce their lives and experiences" (Thornton et al., 2012, p. 2). The institutional logics perspective realizes that actors within an organization are aware of these cultural norms, values, and beliefs, even if subconsciously, and these norms, values, and beliefs help dictate decision-making. While an individual actor can be a rational being and stray from the norms of an organization, there are often regulatory mechanisms, or technologies of domination, that maintain the status quo or push an actor toward a desired outcome (Caluya, 2010; Douglas, 1986; Foucault, 1977). Technologies may be policies that privilege a certain admit over another or administrator utilization of power over faculty member, for instance.

To this end, Thornton et al. (2012) identified macro (societal), meso (organizational or institutional field), and micro (individual) levels of analysis, arguing that a multi-level analysis is required for a full understanding of any institution. This conceptual framework applies an additive at the micro-level analytic to address issues of authenticity, collegiality/civility, power, and oppression (Avolio & Gardner, 2005; Foucault, 1977; Ospina & Su, 2009). Critical Race Theory (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001) and the Critical Race Theory of the model of multiple dimensions of identity (Quaye,

2013) is employed as a heuristic for understanding intersecting social identity saliency related to social location that understands race as both central to one's identity and also race and racism as a defining characteristic of United States society. Power is the "the multiplicity of force relations that are diffuse, polyvalent, creative, and inextricably tied to knowledge, truth, discourse, and practice" (Metro-Roland, 2011, p. 144). Attending to these additional factors helps to better understand how power and, subsequently, surveillance affect faculty bodies and human agency in graduate admissions.

Thornton et al. (2012) forwarded the most comprehensive and current understanding of neo-institutional theory called the Institutional Logics Perspective. This organizational analytic highlights both material and symbolic aspects of institutional life, while also incorporating the relationships of individuals and organizations (Friedland & Alford, 1991). Organizations do not exist independent of external forces. The institutional logics perspective understands external forces as central to the understandings of organizations and the symbols, norms, and culture within organizations. Therefore, the institutional logics perspective highlights actors, organizations, and institutional orders as the three layers comprising an analytic for studying organizational behaviors (Thornton, et al., 2012). A developing theory of fields/disciplines supplements these three layers and is forwarded within this framework as it relates to higher education and student affairs as a field.

Neoliberalism and Globalization

One of these external forces is neoliberal theory and increasing globalization. The United States, and indeed much of the developed world, operates under the auspices

of a neoliberal state (Harvey, 2005). Neoliberalism is a global economic theory and its resultant set of practices that aims to deregulate business in order to maximize profitability, extend the chasm between rich and poor, engage in a project of global expansion, neo-colonialism, and fiscal austerity for social services and support for marginalized populations (Harvey, 2005). Higher education is not immune from the effects of the policies dictated by neoliberal logic; this is best seen in the decreased funding of state public universities, increasing contingent faculty workforce, and the increase in globalization narratives (e.g., study abroad, remote campuses, international student admissions; Giroux, 2015). Neoliberal theory's sustainability relies on sometimes contradictory practices employed by politicians and other power players, but at its core, returns to these principles.

Neoliberalism directly interacts with higher education by dictating the types of actions that the university *must* make in order to survive in a time of fiscal austerity and increasing costs of running a university. Although neoliberal practice aims to leverage and grow the power of elite White citizens while continually disenfranchising poorer people of color, that group of actors is relatively small (though powerful; Harvey, 2005). Many people looking to engage with universities engage in neoliberal practices without full realizing they are doing so. For example, there is an inherent contradiction in neoliberal policy as it relates to diversity because there is a pull between neoliberal theory that disenfranchises people of color, but a practice that requires diversity in order to attract and function as an acceptable institutions. This often leads those employing neoliberal logic to be creative in the ways that they create their organization's policies

and navigate the will of the public. Powerful elites are forwarding a diversity agenda, while implementing practices on the group that in fact contradict that project. These types of practices are seen across the university including in the ways that universities handle a global economy.

An embedded practice engaged across all neoliberal actions is globalization. Globalization, and its intended resultant, economic domination, is integral to the success of this logic. In theory, states should reduce restrictions for goods to pass between borders in order to facilitate global exchange (Harvey, 2005). Ordorika and Lloyd (2015) aptly recognized that globalization's development "lies in the fact that economic processes, social interactions, politics, culture, and even individual relationships transcend national borders" (p. 137). In higher education, this is seen through the ways that universities put resources behind academic services that assist students in obtaining visas and send admissions counselors abroad to recruit. Neoliberalism specifically addresses economic capital accumulation, although it may do so through the eradication of a country's cultural, political, and social idiosyncrasies in the name of freedom, democracy, and saving one from one's self. Ordorika and Lloyd (2015) argued that universities are at the "mercy of market demands" (p. 138) because the state "continues to promote capitalistic and other social interests" (p. 138) and "hegemonic values" (p. 140). Many countries increased both globalization and internationalization efforts on campus in the mid to late 1940's (Schulz, Lee, McClellan, & Woodard, 2007). This movement has been expedited as states continue to reduce funding to higher education leaving institutions to find new ways to reduce costs and increase income. The neoliberal

project also fuels a secondary outcome as a result of the commodification of international students of color called neo-racism, or racism stemming from national origin that is described mainly by culture and ethnicity (Lee & Rice, 2007). Neo-racism does not erase understandings of racism; however, it provides a new way to discriminate based on race by masking that discrimination with arguments against national origin. Neo-racism, Lee and Rice (2007) argued manifests in a lack of support for international students of color or even rejection of admission. Ultimately, examining universities and their subsequent norms, behaviors, values, and actions can be done through a neoliberal lens and its globalization project because it gives a news lens to understand faculty decision making around diversity of graduate students.

Institutional Orders

The Institutional Logics Perspective is based on a set of institutional orders. Institutional orders are understood as the "key cornerstone institutions of society" (Thornton et al. 2012, p. 53). Thornton et al. (2012) described institutional orders as:

> A governance system that provides a frame of reference that preconditions actors' sense making choices. The cornerstone institution connotes the root symbols and metaphors through which individuals and organizations perceive and categorize their activity and infuse it with meaning and value. (p. 54)

These orders are family, community, religion, state, market, profession, and corporation as the defining institutional orders in U.S. society. These foundations help actors within those institutions to make sense of the values related to being a member of that institution. Orders are not pre-disposed lenses through which to analyze organizations. These variables may inform, change, influence, or challenge actors in varying ways. They do this through power domination, a "political technology of the body…This

technology is diffuse, rarely formulated in continuous, systematic discourse; it is often made up of bits and pieces, it implements a disparate set of tools or methods" (Foucault, 1977, p. 26) for controlling the actions of actors in a system. This notion is revisited later in this framework.

Critical Race Theory helps to complicate this understanding of orders by allowing an examination of the economic, historical, societal contexts that effect racial and ethnic minorities (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). At the same time, it troubles the understanding of actor agency. The institutional logics perspective operates under an understanding of actors navigating multiple logics. However, by analyzing this component through the lens of race/racism there is a strengthening of the analytical trustworthiness of the institutional logics perspective by re-focusing the understanding of diverse social actors through the centering of race as the "key determinant of individuals and groups' fate in social structure" (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Omi & Winant, 1994; Ospino & Su, 2009, p. 132). While race is considered a key defining characteristic of society for analysis in this study, I also understand that race is not always the most salient identity for all people (Quaye, 2013).

Fields (Universities)

As previously mentioned, institutional orders help dictate to organizations certain norms, behaviors, language, and symbols. Organizations must negotiate multiple institutional orders through loose or tight coupling and may face certain regulatory behaviors that require adherence to one order over another (Birnbaum, 1988). According to Thornton et al. (2012), fields are influenced by *theories* that provide a coherent set of

logics, *frames* that provide identification within a field, *narratives* that link theories and frames (or the symbolic and material), and *resource environments* or regulatory actors.

Theories. The assumption is that organizations are situated within an institutional field; in this case, individual universities are situated within a broader understanding of the U.S. higher education context. Thornton et al. (2012) recognized that theories and institutional logics are not the same. Theories "need not reflect actual organizing practices, and may serve instead as political instruments mobilizing support for institutional change" (p. 153). This is different in that logics are ideological bases present in an institutional order that attend to structural, normative, and symbolic dimensions of institutions. For example, retention and persistence theories may organize thoughts around how universities implement social integration programming for first-year students.

Frames. Frames within institutions act as cognitive and symbolic markers that signal to actors within the organization an organization's meaning. Deployment of these markers often helps observers to translate the institutional logics of those organizations. Within universities, strategic plans, mission statements, and value statements provide these cues. Mission statements may espouse social justice missions (community), efforts to globalize (markets), or alignments with religious traditions (religion). Within the context of organizations, these various frames may contradict, compete with, or complement each other. Ahmed (2012) described documents as artifacts that "are means of doing or not doing something" (p. 85). Documents can be used as a way to avoid further discussion on a topic, such as diversity, by espousing that an institution "does"

diversity, or it may be used to cause document fatigue and therefore "force" members of a community to stop talking about diversity. In this way, diversity becomes "something to be managed" (p. 53). Frames help dictate action. Presidents who were able to best implement diversity initiatives into the university created a vision for diversity and linked it to the mission statement of that campus (Kezar, 2007). This led to support from students, faculty, and the board of trustees, creation of commissions, and supporting the building of new infrastructure to support diversity initiatives (e.g., resource allocation, diversity offices).

Narratives. Narratives are the most concrete iteration of field-level logics. Through integrating theories and frames, narratives "give meaning to specific actors, events, and practices, whereas frames are general symbolic constructions, applicable across a wide variety of practices and social actors" (p. 155). This is the first level of integration through which individual actors, or the collective engagement of multiple actors, makes sense of order logics, their influence on theories, and their understanding of frames. Generally, analysis of narratives plays a role in organizational change studies as researchers explore how actors make sense of their experiences within a given organization or with a phenomenon. Within these analyses, certain vocabularies form to help actors make sense of their environments. For instance, Ahmed (2012) noted:

> Statements of commitment (to equality and diversity) can be used *in* or even *as* an institutional response to racism…[and] can be understood as opaque: it is not clear what they are doing if they are not doing what they are saying…[as a] non-performative, the failure of the speech act to do what it says it says is not a failure of intent or even circumstance, *but is actually what the speech is doing.* Such speech acts are taken up as *if* they are performatives…such that the names come to stand in for the effects. (italics original, p. 116)

Resource environments. Thornton et al. (2012) identified influencers that affect the way that logics play out within organizations. Within higher education, accrediting bodies, legal proceedings, and governing associations may act as mediating bodies that affect organizations. These modifying bodies act to regulate an organization's behavior or alignment with any given logic through a variety of forces.

Disciplines (Higher Education and Student Affairs)

Within the university context, fields shape a faculty member's worldview and are also influenced by broader organizational level logics (Lamont, 2009). As a main organizing structure for faculty, examining the field's organizational structure provides context for better understanding graduate admissions in HESA programs. While not explicitly defined within Thornton et al.'s (2012) framework, disciplines act with relative autonomy (Manning, 2013), providing a clearer micro view of how graduate decisions are made within a given area. Disciplines "are organizations responsive to the same reputational and power struggles of other social groups, and are constituted by common cultural tools including discourses, networks, and instruction" (Posselt, 2013a, p. 35). Inherent in Posselt's (2013a) study of various disciplines' balance of merit and diversity in graduate admissions is that faculty logics are influenced by their academic cultures and epistemological understandings of knowledge creation. Faculty are influenced by their fields' (or mentors') epistemologies in addition to their own understandings of how knowledge is created. Higher education scholars, as most scholars, come from a variety of epistemological backgrounds (Young, 2003). Young (2003) found that higher education and student affairs practice is guided by rationalism, empiricism, pragmatism,

and postmodernism epistemologies. These orientations to knowledge guide how programs are implemented and how research is conducted. This study's findings may confirm or refute these epistemologies and address how they influence the doctoral admissions process.

Field principles in disciplines. As stated earlier, disciplines partially act independent of broader university actions and are additionally influenced by resource environments, theories, and frames. As a result, different narratives are constructed. HESA programs often interact with at least three resource environments. The first is the broader School of Education. Schools of Education provide guidance on enrollment needs, mission and values, institutional goals, and funding and staffing resources. Therefore, HESA programs must be reactive to the enactment of policies related to these areas. Second, HESA programs often seek soft-accreditation from major discipline associations such as ACPA or NASPA (ACPA and NASPA Membership Joint Task Force on Professional Competencies and Standards, 2010). These organizations provide guidance in the form of standards for what programs must include as their curriculum and values in order to be recognized by the association. However, "the use of soft power (Metro-Roland, 2011, p. 153) is a new means of discursive "governmentality" (Foucault, 1977). If a program fails to meet criteria, they may be punished through drops in applications due to lack of national program exposure. The Council for the Advancement of Standards (CAS, 2006), a consortium of higher education administrators, provides basic guidelines for inclusion of various standards for a variety of university functions, including HESA preparation programs. Though this body has no regulatory function, it

is widely understood as the standard bearer for quality higher education, once again asserting soft-governmentality.

HESA programs employ a variety of frames when describing their field and in particular graduate education. Most notable is a narrative around diversity, equity, and justice, and multiculturalism. ACPA and NASPA (2010) explained a need for student affairs administrators to be more globally minded and focused on deep student learning and engagement, as well as to work outside the borders of their universities. Less apparent are frames describing critical social justice, community-based learning and development, or critical pedagogies (Manning, 1994; Rhoads & Black, 1995). These frames shape the way HESA programs are viewed, who attends them, and the type of work developed by those faculty.

Actors

Faculty are the main actors at the focus of this study. Thornton et al.'s (2012) major contribution to the institutional logics perspective was implicating the actor as a component of organizational life and in turn analysis. Prior institutional theory understood organizations and organizational change separate from the actors who constructed and changed those organizations (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Friedland & Alford, 1991). Actors are mainly seen as change agents who provide "elaboration and development of extant logics…by stimulating the exportation of logics across organizational forms and institutional fields" (p. 77). However, actors also make day-to-day decisions that stem from institutional logics. Foucault "offers a coherent and forceful perspective on the potential of individual resistance and transformation" (Butin, 2001, p.

159) which helps one to better understand the role of actors in relation to their systems and power within systems. Therefore understanding an actor's role in decision-making and the relation of "polyvalent" (Metro-Roland, 2011) power is central to this framework.

Through the admissions process, faculty employ a variety of logics both normative to their organization and also those that challenge norms. Actors who identify with multiple identities will employ logics in various ways at differing times (Holvino, 2010; Jones & Abes, 2013). Actors may also be constrained through technologies of domination, that is "placed in the relations of power…which are exercised over the body and its powers and capacities" (Grant, 1997, p. 107) and used to mold docile and obedient subjects. Logics can both constrain and enable behavior as certain logics carry more power than others in given institutional systems (e.g., markets over community, religion over capitalism) and some people within given systems hold more concrete power over others therefore enabling them to enact these technologies.

Actors are seen as reproducing macro-level logics within their organizations through perpetuation of the norms, values, and behaviors of their organizations as a result of lack of awareness of given logics or through reinforced systems enabled by powerful others. This is called embedded agency. Foucault (1997) wrote that power "invests [in people], it exerts pressure upon them, just as they themselves, in their struggle against it, resist the grip it has on them. This means that these relations go right down into the depths of society" (p. 27). This power is polyvalent. Actors learn through dynamic constructivism (i.e., meaning making through a series of social networks) how to engage with multiple logics within organizations. In organizing one's thoughts around logics,

actors utilize the availability of their cognitive abilities, the accessibility of cultural and situational context, and activation of those two abilities to make sense of logics in social interactions. Foucault argued that even if one has control over their own projected agency, technologies "operate through the processes of classification and objectification of the subject via regulation of space, time, and capacities" (as cited in Grant, 1997, p. 108). In diversity work in particular, Ahmed (2012) argued the project of diversity and inclusion is a "way others as would-be citizens are asked to submit to and agree with the task of reproducing that nation" (p. 163). This is particularly true if issues of power, race, gender, and other identities are not analyzed critically and even with a critical eye. Power relations will always exist.

The role of identity is mainly discussed in a cognitive manner. That is, actors find salience in an identity, but there is little mention of how those identities are activated in relation to power. The institutional logics perspective falls short of explaining how societal frames such as racism, sexism, or homophobia work to help or hinder an actor's ability to activate goals, intentions, identify with certain social identities, or maintain cognitive space to challenge oppressive logics. In essence, "institutional logics provide distinct permission, causation, and obligation schemas" (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012, p. 89) that allow faculty to process information and make decisions. However, who is allowed to make decisions in any given situation is cursorily addressed and attributed to "diverse actors' commitment to alternative logics" (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012, p. 99), rather than the role an actor's identity plays in enabling that agency. The discussion of power remains under-examined in the model.

Critical Race Theory

Inherent within critical social theories is a discussion of power, who holds power, and how power is utilized to control bodies. Critical Race Theory is one such theory that centralizes the power tensions across race and seeks to illuminate how racialized people understand and experience the world. Gillborn (2005) noted that there is a "pressing need…to view policy in general, and education policy in particular, through a lens that recognizes the very real struggles and conflicts that lie at the heart of the process through which policy and practice are shaped" (p. 487), mainly Critical Race Theory. Organizations are not insulated from the societal contexts in which they are embedded (Thornton et al., 2012); therefore, racism as a permanent societal ill permeates each organizational structure in society, including universities.

Utilizing Critical Race Theory, researchers can attend to who has the power to achieve their respective goals, who must conform to regulative behaviors or institutional logics, who can allocate cognitive resources for information processing, and whose concerns get attention within an organization. Racism exists not only at the institutional level, but also at an actor level (Smith, 2009). Therefore, the interplay of race, racism, other social identities (e.g., gender, sex, sexual orientation, age, ability, religion), and the power afforded (or not afforded) to those actors, requires an examination of one's ability to be authentic within an organization (Jones, Kim, & Skendall, 2012).

Critical Race Theory, originally out of critical legal scholarship (Crenshaw, 1989, 1991), is comprised of six main tenants:

First, race and racism are present and permanent in today's society and central to understanding how one understands society (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Yosso, 2005). While race and racism is systemically embedded, Quaye (2013) argued that by depending on one's developmental understanding of self, one may not fully identify with one's race even though race and racism is a pervasive organizing structure in society. Therefore, "a person constructs [their] own unique understanding of what it means to be a racial being while simultaneously considering the larger implications of being a member of a racial group that has a history" (p. 183). Actors may activate social identities in given context, but those who do not identity with a larger racial group may fail to do so or relate to a larger social group within an organization.

Whiteness as property is the second tenant. This means that Whiteness can be owned and provides one with many societal privileges (Lipsitz, 2006). White privilege affords White people with certain benefits, passes, and subsidies that racial minorities often do not receive as a result of their racial/ethnic identity and phenotype (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). If Whiteness can be possessed, and society is based on ownership of property, than Whiteness is something to be protected. Those who have White privilege often work to maintain Whiteness and the power associated with it in order to maintain White supremacy (Lipsitz, 2006). It should be noted that White privilege does not only benefit White people, though the benefit is greatest. For instance, a person from a racial minority may purposefully politically and socially align with a policy or action meant to oppress a different racial minority group. This policy or action is forwarded by a White person or group. Groups may also be forced into alignment with Whites (i.e., the Model

Minority Myth project). This, in turn, provides White privilege to the racial minority person, but also upholds the tenants of White supremacy. Kim (1999) called this action "racial triangulation," whereby one or more racial minority groups is compared to another racial minority group by Whites in order to directly oppress one group and indirectly oppress the others. In the process of racial triangulation, racism (color-blind and explicit) increases, deficit thinking persists, and the voices of racial minority groups are silenced.

Third, liberalism and meritocracy are not suitable levels of due diligence in regulating historical issues related to race and racism (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). Color-blind racism is employed by those with power to maintain said power in order to marginalize people of color (Bonilla-Silva, 2003). Stories of meritocracy are often heard from those with the most power and privilege to maintain it. In a meritocracy, social status may be linked to level of education, and inherently to test scores, GPA, and capital (Liu, 2011); however, liberal definitions of merit fail to analyze the systemic inequities in U.S. society and educational systems that may affect those factors. Merit, in fact, is "determined and defined contextually" (Liu, 2011) and is in fact neither positive nor negative, but neutral. Merit in the U.S. however, is deemed positively and is seen as something to be rewarded. In admissions, merit is awarded to those deemed worthy by admissions counselors or faculty with access to specific forms, types, or levels of higher education. This reflects a distributed, or tracked, work force that is "driven by an unequal distribution of rewards" (Liu, 2011, p. 389) which, if not analyzed, creates a cycle of educational oppression.

Fourth, individuals' identities are intersectional and therefore should not be understood singularly, nor should identities be thought of as competing in an "oppression sweepstakes" (Yosso, 2005, p. 73). All identities should be qualified as equally important in understanding actors' experience, particularly in an organizational analysis (Holvino, 2010). People exist in an identity "borderland" (Anzaldua, 1987) straddling between multiple intertwining, engaging, identities. I am interested not only in the salience of one's race in decision-making but also the interactions of race and other salient identities.

Fifth, Critical Race Theory is not a theory of Black-White, but rather of understanding the experiences of all minority racial and ethnic groups (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). Each racial or ethnic group has their own stories of struggle. When there is a focus on the relationship of only two races, the stories of others' struggles are often erased or forgotten causing competition and maintenance of White supremacy (Kim, 1999).

Lastly, counter-narratives and individual stories are powerful tools for uncovering racial injustice. Those who experience racism are best able to share their stories and counter-stories (Solorzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001). Counter narratives exist to highlight the experiences of people of color and other minoritized communities in a way where Whiteness is not central to the story. In these stories, master narratives are challenged, asset based stories are shared (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002), and antenarratives, or partial stories (Wolgemuth, 2014), are enriched.

A Critical Race Institutional Logics Perspective

(Adapted from Thornton, Ocasio, & Loundsbury, 2012)

Norms
- Institutional Orders
- Family, **community**, religion, state, **market**, profession, corporation

Values
- Fields (U.S. Higher Education)
- Theories, frames, narratives, resource environments

Behaviors
- Disciplines (HESA)
- Academic cultures, epistemologies

Agency
- Actors
  - Faculty of color decision-making
  - Civility and Collegiality
  - Power related to tenure

Broader Context

Critical Race Theory
- Maintaining White supremacy
- Race and racism prevalent
- Liberalism and meritocracy

Neoliberalism
- Globalization
- Neo-racism
- Neo-colonialism
- Commodification of bodies

Figure 1. A Critical Race Institutional Logics Perspective

Decision-Making, Action, and Resistance

Authentic leaders are people who can align past experiences, thoughts, affect, values, beliefs, and act in accordance with those constructs. Those unable to do so are seen as inauthentic (Avolio & Gardner, 2005). As institutional leaders, faculty make a variety of decisions that influence the future of their organizations. Weber (2009) provided a useful set of social actions to analyze how and why people make certain decisions. His four types of social action were 1) instrumental-rational, 2) values-rational, 3) affectual, and 4) habitual (or traditional) orientation. He argued that value oriented, instrumental, and to an extent, affection oriented action is not an action for actions sake (as is habitual) but are consciously engaged action taking. For instance, affectual action may take the form of enacting revenge or contemplative bliss; in this

case, action is based in emotion. Absolute value action is action that align with one's

internal value center. Weber (2009) described these actions as those that:

> regardless of possible cost to themselves, [puts] into practice [one's] convictions of what seems to them to be required by duty, honour, the pursuit of beauty, a religious call, personal loyalty, or the importance of some 'cause' no matter what it consists. (Weber, 2009, p. 116)

While affectual oriented action may be somewhat consciously decided, absolute

values action is entirely planned, contemplative, and tied to an end. Weber (2009)

conjectured that as values become more absolute, actors are less likely to be rational and

engage in conscious consequence discernment. This is in slight difference to individual

actions that are tied to wants or needs, such as safety, mental health, or job security.

Lastly, most actions fall into multiple categories at once and therefore "the usefulness of

the classification of purposes…can only be judged in terms of its results" (p. 118). All of

these actions take place in a system of contemplation. That is "the accomplishment of

social action and social order depends on a knowing self that is constantly interpreting

cues from the social environment" (Levinson, Gross, Link, & Hanks, 2011, p. 44). Baez

(2000) argued that all organizations are temporal and that the reproduction of hegemonic

institutional logics can change as long as people "reconsolidate their power and efficacy"

(p. 385). Therefore structures are constantly being reproduced to be more efficient, but in

that reproduction are open to "subversion and redefinition" (p. 385) by critical change

agents (Gramsci, 1971).

Understanding this nuance, Weber's (2009) social action theory may be an

inaccurate analytic on its own as people and organizations are influenced by external

influences and actors choose to present, perform, switch, or mask their identities at given

times to resist or collaborate with technologies of domination (Anzaldua, 1987). In other words, they subvert and redefine organizations regularly. Foucault (1977) is sure to remind us though that power is all encompassing and therefore actors must be aware of the power structures surrounding them to make critical change and in determining how to make that critical change.

Resistance in its various forms, both enacted and in compliant complacency (Solorzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001) is important to understanding how faculty of color may react or not react in a given situation. Butin (2001) argued, "The lack of resistance cannot be taken to mean the lack of an ability to resist. We are involved in accepting or resisting the normative constraints placed upon us" (p. 162). Nonetheless, it provides a valuable heuristic for probing into how faculty of color engage in action-taking particularly at the local level as "resistance is always most effective when localized (Baez, 2000, p. 386).

Because power is relational and "every form of 'emancipatory' power relies on the counterpower to which it is opposed" (Butin, 2001, p. 163), faculty "need to manage both privileged and oppressed identities, as well as tensions and interactions between the two…on the possibility of authenticity" (Jones et al., 2012, p. 708). Being authentic often requires one to decide which aspects of their identity to make apparent to others. Choices must be made about when to "pass" or when to "live in" that identity. Performing normative behaviors is seen as a "survival" technique for some (Jones, et. al, 2012, p. 713). In essence, there is a feedback loop of contemplation and action that occurs for actors within a social setting. This feedback loop may determine how faculty

make decisions based on their amount of resiliency, additional external factors, pressures, motivations, or unbridled values.

Civility and Collegiality

Entwined within this feedback loop is the power and control in discourse and the rhetoric of civility and collegiality. This is of particular interest when discussing how faculty engage in discussions around diversity, equity, and justice. Stockdill and Danico (2012) noted "when faculty from oppressed groups speak out against systemic institutional and cultural factors…many faculty and administrators view them at best as non-collegial and at worst as the sources of conflict" (p. 17). Just as post-racialism hides the outward racist actions from clear sight, oppression and marginalization are hidden behind civility and collegiality rhetoric. Civility and collegiality is "the etiquette of submission" (Salaita, S., personal communication, October 9, 2014). Invoking the rhetoric of civility and collegiality disempowers faculty of color from engaging in authentic dialogue by silencing their voice for fear of being seen as a "conflict," or acting distinctive from the normative trope of a faculty member within a given institutional context (Haag, 2005). Indeed, faculty of color have noted that collegiality is important for survival but it requires them to expend additional energy on apart from their roles as faculty. This understanding of authenticity complicates the institutional logics perspective understanding of actor agency and ones ability to maintain ones' self, while also attending to organizational dynamics and change.

Conclusion

This conceptual framework is meant to act as an analytic for examining how faculty understand diversity, equity, and justice and take action relevant to power dynamics and personal identity in doctoral admissions within HESA programs. It acts as an interactional model for understanding the intertwining nature of society, institutions, and actors. As actors hold much power in the graduate admissions process, attending to their identity and role in the process is of the utmost importance to understanding how decisions are made and how diversity is understood. Institutional logics, theories, frames, and identities are ways that faculty navigate the arduous task of graduate admissions, a task that is not well detailed, individual to each organization, and reliant on competing frames. These frames will be examined through a critical discourse analysis of relevant university documents related to diversity, equity, and justice. The actors' experiences are explored through interviews and focus groups. The next chapter explores these various methods in depth.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODS

In the study of faculty of color it is important to provide a space for their stories and counterstories to be spotlighted (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002), particularly within the context of organizational structures that may maintain and reproduce systems of oppression, power, and surveillance that often silence their voices (Foucault, 1977; Gramsci, 1977). Studies on the experiences of faculty of color revealed that faculty often experience racism, isolation, unclear expectations, sexism, and other marginalizing actions against them in their professional roles (Viernes Turner, Gonzalez, & Wood, 2011). When examining the admission of graduate students, researchers showed that faculty use a disparate and under-valued set of standards (Posselt, 2013) as well as commensurate criterion (e.g., GPA and GRE scores) that may negatively affect minoritized groups (Freely, William, & Wise, 2005; Morrison & Morrison, 1995; Steele, 1997).

This dissertation fills a gap in the literature in multiple ways. First, it highlights the experiences faculty of color, a growing body of literature, but one which remains under examined in higher education research particularly for Asian American, LatinX, Native American, and mixed race faculty. Secondly, it contributes to a budding literature base on faculty decision-making generally and provides context into who gets admitted and how they get admitted into doctoral programs. Third, it refocuses attention on

doctoral studies, the "apex" (Bowen & Rudenstine, 2002, p. 3) of postsecondary education, and a burgeoning sector of education that remains grossly understudied. Lastly, it highlights growing neoliberal practices on college campuses and their deleterious effects on minoritized communities.

This chapter summarizes the methodology used in this study to answer the questions:

1. How, if at all, do institutional logics influence how faculty of color understand diversity, equity, and justice in Higher Education and Student Affairs doctoral admissions processes?

    a. How do faculty of color navigate those logics and their multiple intersecting identities, values, beliefs, and experiences when discussing diversity, equity, and justice?

    b. How do faculty of color find support when discussing diversity, equity, and justice in the doctoral admissions process?

First I describe critical transformative research methodology and then outline the study's setting, sampling, and data collection. Next, I describe the data analysis process, establishing trustworthiness, and propose a timeline for project completion. This chapter describes the methods for this project. I then discuss my epistemological stance and assumptions. Next, my methodologies are explained in addition to how I hope to ensure trustworthiness. Lastly, I explicate a timeline for this project.

Critical Transformative Research

Solorzano and Yosso (2002) argued that research must "explicitly address issues of race and racism" (p. 24) to understand those who are in the margins. This study specifically addresses faculty of color at Predominantly White Institutions (PWI) in the United States, a group that sits in the margins due to their lack of representation, as well as the inherent, ongoing, and pervasive racism in our country (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Omi & Winant, 1994). This study does not aim to create new theories regarding faculty of color, a tenant of Critical Race Theory (CRT) methodology; however, it shares many of the same transformative values embedded within those methodologies.

First, researchers who utilize CRT methodology foreground race and racism in the research process. Secondly, they examine not only race, but also other discourses such as gender and class. Thirdly, CRT methodology offers a "liberatory or transformative solution to racial, gendered, and classed subordination" (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002, p. 24). CRT methodology utilizes an interdisciplinary lens, highlighting theories and research from fields outside education. Most importantly, CRT methodology centers the voices of faculty of color, challenges a master narrative, and recognizes that "the experiential knowledge of people of color is legitimate, appropriate, and critical to understanding, analyzing, and teaching about racial subordination" (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002, p. 26).

I add to this methodology an explicit recognition that participants must personally benefit from the research being conducted. Mertens (2009) called this a "relationship ethic [that] encompasses the notion of researchers and participants as journeying together

in a spirit of reciprocity" (p. 95). Research cannot be undertaken for knowledge's sake,

nor can the experiences, stories, and knowledge of participants be taken freely without at

the same time giving back to them something of recognized value. This includes

conducting research that is actionable and able to transform society (Freire, 2000).

Rationale for a Qualitative Approach

The research design for this study is a multi-methods qualitative study (Merriam,

2009). Qualitative inquiry is "interested in understanding how people interpret their

experiences, how they construct their worlds, and what meaning they attribute to their

experiences" (Merriam, 2009, p. 5). In order to give voice to participants in the study and

to illuminate the ways that language, norms, values, and traditions inform faculty of color

practice, qualitative inquiry is most appropriate (Creswell, 2014).

Qualitative research is also appropriate for the study of marginalized groups as it

provides space for the sharing of stories and counterstories. Solorzano and Yosso (2002)

noted that counterstories provide an opportunity for people of color to resist against

majoritarian narratives historically told about their lives. At the same time, it is important

that researchers create space for stories about people of color's lives that are not dictated

by the master narrative. Qualitative inquiry has the power to provide this area for the

sharing and counter-sharing of experience. As Merriam (2009) aptly stated: "The overall

purposes of qualitative research are to achieve an understanding of how people make

sense out of their lives, delineate the process of meaning-making, and describe how

people interpret what they experience" (p. 14). Parker and Lynn (2002) recognized that

storytelling can "serve illuminative purposes but can also be used to document

institutional as well as overt racism" (p. 11) something this study attempts to do through critical discourse analysis of institutional documents (van Dijk, 1993), a focus on power (Foucault, 1977), and social action (Weber, 1999).

 Additional thoughts. Tierney and Clemens (2011) noted that qualitative research cannot be generalized, objective, experimental, replicated, or voiceless. Therefore, the rules generated for quality in quantitative methods should not be applied to qualitative research. However, through providing context, understanding, depth, comparison, and voice, compelling social research can engage in transforming our world.

Epistemology

 My epistemological orientation is critical constructivism (Merriam, 2009). I assume that faculty's experiences are socially constructed; however, I also assume that those experiences are embedded in systems of power in which they are not immune to outside societal influences (Gorlewski, 2011; Mertens, 2009). In such understandings of critical constructivism, I analyze "all processes that result in privilege and marginalization…[in addressing] explanations for both social stability and social change" (Gorlewski, 2011, p. 98). Society and self are intertwined and effect each other through power domination and control; they are not separate. Social divisions and power imbalances exist normally, and actors have conflicting and competing agendas as well as have agency to create change. Additionally, my critical perspectives support transformative and empowering research (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). This orientation aligns with my conceptual framework described in Chapter Two. Critical epistemologies require researchers to engage in a "political change agenda" (Creswell, 2014, p. 9) aimed

at deconstructing and positively reconstructing systems to form a more just world. My

worldview urges me to work to better understand power relations that are "perceived as

natural and normal and are inherent in discourse and ideologies" (Gorlewski, 2011, p.

99).

Cooper (1997) noted that critical scholars do "not strive for context-dependent

generalizations but rather for more informed, sophisticated, and historically dependent

constructions" (p. 558) of knowledge. Integral in holding a critical epistemology is that I

center the experiences of my participants and their environments and I reflect on any

asymmetric power relations (e.g., social and professional identities) between participant

and self. However, Cooper (1997) argued that "'predispositions' are not regarded as

factors to be controlled for in order that they not 'skew the results,' but rather are

regarded as stimuli whose effects should be observed" (p. 559). Therefore, as a man of

color and aspiring faculty member in a School of Education, I have particular interest in

the topic studied in this project and will engage appropriately with the participants around

the research questions proposed. This positionality is further explored in the next section.

Researcher Positionality and Reflexivity

Understanding my positionality is integral to framing the context of this study and

my role as researcher. Berger (2013) wrote:

> Researchers need to increasingly focus on self-knowledge and sensitivity; better
> understand the role of the self in the creation of knowledge; carefully self-monitor
> the impact of their biases, beliefs, and personal experiences on their research; and
> maintain the balance between the personal and the universal. (p. 2)

As Cooper (1997) noted earlier however, the researcher does not need to be distinct from

the participants and I tend to agree that with critical self-reflection or reflexivity, data

quality and trustworthiness is maintained (Berger, 2013). Reflexivity requires one to turn the "research lens back onto oneself" (Berger, 2013, p. 2) to analyze one's situatedness.

My positionality is multi-faceted. Professionally, I am a striving insider or what Berger (2013) called "studying while becoming" (p. 8). My professional aspiration is to become a faculty member in a HESA program. While I may not "become" a faculty member during my time with this project, I will engage in anticipatory socialization practices and may seek employment before the completion of this project. This status is of importance because it may provide me access to participants; however, it may also act as a barrier whereby participants are less likely to share personal and professional stories or even participate in the study because I will critically analyze their institutions and experiences. By doing so, I risk describing those experiences without ever experiencing them myself. This may play either a self-serving purpose whereby the participant "saves face" or whereby they "protect" me from becoming jaded by situations I have not yet experienced. Either way, quality of data is potentially biased.

Personally, I am an Asian American person of color and also hold other marginalized and privileged identities. For example, I am privileged in society because I am a man (though in Schools of Education, men are not the dominant sex numerically but still hold power), I am well educated, and may be considered middle-class. My subordinate and salient identities are my sexual orientation as a gay man and my first-generation college going status. Participants in this study may hold some or all of the same identities, among additional others. In cases where participants and I share identities, I may be able to address and analyze those topics from a personal perspective

because of past experience. I must be aware of not privileging these stories over others because of researcher/participant homophily.

As a scholar, I have worked to address issues of marginalization and oppression in higher education and student affairs through my research, professional affiliations, prior professional career, and my coursework. I approach my work with the goal of deconstructing power relations, analyzing oppressive systems, and reconstructing more just and liberating organizations. Therefore, I come to this study with the goal of better understanding how to democratize the graduate admissions process to provide access for a more diverse range of students.

Due to this worldview I have a certain set of vocabulary and knowledge that I bring to the project. However, because I come from this viewpoint, I may also become triggered by those faculty who do not share the same or similar worldviews or who cannot express why they are not able to hold those views in their institutions. Berger (2013) warned that "bringing the research into the researched carries the danger of researcher's self-involvement to the degree that it blocks hearing other voices" (p. 6). I must be aware of these potential biases.

To return to the idea of reflexivity in critical scholarship, I conducted three reflexive exercises. First, I had prolonged engagement with the participants through data collection. Focus groups acted as not only a second data point, but were a way to member check interview findings. Additionally, complete findings were member checked by willing participants. Secondly, an audit trail was kept through constant memoing after each interview and focus groups providing an opportunity for me to

reflect on the data collection and analysis process. Memos also allowed me to reflect on emotions, thoughts, reactions, and ideas related to the project (Merriam, 2009). Lastly, I employed three peer auditors who assisted me in reviewing my data and analysis to minimize bias. Two of these auditors were also note takers during the focus group portion of this study.

Research Methods

This is a qualitative study that aims for "information rich" (Patton, 2002, p. 23) data. I utilized multiple methods to better understand both the participants' experiences as well as their environments. This data collection is in line with my conceptual framework outlined in Chapter Two. This section describes the participant selection, data collection, and data analysis.

Participant selection. I undertook two sampling procedures. Purposeful sampling (Merriam, 2009) allowed me to identify participants who met the criteria for this study and could provide rich data. For this study, the criteria were as follows. Each participant a) must identify as a person of color. A person of color is a person who identifies as a racial/ethnic minority (e.g., Black, Asian, Latinx/Hispanic, multi-racial) and not exclusively as White; b) is an assistant or newly tenured (1-2 years tenured) associate faculty member at a predominantly White U.S. university; c) works in a doctorate-granting Higher Education and Student Affairs program (or its aptly named equivalent). In total, I recruited 14 participants. The first participants were purposefully sampled. Due to the lack of representation of people of color in higher education and particularly at the faculty level (NCES, 2012), I snowball sampled additional participants.

In snowball sampling, participants provide information on potential others who meet the criteria or act as proxy to recruit those participants to the study. The goal is not redundancy or saturation of information as the variance of potential participants is too wide. I strived to engage as diverse a group of participants as possible within my described timeline and note the limitations of my study within this project.

Participants were recruited in a variety of manners. Purposeful sampling or known faculty of color at the assistant or newly tenured associate level were asked to participate. These faculty are those whom I have built professional networks with through major association work (e.g., ACPA, ASHE) or with whom I am personal colleagues. I also recruited participants through a variety of listservs (see Appendix A) such as CSPTalk, a listserv for faculty of HESA programs, the ASHE listserv for members of that organization, and other appropriate venues. As participants completed their interviews, I found that they passed along the call for participants to other faculty who qualified, thereby beginning snowball sampling. Recruitment took place in January 2015 following Institutional Review Board approval.

Table 5. Participant demographics

Participant #	Salient Identities	Institutional Type	Only person of color	Epistemology
1	Race, ethnicity, gender	Large, public, very high research activity	No	Post-positivist, constructivist, transformative
2	Race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation	Large, public, very high research activity	No	Critical
3	Race	Large, public, very high research activity	Yes	Critical, post-positive, constructivist, relational
4	Race, gender, ethnicity, age	Medium, public, very high research activity	Yes	Social constructivism
5	Race, gender, sexual orientation, age	Large, public, very high research activity	No	Critical
6	Race, gender, class	Medium, private, doctoral research university	Yes	Constructivist, critical
7	Race, ethnicity, gender, class	Large, public, very high research activity	No	Constructive developmental
8	Race, gender, sexual orientation, age	Large, public, very high research activity	Yes	Critical/transformative, constructivism, pragmatism
9	Race, gender, sexual orientation, age	Medium, public, high research activity	No	Critical

10	Race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, class, ability, religion	Large, public, very high research activity	No	Constructivist who uses critical methodological and frameworks
11	Race, gender, religion	Medium, public, high research activity	No	Constructivist
12	Race, gender	Large, public, very high research activity	No	Critical
13	Race, gender, gender presentation, sexual orientation, class	Large, public, very high research activity	No	Constructivist, critical
14	Race, gender, religion, first-generation	Large, public, very high research activity	No	Post-positivist, constructivist, critical

Data generation tools. Utilizing multiple methods of data collection allowed me to better understand structure and personal experience. Engaging these two components is a key tenant of critical epistemology and neo-institutional theory. Thus, I utilized critical discourse analysis, one-on-one semi-structured interviews, and focus groups.

Consent form and demographic survey. Each participant completed a consent form in compliance with Loyola University Chicago institutional review board standards. Once the consent form (see Appendix B) was completed, demographic surveys were administered (see Appendix C). Demographic surveys provided me with basic information from the participant such as race, sex, gender, faculty position, and the social

identities of other faculty in their program. I recognize that having one faculty member

identify another faculty member's identities may be troublesome; however, I believe that

it is important for understanding how the faculty of color experience their peers. While

the identities provided may not be the actual faculty member's most salient identities, I

am interested in my participants' perception and lived reality of their colleagues and how

they experience their identities being played out in admissions decisions. The form also

allowed participants to identify any other personally salient identities. Through this form,

I was also able to obtain information about the university, school of education, and their

HESA program so that I could begin the critical discourse analysis. The collection of

these two documents took place online through a secure Google form. Participants were

notified of the focus group option as is described in a subsequent section.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Critical discourse analysis (CDA) addresses

deep social problems such as racism, sexism, and ableism (van Dijk, 1993). It helps one

to better understand power relations gained through access to resources, wealth, and

information. Through this power, elites control context and influence shared knowledge,

attitudes, and norms of an organization. In CDA, intentionality is not seen as a necessary

precursor to marginalization and oppression (van Dijk, 1993); therefore, discourses can

be subtle and unintentional.

I analyzed the following documents: 1) institutional mission statements and 2)

institutional diversity statements. I chose to only review these documents because each

participant university had these two documents while other potential documents were not

available for all universities. While I did not conduct a full critical discourse analysis of

other university documents, I did read carefully over strategic plans, institutional

organization charts, School of Education diversity statements, and individual HESA

program websites description of diversity and stated criteria for doctoral admissions, if

available. In these analyses, I will examine what language is utilized to "talk" about,

activate, or forward diversity, equity, and justice (Ahmed, 2012) utilized Gee's (2005)

Building Tasks. The analysis of these documents took place prior to the one-on-one

interview to provide me with context for the interview and to better understand how

diversity, equity, and justice are engaged in each participant's university. I can also

understand diversity, equity, and justice on multiple levels by examining university,

school, and department level language through reading those documents. Critical

discourse analysis took place once a participant notified me that they wanted to be a part

of the project and completed a consent and demographic form.

     Semi-structured interviews. Interviews are a dominant form of data collection for

this project. All interviews were recorded. Interviews lasted approximately 60 minutes

each and took place in February 2015 through Skype or Google Voice (Deakin &

Wakefield, 2014). I asked participants open-ended questions from my prepared protocol

(see Appendix D). Merriam (2009) noted that interviews are "necessary when we cannot

observe behavior, feelings, or how people interpret the world around them" (p. 88). The

semi-structured interview allowed for more "flexibly worded" (Merriam, 2009, p. 90)

questions which allowed me to guide the participants to speak on specific topics, but the

freedom to respond in ways that they felt appropriate. This format also allowed me to

deviate from the interview protocol to further probe about specific responses. The semi-

structured interview protocol contained questions relating to personal identity, participant definitions of diversity, equity, and justice, institutional logics, and graduate admissions and outcomes.

Research showed that there are minimal differences between in-person and online interviews (e.g., Skype; Deakin & Wakefield, 2014). In fact, there may be positive benefits to online interviewing in that it provides an extra layer of potential anonymity and also "may allow for more reflective responses and can be a forum for asking sensitive or embarrassing questions" (Deakin & Wakefield, 2014, p. 605). While my questions are not embarrassing, the nature of the experiences shared may have been sensitive to some participants. Therefore, online interviews had the potential to mediate any negative effects of those questions. Skype interview quality is comparable to in-person interviews and Deakin and Wakefield (2014) suggested that Skype "should be seriously considered as a favoured choice in interviewing methodology" (p. 606) particularly when geographic location of participants is disparate. All of my participants lived outside of Illinois. Skype also provided some logistical benefits including more time options and increased participation. Skype interviews were utilized over phone interviews because phone interviews tend to be shorter and interviewees often find questions asked over the phone to be unclear. In phone interviews, interviewees ask for more clarification leading them to be less sure if they were answering the questions correctly. Lastly, "vocalized acknowledgements" by researchers are less frequent (Irvine, Drew, & Sainsbury, 2013, p. 100).

Focus groups. After interviews, I reminded participants that they were invited to attend a focus group. A poll was administered to all faculty participants and a time when the most faculty could participate was selected. Faculty accepting this invite took part in a focus group at the national meeting of the American Educational Research Association (AERA) in Chicago, IL in April 2014 (see Appendix E). Three participants participated in this focus group. This focus group served two purposes. Since identities are socially constructed and actions taken within admissions committees are social phenomena, focus groups are "socially constructed within the interaction of the group" (Merriam, 2009, p. 94). The focus group also acted as a place of resistance (hooks, 2009) from which participants of color shared stories, reflected on experiences, provided support, and created a community, outcomes that are in alignment with critical race methodology. An "online focus group" option was also provided. In this model, I posted the preliminary findings into a Google form and provided space for faculty to respond to the prompts. Faculty in the online focus group responded to the same prompts as those who participants in the in-person focus group. Two additional faculty members took part in this option. While the communal benefits may not have been realized for these participants, member checking was able to take place, an important benefit of the focus group. Participants who did not attend the focus groups noted that they had presentations or other engagements at the time or were not in attendance at AERA.

The focus group protocol provided the first opportunity for faculty to member check my findings from the interviews. The focus group lasted 120 minutes long. Morgan (1996) wrote that focus group size is to the discretion of the researcher with

smaller groups providing more opportunity for people to talk and larger groups providing

a wider variety of perspectives to be shared. Smaller groups allowed more researcher

participation, though I mainly allowed the faculty to share their stories and I facilitated

the conversation. This is important because I utilized the focus groups as a member-

checking tool requiring me to provide context and information for discussion. New data

collection occurred to support previously identified findings. I walked participants

through the various findings culled from the interviews. Participants were asked to

discuss what findings resonated with them and if they had conflicting, confirming, or

contradictory experiences they would like to share. This protocol was less structured

than the interviews as I hoped to create a space where each finding could be discussed in

some depth. I had two note-takers present at the focus group.

Participant confidentiality. IRB requires all participants to be provided

maximum confidentiality and anonymity within research projects. Additionally, faculty

of color and particularly untenured faculty must be concerned with power dynamics

between colleagues and in their institutions (Nespor, 2000). Anonymity was provided for

all participants to the utmost of my ability. Faculty had the option to use their real name

or a pseudonym during the project (Nespor, 2000) and were provided this option when

completing their demographic form. Participant information and names were kept on a

password-protected computer as well as within a password protected cloud system.

Demographic and consent forms were kept in a password protected online program (i.e.,

SurveyMonkey). Even though I provided space for faculty to suggest a pseudonym, I

ultimately created composite characters by combining multiple faculty together and

provided a new name to that person. The composite character process is explained in

Chapter Four.

Focus groups provided particular concern regarding anonymity. Full anonymity

is not guaranteed in a focus group and participants were notified of this risk prior to

attending the focus group and during the recruitment phase. My focus group protocol

also attended to this fact. The protocol read:

> I want to make sure you are all comfortable sharing, and for that purpose I want to remind you that what we talk about here is shared in confidence, and encourage everyone to be mindful of that. While I cannot ensure full confidentiality, I will do all I can to respect your confidentiality. Similarly, I will not be attaching names or other identifying information with your comments. I will be recording the conversation so I can easily and accurately recall what is shared.

To further ensure anonymity, institution name was not used and identifying

program names and other contextual information was made appropriately vague without

losing nuance to provide the readers with context. This is explained in Chapter Four.

Through the multiple member checks, I ensured that participants were fully comfortable

with how I have presented their stories. In member checks, participants were given

complete drafts of all finding chapters and asked to provide feedback. One faculty

member provided suggestions for ways to further make one composite character more

anonymous. Other faculty members accepted the document as presented or provided

feedback on certain artistic choices rather than data presentation. After the completion of

this study, data will be deleted or shredded.

Data Analysis

A variety of data analysis techniques were utilized in this study. Critical discourse analysis (CDA), interviews, and focus groups all required different analysis techniques. In this section I describe those techniques.

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). The main documents analyzed were institutional mission and diversity statements printed from university websites. In CDA, both graphic and text ("images") are analyzed through the conceptual lens outlined for the given study. Content analysis techniques "assures not only that all units of analysis receive equal treatment…but also that the process is objective in that it does not matter who performs the analysis or where and when" (Krippendorff, 1989, p. 404). I first open coded the documents for diversity, equity, and justice text. For example, I coded for the types of constituencies (e.g., students, faculty, staff, community) that were included in the statement. I also looked at the positioning of a diversity-related word (e.g., how early it shows up in a mission statement, where the word is on a website). Other codes included examining where an institution believed diversity should take place (e.g., in the classroom, in the residence halls), and forms of operationalizing diversity (e.g., committing, envisioning). Fourteen codes were utilized.

Second, I utilized Gee's (2014) Building Tasks to conduct the critical discourse analysis. Gee wrote:

> The key to Discourses is 'recognition.' If you put language, action, interaction, values, beliefs, symbols, objects, tools, and places together in such a way that others *recognize* you as a particular type of *who* (identity) engaged in a particular type of *what* (activity), here and now, then you have pulled off a Discourse. (p. 52)

Therefore, language alone does not make something have an identity; rather, language engages with broader conversations, political contexts, practices, histories, and other discourses to build an identity. Gee also noted that the fact that people have differential access to language, identities, and practices makes the study of language the study of social justice.

Gee (2014) identified four tools of analysis that we utilize to analyze discourse. Those are social languages (e.g., formal, vernacular), discourses (e.g., combination of language, actions, beliefs that make up identity), intertextuality (e.g., references to other texts), and conversations (e.g., common themes that are publicly known, ongoing public conversations such as global warming, terrorism). Gee (2014) noted that one does not need to analyze all texts using all tools. For this project, I only examined discourses and conversations. To do so, I utilized Gee's Building Tasks of Language (2014; see Appendix F) including Significance, Activities, Identities, Relationships, Politics, Connections, Sign Systems & Knowledge. For example, when analyzing for Significance (which is language that is used to make something significant in a present situation), I asked myself: What is the situation and how is language being used to make something significant? What are the meanings of word and phrases that seem important? When asking this question, I was able to code such language as "world-class" or "land grant," that to me speak to the importance of the university in the state and the world and therefore provides significance to the organization and to whatever language comes before and after those words. Other discourse questions are provided in Appendix F. Utilizing these questions, I read each statement multiple times coding for the seven

building tasks. From both sets of data (i.e., diversity statement, mission statement), a short narrative analysis was written for each university context. This context helped guide my understanding of the university and how it related to the faculty member's understanding of their institutional context. During these discussions, faculty were able to help me confirm or tune my understandings of their campus contexts.

During the interview protocol, I spoke with the faculty about these documents and my analysis of them and solicited their thoughts both on my perspective and their perspective. Most faculty had a general sense of their university's diversity and mission statements prior to the interview; however, some had never read the documents before.

Interview analysis. I enlisted third-party assistance in transcribing all interviews verbatim. During each interview, I took notes and after each interview wrote a memo regarding my initial reactions to the discussion. I first read every transcript and took notes about these interviews in relation to the CDA, my memos, and interview notes. An iterative coding procedure followed. First, I utilized my notes and my major question groupings as quasi-*a priori* coding scheme (Merriam, 2009). Additional, *a priori* codes were used in line with my conceptual framework. Codes related to power relations, agency, leadership, race, identity, and other categories were used as first level codes. After utilizing *a priori codes,* I open coded the transcripts utilizing printed copies of the interviews. At this time, my three auditors also open coded at least two different transcripts each. We met to discuss our understandings of the data and to fine-tune the coding. In total, 82 codes were found through open coding.

After interacting with the data through open coding, I conducted axial coding by combining like codes together. This revealed additional major coding sections, or their related subcodes. In total, 12 axial codes were used. All transcripts were coded a second time to reveal additional findings related to the new codes and subcodes. Dedoose was utilized for coding purposes.

Focus group analysis. Focus groups were transcribed verbatim using a third-party transcriber. Two note takers and myself took additional notes. Focus groups were analyzed with the final coding scheme utilized for the interviews. As the focus groups also acted as a member check tool, any additional or modified themes were used to re-analyze the interviews. Because the primary purposes of the focus groups were member checking and building a space of resistance, analysis at this point provided more rich, nuanced understandings of the already open-coded interview discussions. As predicted, the focus groups mainly served as an opportunity to provide a richer narrative of these participants.

Establishing Trustworthiness

There are boundaries of educational qualitative research. This section attempts to address some of those boundaries. The goal of qualitative research is not to generalize findings to a wider audience. Peshkin (1993) argued that is, in fact, the job of the reader, not the researcher. While the researcher provides findings, the reader assigns meaning. Therefore, I do not engage in a discussion around validity, reliability, or generalizability, language utilized in quantitative research. This, however, does not preclude me from not ensuring relevance and trustworthiness. The goal of trustworthiness is "that the account

can be deemed plausible by readers based on the descriptions developed by the researchers" (Tierney & Clemens, 2011, p. 64). Trustworthiness simply is rigor. Tierney and Clemens (2011) discussed four ways in which qualitative research is considered trustworthy: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. These constructs are discussed below in relation to this study.

Credibility. Credibility is addressed when the researcher and participants both agree to the descriptions presented in the research. This was completed by providing multiple member check points, writing notes and memos, and engaging multiple note takers in the focus group process. Thick, rich descriptions are also important in credibility as "the researcher's obligation is not only to take into account the respondent's interpretation but also to provide the reader with enough description" (Tierney & Clemens, 2011, p. 64). Credibility is linked to Tierney and Clemens (2011) proposed criteria of trustworthiness they call *authenticity*. In addition, to member checking and providing this description, authenticity refers to accurate portrayals of participants and also researcher reflection. I began this discussion in the above section titled *Research Positionality and Reflexivity* where I attended to biases that I may hold throughout the process. Observing these realities and the outlined ways in which I will address those biases helps bolster the authenticity and therefore the trustworthiness of my project.

Transferability. Lincoln and Guba (1985) first coined the phrase transferability as it related to qualitative research. Transferrable qualitative research is not generalizability (Tierney & Clemens, 2011). Transferability requires the researcher to "evoke in readers an understanding of the research project in a manner that enhances

understanding and presumably provokes questions" (Tierney & Clemens, 2011, p. 78).

In order to make my research transferable, I recruited participants with maximum

variation in character (Merriam, 2009). Doing so, allows the most number of readers to

find utility in the research. However, the nature of composite characters may result in the

loss of this nuance due to maintaining participant confidentiality; a loss I was willing to

take to ensure privacy. Transferability has less to do with methods and more with one's

ability to write a compelling narrative. Once again, rich description also helps a project

become more easily transferable to a wide variety of audiences.

Dependability. This concept refers to the "reliability" of the methods and

procedures undertaken in a qualitative research project. I believe that my data collection

procedure generated rich data related to the topic explored that is in line with current

literature and my conceptual framework. Dependability can be strengthened if a multiple

case study analysis was conducted; however, because of the low number of faculty of

color on campuses and the specific identification of HESA programs, a case study is not

efficient. This limit requires me to "observe" information about the organizational

structure and personal behaviors through CDA and interviewer commentary.

Confirmability. Confirmability requires a researcher to connect all of the

components of the research together–literature, framework, methods, findings,

implications, and conclusions. A logical progression and inter-woven presentation of

these components allows a reader to best understand why certain decisions were made.

Data Presentation

Due to the sensitive nature of the participants' identities (e.g., race, tenure status;

Nespor, 2000) and the ease with which one may be able to identify participants if

geographic, institutional, or specific program characteristics are shared, a narrative

construction account is an appropriate method to display the findings (Barone, 2007;

Caulley, 2008; Polkinghorne, 1995). This mode of presentation has been utilized in both

higher education publications (e.g., Espino, 2012) and dissertations (e.g., McCann, 2014;

Stapleton, 2014), as well as in other disciplines (e.g., Piper & Sikes, 2010) to protect the

identities of participants and as alternative formats of data presentation (Polkinghorne,

1995). The data collected from the interviews and focus group could potentially

negatively affect the participants (e.g., termination of employment) if their identities are

revealed, further justifying the use of this mode of presentation. Additionally, this

presentation format centralizes participants' voices in the text through counter-

storytelling, a method aligned with critical race methodology (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002).

> Barone (2007) wrote:
>
> That the move toward narrative research in education has resulted in part from the long overdue recognition of the sound of silence, a sudden painful awareness of the extent to which human voices have been systematically excluded from the kinds of traditional research texts. These texts revealed disinterest, even disdain, for the experiences, and therefore the stories, of all sorts of school people, especially those from members of social categories whose marginalization has extended far beyond the arena of educational research. (p. 463)

Narrative construction in this case provides a space for marginalized people to have their

stories told through counter-narratives that challenge the "totalizing master narrative"

(Barone, 2007, p. 465), often presented in social science research. Barone (2007) did not

argue for a "counter-hegemonic research 'paradigm'" (p. 468) per se; however, he offered narrative constructions in their multiple forms as a way to explore educational research approaches that aim to improve educational policies and practices. Together, these scenes paint a more whole picture of the participants' experiences as faculty of color making decisions about doctoral admissions and how their institutions influence those decisions.

Chapters Four and Five are written in a "creative nonfiction" style (Caulley, 2008). In this form, techniques from short story writing are employed. For example the second and third scene utilize a technique called *showing not telling*. In this technique, I use realistic, though made up, details paired with actual direct quotes from participants to "paint a picture" of the scene in which the character-participants are interacting. This combination of fictionalized scene combined with actual quotes from participants construct the narrative. Another technique used in section two and three is called *captured conversation* utilizes back and forth conversational format rather than single chunks of text or summarization, "making [the reader] feel as though they are right there" (Caulley, 2008, p. 435). Some additional, fictional information was inserted into these scenes to help facilitate the flow of conversation and for narrative effect. Particularly, this form of writing allows for the participants to "speak to each other" across shared experiences, a mode of data presentation utilized in traditional social science research (Vickers, 2010).

Each composite character was first created based on the multiple salient identities of the participants as identified by the participants in the interviews. I constructed

composite character stories that exist across the shared identities and experiences of the

participants. For example, composite characters were constructed by combining

participant stories where participants mentioned similar salient identities such as race,

age, and tenure status or race and sex. Through multiple readings of the data it became

clear that participants with specific identities (e.g., younger female faculty) shared similar

experiences. However, some composite characters were not created based only on the

fact that they shared a set of salient identities (e.g., race, gender). For instance, if a male

participant spoke of a shared experience with a female participant, but it was not

necessarily influenced by their gendered identity, but rather racial identity alone, than that

participant's experience may be characterized as a female character in this narrative

construction. To allow the narrative to progress, a completely fictional facilitator is

introduced to help move forward the conversations and interactions between the

participants. This facilitator helps to provide context and summarize statements based on

the characters' conversations (McCann, 2014). This facilitator also helps build the

"plots" that act as "synthesizing functions" (Polkinghorne, 1995, p. 8) between characters

and situations.

Conclusion

This chapter outlined the methods for addressing research on how faculty of color

receive and understand diversity, equity, and justice scripts in the doctoral admissions

process. This chapter addressed the study design and justification, data generation and

analysis procedures, and limitations. This chapter also addressed my researcher

positionality. The next chapter provides the findings of the study presented through

narrative storytelling.

CHAPTER FOUR

DAY ONE: MAKING THE ADMISSIONS DECISION

In this chapter, I present the first set of findings of this study. The second set of findings is presented in Chapter Five. In total, the findings are presented in four scenes. There are two scenes in Chapter Four and two scenes in Chapter Five. I first describe each scene in this chapter and what findings the scene bares. I then present the composite character descriptions. The first two scenes follow these character descriptions. A conclusion is presented as a journal entry from the facilitator.

The first scene, *Workshop Introductions,* introduces the broader setting of the story, a major national conference pre-conference workshop that focuses on social justice issues in higher education. The first scene specifically presents data from the critical discourse analysis of university mission and diversity statements. Particular to this first scene, the data presented contextualized the experiences of the participants during the semi-structured interviews and allowed me to better understand how the faculty understood diversity, equity, and justice messaging from their universities through institutional texts. The individual findings for each participant's university were not presented for the purposes of confidentiality. Instead, the composite characters present them thematically. In this scene, the conversation is fictionalized because participants did not directly complete the critical discourse analysis. The characters discuss a) the neoliberal project's presence in institutional mission, b) globalization's influence on

institutional mission, and c) the university's stated commitment to diversity and the public good including a broader community, and how these concepts interact. These sections answer the question: How, if at all, do institutional logics influence how faculty of color understand diversity, equity, and justice in Higher Education and Student Affairs doctoral admissions processes?

The second scene I call *Going Sword* is based off a direct quote from a participant. In this scene, characters answer the research question, how, if at all, do institutional logics influence how faculty of color discuss diversity, equity, and justice in Higher Education and Student Affairs doctoral admissions processes? Findings were revealed through the critical discourse analysis, interview, and focus group data. The data showed that faculty anticipated resistance from their fellow faculty when discussing issues of diversity, equity, and justice. In turn, they modified their language in admissions discussions and broadly around issues of diversity, equity, and justice when speaking with their colleagues. Additionally, faculty rejected the utilization of standardized measures of excellence (e.g., GRE) instead opting for more subjective measures such as letters of recommendation. The decision to reject standardized measures of success was often based on their own experiences with standardized tests. Faculty also utilized various homophilies when admitting students to doctoral programs including racial and epistemological homophily, or an attraction to likeness. Ultimately, faculty were willing to advocate for students with various diverse identities, but were often restricted by a perceived lack of authority due to their tenure status and because of their intersecting identities, namely race, sex, and perceived age. Faculty believed that

older or more senior faculty members would discount their opinions and experience due to their status as newer faculty members, particularly those in their first and second years.

Throughout the second scene of the narrative construction account and the two scenes in the next chapter, participants' voices are readily apparent and presented verbatim except in particular circumstances. For instance, if a participant stated the name or location of their institution, or any other identifying information, changes were made to ensure anonymity. Words remained intact if they represented a particular emotion or served a narrative purpose (e.g., exasperation, hesitation, anger). Additionally, for flow of conversation, language that I add to provide context or to facilitate dialogue is presented in brackets. Bracketed language is utilized to a minimum in order to centralize the participants' voices.

Characters

In this section, I introduce the composite characters. Each character is present in all scenes. No single character represents a specific study participant.

Carolina Azevedo is the Vice Chancellor of Diversity and Inclusion at a medium-sized, private research institution located in the Southwest United States. She has facilitated the pre-conference workshop at the social justice conference for five years. Prior to becoming the chief diversity officer of her university, Carolina was an associate professor of sociology at the university. She identifies as a Latina woman. Carolina's main role at the pre-conference is to help facilitate conversation.

Amber Jones is an assistant professor of higher education at a medium, public research university in the Midwest United States. She identifies as a Black woman. She

is in her second year of her job as a professor in the school of education at her university. She works in a department that she describes as moderately racially diverse. Even though Amber worked in higher education as a practitioner prior to pursuing a tenure-track position, she looks young; therefore, one of her most salient identities is her age, perceived and real. She also identifies as a religious person. She describes her epistemology as social constructivism with critical, transformative perspectives.

Roger Craddock is a multi-racial queer Black man. For him, his race and sexual orientation have been most salient to both his research agenda and his positionality in his university and community. Roger is in his first year as an assistant professor of higher education at a large, research extensive university in the mid-Atlantic region of the United States. He describes his department as isolating because he is one of the only people of color. He defines his epistemology as critical.

Kathleen Jeffers is a Black woman and has been an assistant professor of higher education for six years. She recently submitted her tenure dossier. She works at a large, research extensive university in the Pacific Northwest. She works in a department that she defines as moderately racially diverse. She also has previous work experience as an administrator in a university. She describes herself as a critical scholar.

Greg Dickerson is a second year assistant professor in the higher education program at a large, research extensive university on the West coast. Greg identifies as an Asian man and for him race is the most salient identity. Greg is the only faculty person of color in his department. He describes himself as a social constructivist who sometimes utilizes critical perspectives in his work.

Jennifer Rice is a second year assistant professor. She works in a higher education program at a large research extensive university in the Northeast. She identifies as a Latina woman and also by her ethnicity as a Chicana. Jennifer works in a department that she describes as moderately racially diverse and is not the only person of color in her department. She describes herself as a critical constructivist researcher.

Table 6. Composite character background characteristics

Name	Title (Years in position)	Salient Identities	Program Racial Diversity	University description
Carolina Azevedo	Vice Chancellor of Diversity and Inclusion (10+)	Race, gender	Unknown	Medium, private research university in the Southwest
Amber Jones	Assistant Professor (2)	Race, sex, age, religion	Moderately diverse; not the only person of color	Medium, public research university in the Midwest
Roger Craddock	Assistant Professor (1)	Race, sexual orientation	Only person of color	Large, research extensive university in mid-Atlantic
Kathleen Jeffers	Assistant Professor (6)	Race, sex, tenure status (time in program)	Moderately diverse	Large, research extensive university in the Pacific Northwest
Greg Dickerson	Assistant Professor (2)	Race	Only person of color	Large, research extensive university on the West coast
Jennifer Rice	Assistant Professor (2)	Race, ethnicity, sex	Moderately diverse; not the only person of color	Large, research extensive university in the Northeast

Workshop Introductions

A brown leather briefcase laid splayed open on a large metal desk reminiscent of those found in elementary classrooms. Creases lined the inside of the top flap. White papers protruded from the main pocket like a range of snowcapped mountains, pens with university logos peeked their tips out of their looped holding cells. Carolina hurried to her bookshelf reaching seemingly haphazardly left and right for books, grabbing them and ferociously tossing them on top of the briefcase with a muted thump. The light shone through the window. In the light, her hair was blond-brown gossamer. "Where is it? Where is it?" she muttered as she locked eyes with the green and black spine of a book – a book that had given her both words to her feelings and one that would help contextualize the workshop she was on her way to facilitate. As the flap of her leather briefcase was worn, so was this book's spine.

…

The room hummed with the voices of faculty of color. Intermittent laughter broke the buzz followed by a warm voice.

"Welcome to Gaining Clarity, the conference for social justice educators in higher education. It's nice to put faces to names finally. I'm so excited to be here for my SIXTH year as we try to figure out this thing called social justice and what it means for the work we do as faculty of color," Carolina announced with a steady cadence. "We already met each other via email and we've only got a couple hours, so we are going to skip the introductions and jump right in. Does that sound alright?"

Silent heads bobbed in approval as the five faculty of color joined Carolina at a round wooden hotel conference room table. The cold metal rim of the table sent shivers down Amber's arm. Roger whipped on a sweater and pushed his spine up against the back of the chair. Kathleen gently placed her lips onto the rim of her cup taking small sips of her tea and quietly smacking her lips as she pulled the cup away. Carolina gently landed her right hand on the green and black book raising and lowering her hand onto it ever so slightly. The cover bobbed up and down with each tap. She settled her hand. They began.

"So we're here to talk about graduate admissions, right? And, in particular, diversity in graduate admissions. There's a lot going on right now in the world and our universities are responding in really interesting ways. I've also been noticing a lot of this 'happy talk' in our university mission statements and diversity statements as well," she started. "You all read through and brought your institution's statements. So…let's talk about them." Although no question was asked, Carolina's cadence, pause, and gentle smile signaled that she was asking a question and expecting a response.

"Can we talk about how our universities integrate issues of globalization into our mission?" Greg exclaimed with an interjecting laugh. "Um, when I read my diversity and mission statements I find that my university strives for a culturally diverse community that reflects my state and the nation, but does so mainly through international programs and study abroad. I see globalization as extremely present in my diversity statement making it explicit that globalization is a priority."

"I agree," started Jennifer. "In my statement, 'world' is mentioned twice – in the first and last sentence which brackets the rest of the statement and its relation to being a part of the Association of American Universities (AAU). To be a part of the AAU you have to be one of the top 62 research universities in the country!"

"So are you implying that to become a top research university in our country that universities need to concern themselves with actions and policy that align with globalization?" Carolina asked.

"Mm-hmm."

"Ok. Anybody else?"

"Yeah for me, when I'm reading my mission and diversity statement, I notice an explicit mention of recruiting international students. I'm not sure I have seen that before. Does anybody else have that?' Roger looked around for an answer. The faculty looked down at their papers and shook their heads. "No." "No. " Uh-uh."

Roger continued, "I see strong language around globalization and preparing students to work in a global society. My university is a high research extensive institution. So, um, when I read this I'm thinking that attention to the international student population signals a potential for interest convergence around money, ranking, and prestige and the ability of administrators to say they are diverse. Right? I'm not sure that is true however because diversity isn't even defined."

Kathleen, sitting quietly to Carolina's right, crossed her arms, placing her hands onto her biceps, rubbing them. Amber caught eyes with her and gave her knowing smile.

"[I'm cold.]" Kathleen gave a fake shiver to signal her discomfort. "[But] I agree

for sure!" Kathleen said at a level a couple notches higher than the rest of the

participants. "Global partnerships is the second priority over student-centered education,

and research is third in my mission." She spoke with a quickened pace. "Global

challenges are linked to local challenges it says. They are 'our' challenges," air quotes

accentuated her statement. "I think that to meet this challenge they have to attract

outstanding students, faculty and staff who can connect and learn from others. Seems to

me that in that statement the diverse populations we are recruiting are external to the

U.S."

"What about you Amber?" Carolina prodded.

"So, in looking at the statements again, I'm not sure I see a lot of language around

globalization. It seems pretty standard fare for a mission statement around inclusive

excellence and serving the state, commitments to inclusion. All of that stuff. That's not

to say in my day to day I don't see the effects of globalization, but just in the statements,

it's not really there," Amber said.

"Okay great. Thanks for sharing. So most of you are seeing this globalization

component playing out formally in your university's messaging. It seems that you are

also linking it to admissions, diversity, and programs and policy of the university. How I

am interpreting that is that universities are conflating the idea of diversity, which has a

historically domestic connotation around supporting domestic students of color, with

international students. I don't think that including international students in the definition

of diversity is a bad thing; however, it should not affect the way that we think about

diversity in our U.S. context. There is a precedent set for what diversity means, and while we could certainly expand that definition to include other identities aside from race and sex, I do think that those are very important identities and should remain central to the diversity argument. Whereas diversity, or its synonym, is stated broadly, international students, a relatively specific term, is stated as a stand-alone term as if it is not linked to diversity when in fact, it is," Carolina said.

Agreeing nods bobbed.

"So then what about this idea of neoliberal practices in higher education? What I mean by that is, what language do you see utilized in your statements that say to you that your university is running itself like a business, market-based? The way that I understand globalization, based off of Harvey's work, is that globalization is a direct outcome of neoliberal policy, so I'm wondering if they are inextricably linked in mission statements as well," Carolina asked.

Kathleen quickly sat up straight in her chair and smiled. "I mean, right here, it says that we want to convert our research into products. That's the academic-capitalism knowledge regime in a global neoliberal marketplace if I ever saw it. Slaughter and Rhoades write so much about this occurring in our universities. To me that means that the university is taking public dollars and ideas meant to forward a public good and is using that knowledge to produce revenue for the faculty, university, and private industry. My understanding of neoliberalism is that it is an economic theory and when institutional leaders run their organizations through this lens, they are doing so to maximize profits,

increase global footprint, reduce social goods, and ultimately move away from a public good mission."

"I would also…" Amber began.

"And, sorry Amber, I just need to get this out of the way, diversity is talked about in great length, but is mentioned as something that creates a competitive advantage. It's not something that has educational value, but rather provides us the ability to 'win' something, win students and prestige I would guess. When I read this, like, I think: Diversity is good when it has outcomes that are competitive, improve relations, and support the organization. There is a diverse world of customers to attend to and diversity helps to attend to those actors. The university is a business and diversity is one tool we use to leverage competitiveness. Markets. It's markets. Sorry, Amber."

"Ha-ha that's ok," Amber continued. "I feel ya. So now that I am looking at my statements again, I don't see the word global outright, but there is conversation occurring around distance education and providing that education to those who are at a distance. This opens avenues for online education in both the domestic, and global sense, as global future and global society are both mentioned. For me, even though globalization is not mentioned in the diversity statement overtly, it is embedded within the mission statement making it an integral part of the diversity, and I would argue neoliberal rhetoric. My understanding from reading some of the work of Rhoads and Liu is that one of the purposes of online education is to expand a student body and bring in large amounts of money with little overhead. Certainly there are other opportunities for meeting a public good mission through online education including access issues for working folks, people

without access to campuses, for instance, in rural locations, or those with disabilities. However, if examining it from a neoliberal perspective, I lean toward my initial analysis. Harvey also noted that neoliberal practices continually contradict themselves as actors work to maintain power over their diverse constituencies. So they can be market driven and also access oriented."

"That's a great observation. Language in statements doesn't need to be overt or even intentionally written to have very realistic outcomes for organizations. That's the fun of analyzing discourse. We get to see where power lies, who is privileged, what types of relationships are formed with different groups among other things. Get excited!" Carolina let out a loud laugh startling Greg.

He let out a nervous laugh.

Pointing to her paper Jennifer noted, "I see here the language of technology transfer in this state university's statement. Slaughter and Rhoades wrote a lot about technology transfer processes. There are public benefits, but tech transfer can take a very neoliberal bent when those universities, particularly at public institutions, take public dollars from states and tuition and put it into research that helps fund new science and technological innovation. The university then patents that technology and ultimately profits off the public's dollar. The university could also sell off the product to a private investor, which to me is more egregious of an action because private industry will benefit most from that product when it should be turned around and used for the public. That's very neoliberal, right?" Carolina nodded.

"Oh," Jennifer continued. "This statement places my university at the center of the state's educational enterprise. Once again, that word enterprise, not a public good, or educational mission. Enterprise to me means company, a corporation. Yeah, this place is more neoliberal than I thought."

"I would echo Jennifer here, like my university explicitly states 'continuing education and technology transfer as a function of improving our state.' Very neoliberal language. Certainly there are positives that can come from this type of work. For example, universities can create technologies that help filter contaminated waters, or support local ecosystems, or more sustainable food items in dry climates. But, um, there's a fine balance in providing this type of access and also knowing who benefits from it. I once heard about a scientist who planted rice fields in sub-Saharan Africa and the people in the area cut them all down. The scientists essentially called them ungrateful because they cut down these useful grains. However, I don't think they understood the political and cultural implications of having villages controlled by warlords and other government bodies that aimed to control what villagers were allowed to have and not have. There is more than just science for science's sake when it concerns the effect on humans and their societies. When we think about neoliberalism and globalization, we are also concerning ourselves with issues of neo-colonialism, neo-racism, and basic human rights and needs within a historical and geographic context. There is a certain level of thought that has to occur where all of the implications are analyzed away from the economic benefits. In neoliberal societies, the most marginalized are forced into even more marginal spaces."

As if on cue, everybody put their papers on the table. There laid a hodgepodge of highlighted, underlined, and written on sheets lazily strewn around.

Carolina interrupted the silence. "Let's mix it up. Reach across the table and grab somebody else's statements. Take a second to read over them and let's talk about our last topic for this morning, how your universities define diversity, the public good, and its relation to the community. We've already talked a bit about how globalization or neoliberalism may interact with diversity, but let's see how else they are talking about the topic."

Chairs squeaked as faculty reached across the table, hands slapping onto piles of previously marked-up papers. Amber picked up a pile of papers and motioned toward Greg across the table, her arm a wobbly crane moving up and down in order to avoid bumping into the other faculty. Greg let out a toothless smirk as the papers reached his hand. Amber's arm retreated.

"Ok, so now that we have that all settled. Take a few minutes to read over your new statements and then let's do a little share."

Carolina's right hand fell to the table and landed gently on the green and black book again. Thumbing through the pages on the top edge of the book with her fingertips, a light purr filled the otherwise silent room. With robotic precision, she abruptly stopped fanning the pages and tapped her nails on the cover. She traced her pointer finger along the twisting and tangled drawing of a road on the cover of the book and tapped the negative space as if pointing to a particular thought. Opening the book to a particular page in a quotidian exercise, she read aloud:

The very talk about diversity allows individuals to feel good, creating the impression that we have "solved it." Diversity thus participates in the creation of an illusion of equality, fitting in with the university's social mission: the idea the university has of itself as doing good ("the great benefactor"). Diversity can allow organizations to retain their good idea of themselves. It also creates the individual as the proper object: if diversity is what individuals have as individuals, then it gives permission to those working within institutions to turn away from ongoing realities of institutional inequality. (Ahmed, 2012, p. 71)

"Powerful, right" she asked rhetorically. "So what did you find?"

Jennifer's hand shot up.

"You don't need to raise your hand" Carolina chuckled.

"I have Amber's school. So, my statement begins with talking about the success of all students. To me, this builds an inclusive tone that welcomes all people into the conversation. It's not until the third paragraph that the word diversity is written. And I think that is because diversity has become a triggering word that sometimes marginalizes people. Other words such as social justice have been used, but those are missing from this statement as well." She paused as her eyes scanned the pages.

"Diversity is defined as underrepresented groups who have faced barriers to success. This leaves the interpretation relatively wide, I think." Jennifer continued. "It may provide the freedom to give resources to a wide range of people, while also supporting those that are most often identified as underrepresented such as racial minority groups. Also, when I look here, the statement links the mission statement to inclusion and diversity thereby signaling the importance of diversity. The statements discuss exactly where diversity takes place on campus. Both in the classroom and outside of the classroom experiences (social dimensions) providing clear guidelines and outlines of where inclusion should take place. That means, that inclusion and diversity is necessary

to the success of all students in all places. So for me, it is both clear and vague at the same time. Kind of interesting. While we know where diversity should take place, we don't have any idea about the outcome of diversity. What are we being diverse for? I think this is an important concept to think about. And of course, there is a listing of a bunch of identity groups."

"Wow, you had a lot to say about this didn't you?" Roger's body shook with a chuckle. His large frame eclipsed his chair. Everybody laughed.

"I have Roger's," Kathleen started. "You know, you mentioned earlier that your university calls itself diverse. But when it comes to diversity, the university thinks it should reflect the state demographic. This makes sense since you are at a state institution; however, at the same time, if universities only represent their state or city and those are predominantly White, are we really making any progress? For me, the language, some explicit, some not, says that your university maintains the state history and culture, but thinking about the history of your state – Whiteness, racism – I'm not sure that maintaining that legacy really says much for moving toward a more diverse community on your campus. So to me, those are conflicting sentiments. How do we balance both? And, once again, no metrics of success are discussed. What does it mean to be a diverse campus and how do we know? In the end though, it does say that they want to interact with community partners, so maybe that is something to look forward to."

"Seems like you had a lot to say too!" Amber snapped.

The large room filled with the sound of laughter turning the head of a passerby.

Roger's laughter stopped as he looked back down at his paper.

"Well I had Kathleen, and I would say that there is a lot of rhetoric here, but I'm not sure that I see a lot of power behind the words. So your university is diverse and has people from a variety of backgrounds. They have stated this reality and therefore are taking responsibility for ensuring that these listed identities (at a minimum) are 'celebrated and advanced.' So here we see the idea of celebration that doesn't mean much when we think about addressing historical issues of diversity. I'm guessing other people have seen similar terms to 'celebration' shared."

"Yeah, like respect and appreciate," Greg interjected.

"Yeah, for sure. So again, the university advances diversity. However, diversity outcomes are not situated within the statement. Diversity is this long list of identities. So what is it advancing? Diversity is seen as an active process to promote success. However, success is undefined. Empty words…The statement does not address other politics or conversations in that it doesn't delve into any systems that have marginalized these groups as to state why these groups are important to highlight. The statement attempts to build a relationship with the reader that invites them into the campus. It says that if you have one of these identities (which all people do) that you will be accepted and respected here. So basically, if you are alive, you are diverse. Language is formal and standard for these types of statements. I'm not sure I'm totally buying it."

"Well I had Greg's university," said Amber. "As he said earlier, diversity is seen through globalization and internationalization. I really notice what he was saying about

how strongly globalization comes through in these texts. It's in stark contrast to the other statements we've read and heard about today."

"Greg, who did you have?" asked Carolina.

"Jennifer's. Her university does not state what diversity is, but states that it is necessary and should be reflected in a wide range of areas on campus. It only discusses diversity as it relates to those already on campus except for the mention of recruitment and retention efforts. But recruitment and retention of whom? Diversity efforts are directly linked to a student's abilities to function in a diverse and competitive global society. There isn't a broader understanding of difference or addressing society's ills. They want to achieve, enhance, create, and engage. That's great and all, but I'm not sure that moves the institution forward much. The one thing that is mentioned is that they want to build a relationship with the community and businesses. I think that is very important. So that's a plus."

Kathleen added, "I think that is important because I always ask who is the community and what is the public good? Kezar and colleagues talked a lot about higher education for the public good and I think that universities have moved away from engaging with the community in meaningful ways and a historical public good mission. Giroux talks a lot about this as well. Universities have become insulated from the broader issues in society. We build walls and fences and electronic cards to keep people out and students in. However, the university is the community and vice versa. So there should be a relationship. But if we think about it critically, as universities and community as one, the relationship is really a relationship with self. This has been lost

across time. The fact that this university says that it wants to create a relationship with the community is a great first step."

Carolina let out an audible exhale followed by a tired smile.

"It's apparent that globalization and the neoliberal project have crept into our mission and diversity statements. We see how both of these movements directly affect the way we think about diversity, admissions, and the types of programs and policies that play out on our respective campuses. That's great that we are recognizing these matters. What I also recognized was that diversity in many cases has become standard institutional rhetoric that may not hold much weight."

Carolina reached for her coffee and squeezed the cardboard sleeve. Bringing it a few inches from her lips, she continued.

"In some cases, we see that diversity rhetoric is utilized as a marketing tactic to provide competitive advantage."

She sipped from her cup and placed it back down on the table, catching the rim of the bottom of her cup on the edge of the book.

"In other ways, we see diversity as seemingly important, but without any particular direction, right? We want diversity, but what is the purpose and how will we know when we've succeeded? And, of course, diversity is also a celebration of difference. So universities utilize the words 'commitment to diversity' and want to see it, but only to celebrate it or without any stated way of measuring if they've met a particular goal. As I read through your statements before we came today, I also noticed that only a couple of your institutions talked about where diversity and inclusion might take place on

your campuses such as academic or social spaces and some even explicitly mentioned

that a campus diversity office or chief diversity officer was the person in charge of

moving diversity goals forward. Lucky me!! Guess I'll have a job for a while!"

Carolina said with a sarcastic roll of her eyes.

"I would also add that in some of these statements there is explicit mention of

adhering to law and protecting classes of people beyond what is mentioned in the law. I

don't know that I have seen that often, but it certainly signals to me that maybe the

university has been challenged in the past," Jennifer added.

"That's a great observation, Jennifer. So to summarize what we talked about

here. There are multiple observations we can make when we analyze mission and

diversity statements. First, globalization is playing a role in how our universities see their

missions and how work is valued and prioritized on campus. Additionally, universities,

through their statements, are saying that to be seen as a top university in this country,

they must globalize. At the same time, there is a neoliberal component to globalization,

which we know is a component of neoliberal theory anyway. You see universities as

engaging in a global marketplace and engaging with global matters in order to remain

fiscally viable. Lastly, globalization is used as a way to engage in diversity rhetoric and

may be conflating different demographic groups, those of domestic and international

students of color.

Relatedly, the neoliberal rhetoric also extends into general university practices

and what may be called an academic-capitalism knowledge regime. In essence, the

public is becoming private and you see the potential for universities and the private sector

to profit off of public money or act in ways that may not support a public good mission. This happens through technology transfer, globalization of higher education, and other market-based activities.

Lastly, we talked about how diversity is defined, where we see it in statements, and who is included in diversity. The ways that diversity were discussed are varied, but we saw a lot of language around 'celebration,' 'respect,' and 'appreciate,' but not much about attending to systemic issues in our country. Universities also sought out diverse bodies, but there were no metrics of success defined. And, once again, globalization played a role in what was included in diversity.

"Ok, well, let's all take a break and come back in 20 minutes and we'll begin talking about graduate admissions."

Going Sword

The group returned to the room and took their seats around the table. Carolina grabbed a set of papers and tapped them on the table evening out their edges.

"Good break?" she asked rhetorically.

"So now that we have talked about your institutions and their various messaging, I'd like to get started with talking about the admissions process and how you discuss diversity, equity, and justice in the process and how you are thinking about those topics. Would anybody like to start? Maybe we can talk about what happens when you think about engaging with others in an admissions meeting," Carolina continued.

"It's hard because I feel like I don't have a real true sense of what's gone on in the past and I'm still learning the culture of my department, of my concentration, of my other

faculty, colleagues, uhm as well…So sometimes it's like, I don't know, just trying to navigate. I just pretend that I have no idea what's going on because that's just how you survive. Use newness as long as you can and lack of understanding," Amber started.

"I think based on my past experience, and I will say I have been sensitized by reading articles, in my head I had anticipated more sorting or attempts to quantify things. It was more of a 'okay let's look at the big picture and think about – based on the curriculum that we offer, and if we think they are admissible. Do we think they can sustain themselves? You know the quality of life, what would that be like? Can we afford to fund you? I don't know what I expected other than more attempts to quantify things... sometimes I'm like, 'is this going to be contentious? But it wasn't. It was pleasant, which is not the ways I've heard people talk about admissions," Jennifer shared.

"I can never come to the table saying I think this is an issue we need to address and I can never say it that way because I don't think, I think people get a little nervous when I approach things that way. And I have noticed when I have said things [about social justice] I feel I get a little more resistance. I mean, it feels White dominated, I think my department particularly is really White. I don't know how White, but when I look around at departmental meetings, faculty meetings, it's White," Roger added.

"I see you nodding Greg," Carolina observed.

"I think no matter what we're always within a political arena. It doesn't matter that everyone is really nice to me; I'm nice to them. It's still always very political. Because you're always fighting for resources. You're fighting for this, you're doing whatever and there's all that. For me, it's probably kind of what I expected out of a PWI,

working here, but I also came here from a PWI. That's kind of what my life has been. I've been at PWIs my whole life, that's just the nature, I think, of higher education. So, I don't know if it's very different from what I expected [as a newer faculty member]" Greg said.

"But there's other allies I have who, like the man who started the same time I did, you know. We talk a lot about the fact like 'Hey, we're still trying to figure this shit out, this is really weird. Why is everybody all crazy here?' and stuff. So there's things that we can talk about that I can't talk about with other people," he added.

Amber added, "Within the program, we have a set of core values that we all actually believe in. And I think that's why it feels safe...I don't know if safe is the right word, but it's not dangerous, as it can sometimes feel to share pieces of yourself with others, and not know if they are going to trigger you in some way that you may not be able to recover from. And so, I do believe that it is the program that we buy into and that what we say we do here."

"I am hearing a couple different narratives. One is that newness is playing a role in how you are experiencing your programs. Some of you are still navigating those politics, relationships, and program culture. Others of you seem to know that your programs can be, as Amber said, 'unsafe.' You might be fighting for resources, funding, triggered, or face other sorts of resistance particularly when talking about diversity or social justice that challenges Whiteness. When you anticipate this resistance or feel these tensions how do you make sense of that? Do you change your behaviors or actions in any way?" Carolina summarized.

"I've started to play more nice than most people. I still have to play nice Black guy. I think it helps a lot that I naturally come across as a nice guy, but it's even more tiresome to have to think about ways I can present myself and be even nicer than I am. So, I say it can be very exhausting some days. I think there are a lot of power dynamics at play. That can be very frustrating and I think it's a mix of for me personally, its about age, then a Black man, then queer. I think [my salient identities] are really kind of hand in hand with each other. So when I present things or when I am talking to people, I phrase things in ways I would normally not do. I usually pose questions to people. I've really tried to volunteer to do things, or to pose questions. Like for example, there was this conference, one colleague and I, we believe it's important to try to do more with recruitment. So one colleague and I volunteered to set up a table at a conference to try to recruit graduate students," said Roger.

"You mentioned age. Does that also include tenure issues?" Carolina probed.

"It's tough because I am pre-tenure. I'm an assistant professor. You have to [say things] cautiously. The squeaky wheel is okay occasionally, but not having me tenured, you don't want to be that squeaky wheel all the time where you're unlikable. What I've been told in the tenure process is much about your likability as it is about your record," Greg added.

"So it definitely for me has transitioned over time. [My mentor] told me, 'keep your head down, just write, just publish, don't get involved, show up but be invisible,' – those kinds of messages in my first year and so I did that and by the second semester of my first year I was completely dying on the inside. Then, in my second year, I was like,

'yeah, no this is not going to happen this way.' I even made an announcement 'I'm going to be talking more and I'm going to be asking questions.' So I would say it has changed significantly and even that change was more speaking up and asking questions and being engaged at faculty meetings. I don't care if people think that every time I open my mouth it is to talk about diversity again. 'Yes, yes I am going to talk about diversity again, and you're gonna listen!,'" Kathleen said. "I think we all should participate in the decision making from the beginning but as a new faculty member that can sometimes be really hard because you are trying to figure out the 'culture' of the place, you're trying to figure out how things work. They're [untenured faculty of color] less likely to say their ideas in that public space or question anything."

"[We have a good number of new people in our department. Because we have a mass of new folks, it allows us to ask] questions about why do we do this the way we do it. New faculty have not always been comfortably able, but want to and feel the need to ask questions, raise concerns, sometimes related to diversity, equity and justice but sometimes not," Jennifer said. "I think a lot of that is not around race or gender as much as it is tenure status, which you can't deny the intersections of how that will play into being judged but to what extent should pre-tenure faculty in general earn their place or space. I can't be just going head to head with my department; I have to be a little more reserved I think. I'm figuring that out."

Greg added, "I'm [personally] not gonna argue [with my faculty] too much, okay? But I did ask [my chair] a question because last fall when I took two new advisees, they happened to be White students, and I said 'Hey, are we trying to diversify? Is that

important?' So there's definitely, much like any other job, a lot of politics involved and everything so I'm very conscious of that."

"What I am hearing is that, generally, as new faculty members, even in program climates that seem open and welcoming, there are still levels of decorum that untenured faculty members are held to. It seems to me that you are suggesting that asking questions and playing nice in order to be likeable are important aspects of new faculty life," Carolina summarized. "Can you think about the admissions process and the criteria that you utilize to admit students?"

Jennifer started, "So there was a student in our pool. He was a person of color and one of my colleagues was like, 'Yeah I don't think he has enough experience for the Ed.D. program, blah blah blah. I don't think we should accept him' kind of thing. And I'm like, 'I would argue he does have good experience. It's not necessarily in higher education but it is in these other places that are very relevant to higher ed and he is working with a program that's advocating for students of color to get into one of our local universities here.' That's important work to me. I like this student. Even if he's doing it from a grassroots organization outside of the university. Yeah, he doesn't work at the university, he works for a community-based organization. This is what they do! They are getting students of color into school – to college. That's relevant to me and I think that's important and I will advise him if nobody else wants to."

"I would say [that a criteria in admissions to me is] a concrete understanding of the field of higher education, broadly speaking would have had some sort of work experience that's higher ed related," said Amber.

"I'm personally interested in working with people who care about social justice, equity, hell, even if you are talking about diversity and inclusion, I'll take that. I, many times, find it problematic if you're not talking about some of those ideas or using coded language. So we had a prospective student this year in the pool who's talking about wanting to work with one of our faculty studying civic engagement, but how can you talk about civic engagement and not say anything ever about justice, equity, diversity? Yeah, no. That student got admitted of course but I was like, 'if someone else wants to work with him then that's fine,'" said Kathleen.

"For me, that's almost one of the most important factors of what I'm looking at is how they are articulating this sort of social justice mission and has nothing to do with their race or anything. I want people of color and White allies that are able to articulate some of these issues and because you need both. Communities of color need White allies also because very often people in power aren't going to listen to communities of color. You have to have White allies that are also giving the message in a different way that might be more digestible so those are the things I look at," said Greg.

"But outside of that, what's really driving them? Have they thought about something in depth or had an experience that was more in depth. And that, to me, feels like it's bringing more," Roger clarified.

Jennifer shared another story.

"Academic background is the last thing I look at in the admissions file. I recommended admitting a doctoral student of color to our Ed.D. program without even noticing he didn't have a Master's degree (which is a requirement) this last round.

Everyone else rejected him, no comments, and I raved about him and said I would advise him. I have since admitted him to our Master's program. But if I didn't speak up, he would have been rejected, no explanation, and left to try again next year, though he would never be admitted because nobody else explained to him that he needed a Master's degree," she shared. "So I'm coming from this very like super, super radical critical way of thinking about academics, and grades and meritocracy, and I'm thinking about Lanier Guinier's new [book called *The Tyranny of the Meritocracy*]. I'm just gonna admit [him] because I understand what [he] represents within the system."

"I am hearing a lot about alternative measures of excellence such as interest in issues of social justice and equity. I am also hearing that you want people with great experiences, drive, and passion. What about the GRE?"

"When you look at perceived ability to the GRE, then [you] kind of miss the boat on what they are actually interested in doing, and how it matches with what exists in the faculty and what exists in their career interest and trajectory and what they have actually done as a body of professional work. I think those are the students at which I find myself saying are we not reading the same file? It's a mechanism to say if you don't score X amount quant, qual, and then the writing and then [faculty don't] look through the rest of the file. But if you don't look at the quality and passion that somebody has, and I think the reality is and I know I am sensitive to students of color who have been excluded," Jennifer said.

"I will say the only time we make a note of it is if it's in the tenth percentile or something that low. At the doctoral level I'm paying less attention to previous GPAs and

things like that. Test scores don't matter to me, the thing I weigh the most is that

personal statement. I've seen so many students get a high GRE score, but are not good

students. I don't think it's a valid measure. I don't like standardized tests," Amber said.

"Many people are looking at GRE scores as a way to identify a quality candidate;

I know I don't agree with that. I take note of them because there are other people around

the table who care about GRE scores, so I make my own notes on all the folders to

include that so that I can at least have the information in front of me. But I don't care

about GRE scores," Kathleen added.

"The reason why I don't care so much about GRE is from my own experience. In

my cohort, I had this one woman who had fantastic GRE scores. She was right out of

undergrad so she really didn't have any life experiences. She was clueless. She was very

naive about the way things worked. I didn't think she was that great of a student. She

was super smart because she knew big words, but in terms of her thinking, she wasn't

contributing in that way because she hadn't experienced enough to get these things done.

I don't think the GRE measures a whole lot in terms of things people do in grad school.

We don't take tests in grad school very often. We don't have to figure out the angle of

some isosceles triangle," Greg shared.

"Even though the GRE is required, we can sometimes get around that. I

understand the issues around standardized testing, and what happens often in the

standardized test environment situation. So I don't look at that as much. And that may

stem from me personally, because I didn't do well on the GRE either. So I understand

that sitting for this test for four or five hours, is only a small snapshot and really doesn't

measure persistence, I don't think it really measures a student's ability to push forward to do something that they really love. So for me the GRE is really a non-factor in my mind. But I also recognize that I have to become aware of GRE scores when we talk about candidates and begin to create a narrative of how we are going to put them forward to the graduate school and say why they should be admitted into our program. It's more or less: if they're really low, it's cause for concern because are they a horrible writer? Will they not be able to succeed?" Roger said.

"It seems to me that the GRE is pretty much a non-factor for you all unless you are thinking about how you are going to talk to the graduate school about accepting a student with a lower GRE score. You all mentioned an attraction to students with similar interests to you and also those with critical perspectives. I remember when I was a faculty member involved in the admissions process that I was often attracted to other students of color. Does anybody else feel that?" Carolina asked.

"Students who are racial...ethnic...I do tend to read their essays and think about their personal experiences. And they will write about that experience and you can 'understand' where they are coming from those experiences. I try to take a little bit more time with those essays because with some of my colleagues those students could just become one in the pile," Kathleen began.

"For me, recruiting a diverse population of students is also important. I teach a doctoral seminar now of our first year doc students and five out of the six of them are White, and to me that's just strange. I think I tend to initially think about identities that are salient to my own. We have a faculty member that goes to NASPA every year with

the program, not because he wants to, but because he wants to drum up some business if you will. Like being very present to students who might be applying to student affairs program," Amber added.

"Last year I chose one Latina and I think that was the only advisee I brought in so this year we admitted two, a Latina and a Latino" Jennifer nonchalantly quipped.

"Do they have to be the same racial identity as you or can they just be a person of color?" Carolina inquired.

"Would I take them if it doesn't exactly match? Probably, because I think by that point my thought is if I don't take them I don't know who else would and I still have an interest and a background in more of the U.S-based race, ethnicity type stuff. And I'm not convinced that there are many, if any, people in my department who have an interest in that or a background in that. And [if] somebody was like 'I wanna study the Asian-American students or Latino administrators,' I think I probably still know more than most people in my department. So for me, I'm like, if I don't take this person I'm not sure anybody else really will. And I'm not trying to make the assumption that all students of color wanna study students of color, people of color…but there's probably a slight correlation. That isn't something I've necessarily verbalized to my department chair but I think, right now I know he is reviewing applications and so I think I will probably make a meeting with him and be like 'Hey, is there a chance I can get a student of color or something? Like, please.'" Greg said.

"I definitely think there are things around social identities and experiences. Whether somebody else is multiracial," Roger added.

"Is it a self-imperative that the person be somebody with the same salient identities as you?" asked Carolina.

"Even if someone had views I didn't agree with. I still think it would be personally interesting to have that in a program. To give them a counter view point," Amber began. "I wouldn't try to work with them a lot," she added.

"If they're a student of color, I typically want them. And if they're a low-income student I typically want them," Kathleen added. The others sat up at the sound of her voice.

"And I know that often students who are drawn to me are students of color, particularly women of color are students who typically will mention me as a person to work with. So I am very sensitive to that and knowing that those tensions of wanting those students to succeed and knowing what the realities are... time and support that one would hope to get," added Jennifer.

"I do think about students' background, racially, professionally, and other forms of groups that are underrepresented on our campus," clarified Amber. "I think I tend to initially think about identities that are salient to my own, but then again there was a candidate who was talking about their interest in looking at transgender student experiences and talking about their own experiences and you know that really resonated with me. Because I really want our students to not just think about, not just structurally represent diversity, but value it, issues of diversity and equity. So I think that that's something that I look for myself."

Kathleen nodded in agreement.

"Based on what I am hearing, you all are still drawn to students who you share a racial identity with you or are people of color more broadly. Basically, you pay attention to people who do not identify entirely with dominant identities. At the same time, if applicants have interesting research interests or may be somebody who has a different worldview who can help challenge others in the classroom, you may also take interest in them. When do you look at diversity?" summarized Carolina.

"I think for me it happens pretty early on. I think it is really important to create an atmosphere and environment where we have a really diverse classroom. Whether that is racial ethnic background, or thinking about sexual orientation, social class, or research interest. I think it is really important, so I think I do that from, I like to think I do that from the very early stages," Roger said.

"[For me, it's] at the very beginning of the process because that's one of the first things that I look for. We have a little printout, there's usually on the first page there's a printout with their name and all that stuff and it will have their race and ethnicity with the check in the box and I'll always look and see what they are and who they are. So I always look. That's always the first thing that I look at," Greg added.

"From the beginning (laughs) [is when I look] because when I read their personal statements like I always just, you know for me again, I don't even really pay that much attention to the demographic info. The part where diversity really comes in for me is in the personal statement and how they talk about, yes their background but also, the work they want to go into. You know, so and the work they are committed to doing, I think

that's really where the diversity piece comes in for me. Less so the like you know the application and what box has been checked" Amber said.

"[I think about it] all that time. That is one of the things they (the other faculty) don't keep track of is race or ethnicity and gender, and so I consciously think about that as I'm reading applications. So I have those conversations in my head, like 'how many women are we admitting? How many students of color are we admitting? How many full time working professionals are we admitting? How many that want to be faculty or researchers or administrators?' So most time I write them down to keep track as we're having conversations. And I definitely keep track of the students of color for sure," Kathleen said.

"I'm constantly thinking about it, constantly thinking about those people [who] are the ones that are in the classroom pushing people to think more and outside the box," Jennifer added. "For me, it's pretty essential. I'm always look at what diverse experiences [students are bringing]."

"Let's take a slight detour here and go back to an earlier conversation where Greg used the term alliances and finding alliances to help you navigate your departments. Can you talk about that some more? Have you utilized alliances in the admissions process?" Carolina inquired.

"So usually we, me and my other extrovert who is another person of color, he and I we might check in with each other. I check in with everybody, but our check-ins will look differently, our check-ins [are] about what do you think about this applicant of color? What do you think? And we'll get on the same page before we go into the

discussion with everyone else. And in reality, you read them in isolation and you input your decision in. While I've had cursory conversations with everyone to see what that process is like for them sometimes he and my conversations are a little bit more pointed, like what do you think about this application? Did you read this application? Read this one, call me back," Amber started.

"Well this was my first year and I was brand new, this was the first time I was doing it. So the original message came from the other faculty member. So perhaps in the past, that faculty member had encountered resistance from the other faculty members and felt like there needed to be an ally there. I think we texted each other. 'Who do you really want? Like I'll fight for you for this person if you fight for me for this person.' I think that's what we did. But when it came down to it, I don't think we really had to fight," Roger said.

Greg picked up where he left off earlier. "I do have allies in the department, but I feel like they're allies for different things. So, like that woman that I spoke specifically about, I know that she's really, really invested in social justice issues. Another man who is too. And so I think, too me I'm like oh, I can go in there and be like 'Yo, what's happening? What's happening with this, this, this or whatever.' And they can kind of [say] 'Yeah that really sucks.' Or 'Yeah, that's really weird.' Or whatever. So I know I can talk to them about that. But there's other allies I have who, like the man who started the same time I did, you know. We talk a lot about the fact like 'Hey, we're still trying to figure this shit out, this is really weird. Why is everybody all crazy here?' and stuff."

"Sometimes my approach is also to go talk to someone about how I'm feeling and let them be the advocate. Sometimes I don't want to be the only voice around things so it's like, so sometimes I'll have this conversation with other people and they will say 'okay I agree with this' and I'll say 'Well okay. Back that up during the meeting, in a formal setting so I'm not always the one to be like, did you think about this?' It's not really the fact that I don't want to be that person, it's the fact that I see people tuning out to others who do that all the time," Amber shared.

"So a colleague of mine, who identifies as lesbian. She mentioned something about bringing a speaker in to do social justice [work]. So I thought she seemed really cool. But she doesn't talk a lot. She's kind of quiet. So one day I made a point to kind of reach out to her and get to know her more. Two weeks ago, I was setting up my syllabus and I needed to know more about queer theory and how to include that in my work, because I talk a lot about race and class. I want to bring more queer theory into it as well. I had asked her if she had anything on queer theory, and she sent me a whole bibliography of stuff on heteronormativity and what it is. So it was really, really awesome. After that, we talked more, and we've been a little bit friendlier, because I don't only do race and ethnicity work. I do oppression work. I don't know if she knew I was doing that kind of work. So when the admissions meeting came about, she had her person, I had my person, it was a good dynamic. It paid off and we worked together. I got you. So we all got our people in and I think it was because of that, we're in this struggle together. But some people aren't in it," Jennifer said.

"Really I am hearing that there are times when you utilize allies in the room to advocate for students who you might both want. They are coalitions in a way. You check in, get on the same page, and then work in tandem so you both get something out of the relationship. Very interesting. Any additional thoughts about this topic or others?" Carolina asked.

"The other thing in terms of diversity in applicant pools, I believe that student diversity matches faculty diversity at the graduate level. Our applicant's pools are starting to match the diversity of faculty," Amber said.

"Visually diverse faculty, racially and ethnically primarily, if you teach in Higher Ed. So I think that that reputation yields the different kinds of candidates...people are interested in talking about diversity, equity, and inclusion. I think who we are bringing in now is very different even than who [we were] bringing before [I was hired]. I think there has been a profound difference in racial admissions. That is the first thing I have noticed from these incoming groups," said Jennifer

"I think because we've always had and we've always been the most racially and ethnically diverse faculty on campus, we have never had to talk about a lack of racial and ethnic diversity in the pool. We've always drawn a racially and ethnically diverse pool and I know again I'm using race and ethnicity again because those are more obvious distinctions in the admissions process," said Kathleen.

"So you hypothesize that diverse faculty help to draw in diverse students?" asked Carolina.

"[Agreed]" responded Jennifer.

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"Ok, great. So the last thing I want to talk about is advocating for student admission. We know what you are attracted to, what measurements you do not put weight in, and some of the restrictions you feel around tenure. So when it comes to bringing students in, how have you advocated for students?" Carolina asked.

The room fell silent. With a deep whoosh, followed by a whirr, the air conditioner kicked on and a faint breeze brushed across the faces of the faculty. Jennifer shivered, the paper lying in her lap falling to the floor. She reached over causing her pen to fall. She let out a chuckle.

"[It *is* getting chilly in here, isn't it?] I can't think of a time where I didn't go to bat for a student if I thought they were a good fit," started Amber.

"And that's because earlier you said you felt that your department was relatively safe, right?" Carolina asked.

"[Right]," Amber confirmed.

"We had a student, a student of color, his letter was horrible. It was so horrible and I know the person's mentor so I was like 'I'm so surprised that your letter is so horrible' but lucky for him, you know I remember meeting this person. So I think in my mind I was like 'lucky for you, you have been talking to a faculty member, the one that you named that wants you. So you're in. But if that connection wasn't there and we just only had your letter to go off of…I mean, oh my goodness, it was so horrible! Not only was it horribly written but I'm like, you really weren't talking about race. And that was part of the conversation when we got to that student's file. And so other people at the table were like, 'this person might need a whole lot of mentoring and work and skill

building.' I would say that there's not any particular person that I've stood up for [except] that student with the poor application. Because the faculty member that wanted him is a new faculty person. I definitely felt the need to strongly support that we bring that student in and again the student's a Black male, the faculty member's a Black male, as a Black woman I feel a lot of responsibility for helping students of color in general, I mean helping people in general, it's not like I don't work with White students too but knowing the environment I care about helping students of color," Kathleen said.

"For me, I have cautiously, we call it 'going sword' for these people, where you lay down your sword and say I'm putting my foot down. This person has to be admitted. There has been two instances where I've done that. For me, it has to be the perfect candidate because I'm literally vouching for this person. I'm putting myself out there that this person comes in and is the worst student they ever had. Then the next time we're in these meetings, they're not going to give a darn what I think because 'oh yeah you're the one that was so adamant about bringing that bum in.' The time I did it was the candidate who really had a unique background, was a former foster youth, this person was African American or Afro Latino. He just had such a fantastic – and all the things he's overcome and all the things he wanted to do. He didn't have strong GRE scores, and that was a thing knocking him out. His GRE scores were fairly low. He was a student athlete in undergrad so his GPA was a little low, but since then he was in a Master's program doing really well in a Higher Ed Master's program. He was really able to articulate a lot of these things that I really value. I had to go bring in things. I had to Google him and look for other indicators. I was able to find some paper that he wrote for his Master's

program. We don't have a writing sample, mind you. I showed it to some of the

colleagues. Look, read this, this is good! 'Wow this is actually well written!' [they said].

All these questions that they had for this student were kind of answered in that. Since

he's been there, he's done a pretty good job. People like him. That gives me credibility to

do the thing again," Greg said. "There was [another] example this past year where there

was an African American male. GREs were low. This student was really interested in

not Higher Ed, which would have been helpful for me to advocate for him, but he was

more interested in like Criminal Justice. Incarceration of black men and criminology and

going into all these things. I kept telling him he really didn't do a good job of articulating

it. That would have taken all my credibility away, so I decided not to advocate for him

even though I kind of wanted to a little bit."

"So the two candidates that I really stood up for I think the reason they stood out

to me is primarily their research interest and the way they think about social justice and

equity, so one candidate for example identifies as heterosexual but is very interested in

ally development. So I was very interested in that. And it was the way he wrote his

personal statement, really stood out to me. So I was a little persistent in having our

program nominate these two candidates to come to campus" said Roger.

"[If] I think they are a good person, but I can't take them on, [I tell my colleague]

'you should take them on.' Sometimes I have to do a little convincing, but it's worked,"

added Kathleen.

"[I will just say lastly that doctoral admissions is] really not a formal process,"

Amber added. "I just don't like the admissions process, which is funny because I used to

[do some admissions type work]. It just, it just, especially with doc students, just seems so arbitrary to me. So uhm, and unorganized, and like yeah it's just so political. So it's like 'ya know I'm not gonna take this person', and ya know, there's just a lot of nonsense, it's ya know, I'm still just trying to understand."

"[Agreed]" added Kathleen. "I've gone through at least three different processes which is all to say that we don't have a process that we've collectively constructed to what I think is our best work around understanding who prospective students are and what they will contribute in this program and what we will contribute to their development as scholars and practitioners so I just want to put that out there."

"Yeah I agree. I think admissions for doctoral education is just, whacked out. I mean it's unorganized, there's just no real uhm. Or not, real, it's very real but like there's no, uhm common approach to how we judge people's applications so we're going through like a whole overhaul of the process now. The processes here aren't particularly reified," Jennifer said.

"Great. That's some interesting nuance to the entire conversation. I wonder if that is something we should talk more about in general about the admission of doctoral students, the arbitrary nature of the process is what gives faculty autonomy to do the types of work they want to do. What a great conversation. It looks like it's about time to head out of here. I'd like us all to take out a sheet of paper and jot down some notes and reflections from today's conversation. I'll do it along with you. We'll just take a few minutes. Once you feel ready to go, feel free, and we'll see you in the morning" Carolina explained.

Carolina flipped open her briefcase and pulled out her small leather journal. She grabbed a pen that had rolled to the center of the table and tapped the button on the top causing the tip of the pen to protrude from the opposite end.

Day one complete. Lots discussed. I recognized that faculty anticipated some resistance to their individual selves and their viewpoints even if some of them had not experienced that resistance quite yet in their careers. It's a sad day when the narrative around faculty experiences reflects so poorly. Even when their programs are considered safe, there is still a hesitation to be completely authentic in their actions and words.

This hesitation seems to be leading some of them to change their words and behaviors. Roger had to be the "nice Black man." These faculty members see their tenure battle including considerations of civility that maybe other faculty members with dominant identities don't necessarily face. However, it also seemed that some faculty were okay with being authentic in their actions and words and not as concerned with repercussions. However, those faculty were the older ones with a bit more clout. The younger faculty still seemed timid.

When it came to the admissions process, faculty understood the literature around the validity of the GRE and paired that with their own schooling experiences. This resulted in them wholly rejecting standardized tests in the process. Even when the test was required, faculty simply claimed that they would advocate for those students in the meeting and to the graduate school if necessary.

Ultimately, they seemed most concerned with bringing in students who had critical thinking around equity and justice, work experience, and an understanding of the

field. Reading for diversity across all aspects of the application and at all times was most important to these faculty. This is in contrast to some of the current literature. Jennifer even seemed surprised that her experience was a bit different than the literature suggested. In this way, faculty are acting as diversity practitioners in recognizing and advocating for various forms of diversity. They put themselves out there and advocate for students when it is deemed that they have the ability to do so; although, they gauge their own levels of capital and ability to provide support for students in doing so.

The idea of alliances was also very interesting and something that is a little bit different than the literature shows. For one, the literature generally shows that faculty resist through mentorship, service, and saying no. What I learned today if that faculty also build alliances with White faculty and others who are aligned with similar worldviews. They then build connections prior to engaging in the admissions meetings in order to leverage their collective voice in order to advocate for a particular student or set of students. Very interesting.

Ultimately, they also found the processes to be arbitrary. There were not criterion ways to assess students or even a list of aspects that an entire faculty in a program may deem as necessary or important for success or idealizing a cohort. There is more to delve into within that aspect and it may be linked to faculty autonomy. I am excited to continue this discussion tomorrow and to see what else comes out of the discussion.

CHAPTER FIVE

DAY TWO: BROAD CONSEQUENCES

The previous chapter explored findings related to the visible actions and behaviors of faculty of color based on their interactions within admissions meetings and in discussions around diversity, equity, and justice on their campuses. This chapter presents two broader themes highlighting internal thought processes based on institutional logics. These thought processes related to the enrollment management function in doctoral admissions generally. This chapter is presented in two scenes with the same data presentation method, characters, and setting utilized in Chapter 4. Each title is a direct quote from a participant and utilized as literary license to set the tone of the scene.

The first scene is called *I Don't Wanna Recruit No Students of Color Here.* The data revealed that the way that universities respond to what I am calling critical community cultural incidences directly affects the way that faculty members perceived their university's values around diversity, equity, and justice. When national racial incidences occurred and universities did not respond in ways that faculty deemed appropriate, faculty took direct action to prepare, warn, and support students of color, in particular, through the recruitment and admissions process in order to fully reveal what the campus climate may be like for that student on a predominantly White campus.

In the final scene, *And the Whole Interest Convergence Piece*, characters explore globalization's effect on institutional definitions of diversity. Faculty of color believe that universities are utilizing international student admissions for two purposes. First, universities admit international students of color because international students of color improve the visual diversity of the campus. Second, international students require less funding support and improve rankings and prestige for universities. Based on these observations, faculty of color believed that international students of color do not fulfill the same historical mission of diversity in admissions – access for racial minorities. Additionally, faculty believed that universities only recruited from specific, wealthy countries, and did not provide enough student services and academic support for these students. Ultimately, faculty are open and support the admission of international students, but not at the detriment of a historical mission to admit more domestic students of color and only if appropriate services and supports are provided to those international students. Both of these scenes answer the research questions: How, if at all, do institutional logics influence how faculty of color understand diversity, equity, and justice in Higher Education and Student Affairs doctoral admissions processes? How do faculty of color navigate those logics and their multiple intersecting identities, values, beliefs, and experiences when discussing diversity, equity, and justice? How do faculty of color find support when discussing diversity, equity, and justice in the doctoral admissions process?

I Don't Wanna Recruit No Students of Color Here

"Ok everybody, let's get started again," Carolina began. "In the past few months,

we've seen racism rear its ugly head overtly. We know that racism is pervasive in our

country, but we are currently experiencing heightened racial tension with the recent

murders of unarmed Black men by police, followed by such a social uprising in some of

our more poorly resourced areas. How have your universities responded or not

responded to these incidences?"

"So I feel like it, as a public land grant institution, we have an obligation to serve

our community. So this is something that I talk in my classes about all the time, I even,

ya know, with the whole Martese Johnson situation at UVA[1], I brought that into class and

talk about those issues and the SAE[2] incident and brought that into class," Jennifer said.

"With the things that are happening in Ferguson[3] and Eric Garner,[4] students of

color were doing protests on campus but the university leadership really did not come out

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[1]Martese Johnson was a Black undergraduate Junior at the University of Virginia in March 2015 when he visited a local Irish pub late one night. The Alcoholic Beverage Control agents (special arm of the Virginia police force) working outside the bar that night claimed that Johnson utilized a fake ID to obtain access to the bar even though the ID was legitimate and legal. The agents proceeded to physically assault Johnson and arrest him. In the process, they injured his head by throwing him to the pavement causing him to bleed and require medical attention at the local hospital.

[2]Sigma Alpha Epsilon, or SAE, is a historically and predominantly White fraternity in the United States. As the students of the chapter of SAE from the University of Oklahoma rode a bus to a fraternity event, a chapter member was videotaped on a bus singing a sanctioned fraternity song that contained the word "nigger." The lyric read: "There will never be a nigger in SAE. You can hang him from a tree, but he can never sign with me. There will never be a nigger in SAE." The video went viral. Subsequently, the president of OU made a strong statement against racism and the fraternity and the fraternity was removed from campus.

[3]On August 9, 2014, Michael Brown, an 18-yr old Black man was shot six times from a short range by police officer Darren Wilson within 90 seconds of approaching Brown. Multiple parties dispute the matters of the case, but following the shooting and national media attention, many protests and marches occurred around the country. As a result, the Hands Up, Don't Shoot movement began. Wilson resigned from the police force.

to make a statement until sometime in, I wanna say it was mid-December, when they finally made a statement. Although, students have been protesting since the end of November. And the email that we received…that was a very vague email, that really didn't name the issues that were happening and really did not call for people to come around a table to have a conversation about what equity looks like, what does social justice look like. Those things did not really come up," said Roger.

"The lateness of that response. That's more of an inaction. And, you know with Eric Garner, everything that's happened since August 9th, I feel like we, again, things are coming from faculty, not coming from the administration, things aren't happening," Jennifer added.

"What about from others? Amber?" Carolina questioned.

"I am always appalled when something happens in the national news and the university does nothing about it. Like when the Boston marathon bombing[5] happened, I was appalled the university said nothing. And it doesn't matter if you're a university in that location, because you are a location that has pooled people from communities, and even international communities, and you should have a statement or something ready to say that people have been impacted, we might have people who have been impacted, and

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[4]Eric Garner was a Black man who lived in Staten Island, New York. Garner died after police officers placed him a chokehold for 15 seconds on suspicion of selling single cigarettes. Garner's arrest was videotaped and went viral. In the video, Garner is heard repeatedly saying, "I can't breathe." He repeated that phrase 11 times. Nobody performed CPR on Garner and he was left lying on the ground for seven minutes before an ambulance arrived. There was no indictment of the officer, causing many protests and rallies across the nation.

[5]During the 2013 Boston Marathon, two large bombs exploded near the finish line of the race injuring 264 people and killing three others. Police later killed one of the perpetrators and the second was arrested and sentenced to the death penalty. The bombers were of Middle Eastern descent.

that you acknowledged that. And I don't see that acknowledgement happening around any issues, especially issues of diversity or equity," Amber added.

"So I've heard on your campus there have been some instances of community versus university conflict right?" Carolina asked.

"We're trying to start to have these conversations around police relationships with the students here, with the Black community-at-large, but they are just getting started. I've been to a few of them, and you can tell that there is a lot of anger from just years and years of marginalization. But you know, these aren't things people talk about on campus," Amber explained.

Amber continued. "So actually, I'm at the forefront of the grassroots movement on campus unintentionally, and it all started in the fall. And it started with Ferguson, Missouri and…it ended up being two other colleagues, we pulled together a town hall last semester. And of course, by the time we had the town hall, there were other incidents of Black men, well Black male bodies. And what was interesting was we got our department to fund it. Like we need these flyers printed, we need refreshments, it was not much. But we put our department's logo on the little thing. And so I think it was around the right time…so many people where feeling many different ways – confused, upset, angry, frustrated, whatever about the incidents in national news. So the turn out was amazing, and it has spiraled into this thing where we have become the people that people reach out to, the department reach out to, that colleges reach out to say 'we need a discussion on this', 'we need an event on this', or 'this is happening, can you step in?' And what was so interesting in pulling that together though [was] I went for a walk across

campus to take these flyers in places, and as I went in some offices…I was confronted

with people asking me questions like, 'is the university sponsoring this?' and that was one

of the biggest things. It was like what is the university's role in this? Nothing. This is

three faculty members who wanted to have a discussion about this, and we are going to

have one. Even if no one else sees the need to do it. And if a department called

educational leadership says that social justice is important. And if in a department titled

education leadership is not going to do anything about, and if the university isn't going to

do anything about it, I, myself, will do something about it. And do what I feel needs to

be done, even if it is to help myself process. And when being asked if the university is

sponsoring these discussion, people would ask me about our chief diversity officer. And

I'm like 'yeah, he has nothing to do with this'. Not that I would expect him to. He is not

the chief diversity office that actually works for making diversity. And I'm like 'he's not

involved' and they're like 'well you'd figure that someone with diversity attached to their

name with six figures would have something to do with this' and I'm like 'I'm sure he

knows its happening' but I don't expect him to be useful or helpful in this process. And I

don't expect the university or be useful or helpful in this process, because quite honestly,

he would have to be person to make that happen. Like when you think about that senior

advisory board, he would have to be the one to say this should be important to us. And

so it's the inaction that happens due to the lack of focus on people in general on maybe

different social identities."

"I'm getting the sense that your universities are not responding to critical

community incidences, either national or locally, in ways that you find appropriate or

significant. That, as we talked about earlier, diversity statements are mostly rhetoric. It

is affecting the way you perceive the campus climate, culture, and values of your

universities. You also believe that universities do have a role in engaging with broader

societal issues and concerns. Even though you are talking about these issues in your

classes or forums, there seems to be lack of general campus response," Carolina reflected.

"And you know what? One of my White colleagues came to my office [and] said

'Greg, I gotta talk to you about Ferguson.' I was like 'Oh.' And she was like 'I couldn't

sleep all night, it was so upsetting.' I was like 'Oh god, one of these White ladies is

coming to talk to me about it, this is amazing!' And that was, actually to me, a sign of

like 'Okay, I think there are people that kind of get it,' or they know that it's an issue and

stuff."

"So in addition to in your classes and forums, you are finding these spaces of

resistance with faculty allies. Is that what I am hearing?" Carolina asked.

Jennifer added, "[Yeah, I agree. I once said to a faculty member], 'You're doing

work on women and LGBTQ stuff, and I'm doing stuff on race, and I'm talking about

Ferguson, and I heard that [you] canceled class for the MLK event.' I was like, 'We're

doing the same type of work. Let's work together. Let's do it together. Let me learn

from you what I don't know.' So I think that's been really good."

"And I can't even tell you, for me to see somebody else do that was really

powerful, especially somebody who wasn't [on the] tenure-track, somebody who is

White. And to have it not fall on me, cause I think that happens a lot, right? It's people

of color and all that and I was like, I don't even know how to approach this. I don't really

know the people here. I don't know, like, what can I bring up about Ferguson? Should I bring it up? Or what do I do? And the fact that she did that I was like, okay this is the importance of having White allies," Greg said.

"It's hard for one person to do that work and I don't think faculty of color should be the ones that are doing all the work because we won't get tenure if we're trying to do all this sort of work," Jennifer added.

"Going back to the talk we had earlier about neoliberalism in your university, do you see that affecting the way you think about these incidences and the university's response?" Carolina asked.

Roger started. "So I get a sense that because we're in a context of a very socially conservative state, people walk a fine line because they don't want to maybe get people too upset, who are making decisions about what type of funding the university may get. But that's just my observation. That's being a new person. But it is very interesting to see how those things are not really talked about in a way that could be talked about at a university."

"Interesting. So you are implying that there is a disconnect between campus leaders and discussions around race. In particular, these people also have the ability to make decisions around money. If you have these conversations on your campus then there is a worry that the campus will lose money because the people with the money do not want those conversations to happen or they seem them as unnecessary" Carolina said.

"[Our] alumni base…they're more affluent, they're traditionally White with traditionally European backgrounds. There's this pull. There's our donor base that's more

traditional…we're sort of balancing that with also trying to do these other things that we think are important…I see it as all of the intentions are good, there's just some real conflict. It's really difficult to just make 180 degree turn in the policies and practices. I think it's a real conflict that they have," Greg noted.

"So its maybe not just an ignorance of response, but rather an intentional response or non-response that is meant to appease donors who may potentially pull their money if the university interjects in areas that the donors do not think a university should have an opinion," Carolina reflected.

The room fell silent. Kathleen held her pen between her index finger and thumb and moved it up and down creating an undulating effect making the pen seem magically flexible. The flick of the pen caught Carolina's eye as she whipped her head to catch Kathleen's glare.

"Kathleen, based on these reflections, what does that mean for the way you recruit students and admit students?" Carolina asked.

"I think, yeah, I'm always 2000 with these students…this state is like 80% White. I don't want anybody to not know that," Kathleen said.

"Is that like 100% real, but times 20?"

Kathleen nodded as Greg snickered to himself.

"I think it's about providing people with information. But I do kind of ethically struggle with 'Is this a good kind of fit for people?' And I do what I can do as an untenured faculty member, I think at least, to try to at least talk about, make change to whatever. But I'm also tokenized in that way, like, 'Oh can you be on the diversity

recruitment and retention committee?'" Amber added. "[I want them to] kind of have a clearer understanding of, I hate to say 'What they're getting into,' but like what the community and campus is like, right? I think that people should just be aware of what it is and that ya know, they're spending years of their life in that place and so they need to have a clear understanding."

"I think there was a point in time where I was like 'I don't wanna recruit no students of color here for no reason.' Cause if you all...can't pull it together, I don't want people to go through that," Kathleen exclaimed.

The faculty broke out in an agreeable and hesitant laughter. Roger shrugged his shoulders and shook his head as he glanced over to Amber. His lips pursed in recognition of a sad reality.

Kathleen continued. "So we just had a prospective doc student on campus this week, and I was like 'Listen, I'm the old head,' cause he spent all day talking to new professors, like first years and they were all excited and he gets to my office and I'm like 'Look, you should still come, but know like this is what this is, what is going on,' and then I was like 'You know what? I think BGSA [Black Graduate Student Association] is meeting. Let me find out where they [are] at,' and [then I] dropped his ass off where the BGSA was. 'Look here's some students.' [It's about finding] different ways to really give them more information so they can make the best decision for them."

"I want to be very explicit from what I expect from students and I am not interested in being labeled as a hurdle for students who are trying to complete their degrees," Jennifer said. "So what can we do to make sure that they know even before

they start? Which is what we do with our orientation program for both doctoral students and the Master's students to just kind acclimate them. Also, building community is another key piece I think with students of color, and even on my campus who are like struggling. Uhm, in my program, it's like 'Let's do things together. Let's see each other. Let's make sure you connect with me and make sure that…' And at some point, I'm new, I think that I'm gonna get really tired. Because there's a lot, there's a lot of need."

"Contrary to popular belief, Southwestern Wisconsin is not a big draw for folks," Amber said.

The group giggled.

"People aren't coming here because it's a beautiful place. And so because of that we are actively aware of that, and constantly talking about it, and constantly inviting people and asking 'Are we comfortable with this? Are we comfortable with this class? Are comfortable with this list of people we're inviting? Do we need to revisit applications for a particular population of students?' Like what do we need to do?"

"I value that and that would be something I would bring up during our discussion about who we should admit and [as an example] say we had three applicants this cycle who identified as LGBTQI and I thought if we could get all three of them together that would be like a critical mass. They could perhaps work on projects together, they could support each other, they are going to be bringing up those issues in the classroom," Kathleen said.

"The other thing that we did this year, is that we identified two candidates to come to come to campus for a special weekend through the College of Education. So

that was another element of our recruitment weekend and our recruitment efforts. It's

that we brought in two candidates and we interviewed them during the special weekend.

They had the opportunity to interview for a few grad assistantships, meet current students

and some of the current faculty members too," Roger added.

"Informing students about the climate and helping them to receive multiple

messages from various groups of people seems to be one tactic you utilize to help

students better understand the university climate. Another seems to be recruiting for

critical mass. Then there is a potential for built in community. And then helping them to

build that community once they get there," Carolina summarized.

The group nodded.

"That's all the time we have in this room and I think it's about time for lunch. I

made a reservation for us down the street since we are a small group. So why don't we

head there now and we can wrap up our conversation over a nice meal. Sound good?"

Everybody stood up placing their papers and pens onto the table. Once again, a

haphazard pile of notes and emotions. In small groups, the faculty walked toward the

exit, squeezing through the small-framed door and out of the conference room. Carolina

stood behind briefly to gather her thoughts and placed her book into her briefcase. She

flimsily slapped the flap of her briefcase, a tiny click as the brass turn lock plate hit.

Gliding toward the door, Carolina rotated her head to check if anything had been

left behind, and then located the light switch. She looked back one last time as if to retain

a memory of the conversation just completed. The room faded to black with the push

click of a button.

And The Whole Interest Convergence Piece

"How many?"

"There will be six of us today. There should be a reservation under Carolina."

The hostess smiled nicely and tousled her hair. She said, "Great, welcome. Follow me."

On the walk to the table, Carolina looked around the room and noticed mostly White faces. As a faculty of color, race was Carolina's most salient identity. And based on the conversations today, it seemed that race was also the most salient identity for her participants, though age and gender seemed important as well. She imagined what a world would be like that was more diverse across a range of identities and in all spaces. What would normative mean in that case? Could privilege be dismantled? Would issues of globalization and neoliberalism even exist? Could she walk down the street and not be catcalled? Maybe the conversations the faculty were having today would take on a different tone. Or maybe nothing would change at all.

"Here's your table. Mark will be your server today. Have a good meal."

"Thank you."

"Thanks."

"Thank you."

"Can I have a hot tea?" Jennifer asked.

The tone was awkward and quiet as if on a first date even though the group had been conversing all morning. Greg and Kathleen began discussing the highlights from

the day's news playing on the flat screen TV above the bar. The others jostled through their menus.

"Order whatever you want! You already paid for it!" joked Carolina.

"Thannnkkks, Carolina." Amber drew out her words as if she were responding to her teasing mother.

Mark came around to take the order. After they took their orders, Carolina engaged the group in dialogue again.

"I've been thinking about something that Roger mentioned earlier. He said that globalization was like interest convergence. I am wondering what you all think about that concept. Do you feel as if there is something to be said about international students in the graduate admissions process?" asked Carolina.

"The international piece is a big push. We end up attracting a lot of international students in our program as well. In our program, we have people from Portugal, Spain, from Jamaica, from all over, Saudi Arabia. It's a big piece. A big piece to that. A lot of times a lot of the faculty push back on [the fact that we are] focused on these international things at the expense of some of these domestic issues that are really pressing around access to college and things like that," Greg said.

"The other thing is at the university level; the phrase that is used a lot is 'diverse students' or 'diverse alums.' And that's a catchall phrase for any person of color or international students sometimes. Sometimes international students are thrown into that mix, sometimes not. And I think at the graduate level, international students fit into the 'diverse alums' name. But it's the catchall way of saying any person of color, who at any

point has matriculated here. And I just wish people would say what they mean. Like it's okay to talk about it by name, it's okay to talk about race and ethnicity and nationality. Like it's okay to have those conversations," Amber added.

Jennifer nodded agreeably. "I do think there's a lot of conflation between populations of color on particularly, at predominantly White institutions, my institution is no different from what at least I heard being described. Um, because historically, and I say historically because I think the institution's been called out enough times, that they have stopped doing this, but they would report the number of racially and ethnically minoritized students as 'Oh we've increased this population by twenty five percent' and I'm like 'Wait, what?' And then when we go back in the numbers. Really we're talking about international students and not domestic racially and ethnically minoritized populations."

"I feel like it's a myth that [increasing international student populations are] diversifying the campus," Kathleen said.

"I am hearing that there is a continuing neoliberal market logic creeping into doctoral admissions that challenges a historic focus on remedying the marginalization of domestic groups. For me, there is a continued rhetoric on campuses that having visually diverse students on campus raises the quality of education. New students are looking for diverse campuses and if universities can show that diversity in pamphlets, websites, and in their numbers, and do it with international students as well as domestic students of color, than they win," Carolina summarized.

"You think about the interest that these students are serving the institution, … especially in the graduate level, I know there's like a financial component. If you're an international student I know that you have to show that your parents can pay or that you have enough money to pay or your government has to be funding you. So there's this monetary incentive for the university, for universities broadly to bring in international students and they pay more. So I think that it just really works out for the business model capitalist way we see the trend of higher education broadly, so I think it may not even really be about diversity" Kathleen said.

"There's definitely a lot of interest convergence going on. Um, I think financially from the way in which we want the institution to be perceived from the outside and even when you get into the numbers just thinking about, even at my institution we have more students from one country than all domestically racially and ethnically minoritized students together," Jennifer added.

"Yeah, so what about that part. Where are you seeing your students coming from?" Carolina asked.

"Here's a challenge. All these international folks—[they] are affluent international folks for the most part. We have a few students especially the ones from the Middle East. The international students tend to be more affluent, so in many ways, it doesn't speak to a lot of the issues and the mission of the university. We have a few students from Africa actually that I did not mention. From Kenya, Ethiopia, and they obviously aren't as well off. In their country, they probably were. From Kenya, from Ethiopia, we have a few students from there. I do question that around this international

piece. [We are only pulling from a few countries. These countries have affluent, well-educated students who bring their wealth to the United States. In addition to being affluent and well educated, they do not come from countries that have been colonized, ravaged by wars, and economically devalued.] The challenge is that yeah there's this globalization, but the globalization is really from people that have access to the internet and all of these resources," Greg said.

He continued, "[But] when we're saying 'international,' we're really talking about students who are Asian; students from China. Let's not pretend like 'Oh, look at that student from Germany!' Nobody cares about the student from Germany, nobody knows. They're really talking about Asian students because it's visible and there's a large population of them."

"We get a significant amount of Chinese international students because we have a faculty member who works really closely with students from China. Typically those students have really high test scores and then when they get here and get in classes, my question in the faculty meeting has always been 'How are we constructing environments for these students to be successful?' Because we're not. So yeah, it's real cute that you want to recruit Chinese international students here but then they get here and they need things in order for them to be successful and we aren't providing them and so I think that's really problematic," Kathleen said.

"[Back to your question, there is a] piece around almost providing a cash cow to the university I really do see it in that role. I don't think it has to be that way, but again we do only really recruit students from certain regions of the world and usually those are

students that are not coming from low resource contexts so whether they come from a privileged background in their family or whether they come from a country with higher levels of resources more in general that's where we were just tending to see students come from," Roger said.

"It's constantly 'Oh, you do international work, that's so great, that's so great.' And so the push is really for internationalization, not so much for diversifying our curriculum or things like that. You can actually get money to be more inclusive of an international perspective in your courses. There isn't a fund to say get books or resources so you can actually talk more about the history or the racial and ethnic problem or perspectives that we have in the United States and stuff. So really their focus when they talk about diversifying, I get the sense it's really more about international issues," Greg said.

"When I think about internationalization I think there is typically very capitalist market-driven way that we are using international students, like bodies to fill" Amber said.

"So you definitely see international student recruitment as not meeting diversity goals, but rather providing a 'cash cow' to the university. Interesting. Does anybody else concur with Kathleen's earlier point about universities not providing support for students?"

"Like they could be qualified to enter doctoral programs but there are obvious language barriers. And it's like how do we move this person through and gain better language skills? And it's a different type of diversity, which some people worry about,

because they think we're not equipped, because of the language barrier. And that's where I see diversity come up most in [admissions] conversations. And it can be uncomfortable because the things that aren't being said about other groups. Like I'm very conscious about how people talk about international students," Amber added.

"[Just to add], I think conversations that myself and other colleagues have continued to bring up that many ways have gone ignored are around class climate. Um, so a lot of the doc students are coming with high TOEFL (Test of English as a Foreign Language) scores, and when they get into the classroom there's a lot of low conversational English proficiency and so a number of faculty members have been like 'Okay so we're not really sure what, ya know, what's happening?' We're not really sure about the learning environment about the community – the learning communities that are or are not being built in the classroom spaces and we haven't as a faculty had conversations about our role in creating those spaces. And um, our role in acknowledging that people are coming from all over the world and how do you build learning communities where – that all the knowledge that people are bringing to the space is valued. And so in the admissions process, these are the conversations that we're having particularly around international students. Not even to mention the stereotyping and all of that kind of stuff so..." Kathleen said.

"I think, ya know, institutions do a lot around international student recruitment, but ya know, really not very much at all around their engagement, success, or persistence which I think goes back to the whole interest convergence piece," Jennifer added.

"I'm hearing that you feel that universities are counting international students in their diversity numbers, while at the same time doing poor jobs at supporting these students, but also receiving additional benefits such as funding for their enrollment. So there is certainly a social justice component that is not being met. As you said, there is an interest convergence component. And also that a lot of students are coming from just a few countries," said Carolina.

"I agree that the influx of Chinese students has complicated issues, and possibly definitions, of diversity. Chinese students are not adequately supported, but there seems to be an administrative response to that need, whereas students of color and other underrepresented groups have had unmet needs much longer," Amber said."

"There is a tension there," added Jennifer.

"Great. So how does that play out in admissions?" asked Carolina.

"We interview people that we're on the fence about. If it's an obvious 'yes' it's a 'yes.' If it's an unanimous 'no' they don't get an interview. And with this [one] guy I think almost everybody said no, but my chair insisted. And I'm glad she did. I thought it was like a weird conversation [that we might reject an international student without giving them a chance to interview] that you wouldn't have about another group of students," said Amber.

"The writing issue has come up in our admissions decisions. Do all international students write well? They need support, sometimes a lot of support. But we admit them with poor writing skills," Kathleen said. "In the admissions process a lot of what we're seeing is do we have articulation agreements with certain universities in China, so most

students are coming from these particular institutions, there also seems to be this sense of like an automatic admission for them."

"There seems to be some conversation happening then," suggest Carolina.

"We have international doctoral students from two places, China and Indonesia, which there was a conversation at one point like 'So did anybody ever think about the fact that like China and Indonesia there's some issues between these two places?' And we're bringing students and not really talking about like sort of what kind of environment we wanna make it and how we wanna help build community with some of that going on?" Roger said.

"Ok, so there is maybe not enough conversation happening then!" Carolina quipped.

Two waiters balanced plates of food on their arms and approached the table.

"Pad Thai?"

"Chicken picatta. With mashed potatoes."

The food roll call continued until each person had a plate in front of them. Forks and knives clinked against the plates in between guttural sounds of approval. Carolina raised her dewy water glass and took a sip. Taking a longer than normal gulp, she swallowed audibly.

"I'm having a really great time with you all today. It's nice to re-engage with faculty and particularly with faculty from other universities. I think it's important to be able to build these communities across the country. Hopefully you all will get an opportunity to keep in touch with each other as well."

Greg turned to Amber, let out a friendly smile, and said, "Let's eat,"

…

The conversation after lunch turned less academic and more social as faculty discussed playoff games, summer vacation plans, and upcoming 5K runs. The group descended on the lobby of the hotel and each person cordially shook the others' hands. Carolina shook each person's hand, gently placing her left hand on the other person's left bicep and tenderly squeezing.

"Thank you for being you. Best of luck," she repeatedly added at the end of her individual niceties.

As the group dispersed, some heading to the elevator, some to the coffee bar, Carolina glided toward a small alcove area adjacent to the registration desk. She placed her briefcase onto the modern block side table and plopped heavily into the oversized plush faux-leather chair, sinking deeply into the seat.

She heavily moved her arm onto her briefcase, using the table to leverage herself out of the chair just enough to sit up straight. She unbuckled the clasp and withdrew a small leather bound journal, worn from many years of use. Locating the red ribbon marking a particular page, she flipped open the book and flung the ribbon out the top of the journal. Pulling a pen out of her briefcase, she depressed the tip and put pen to paper.

What a day. Such a great group of faculty members doing some really good work all over the country. Glad they are talking about these issues on their campuses. Hopefully this workshop has given them a little bit more to think about as they go back

and they feel the agency to make some changes whether now, or later on in their careers. They give me energy.

We talked about a lot today. When we looked at the diversity and mission statements we seemed to land on three main themes. First, we discussed the neoliberal project's presence in institutional mission. Then, we discussed globalization's influence on institutional mission. And finally, the university's stated commitment to diversity.

The conversation around the broader admissions environment bore some themes that I'm not sure I was expecting. Sometimes you hear things that you weren't expecting, but are important to discuss. First, we talked about the university administration's responses to critical community incidences and the effects on the recruitment of diverse graduate students and then we discussed globalization's effect on institutional definitions of diversity and their reactions to those expanding definitions.

Throughout, I recognized a lot of conflict. Or tensions. Faculty want students of color to enter doctoral programs, but are not sure if their campuses are always the most inclusive places for them to learn leading them to take additional steps in the recruitment process. The signals that university administrations send to their communities directly affect the way that faculty of color conduct their day-to-day work. There is a potential to miss out on having diverse graduate students enroll at universities when there are spaces that are not deemed as safe. University administrations on their campuses are seeing themselves as detached from their communities in these instances. Even though communities call for certain levels of response (both communities as those within university and those from beyond the boundaries of the campus), administrators are not

engaging in those conversations. The engagement also does not need to be only around major incidences, but even a university's Martin Luther King, Jr. day celebrations send certain signals to faculty about the valuation of diversity on their campuses. These actions or inactions are intertwined with a neoliberal market logic that aims to protect an elite class and disenfranchise marginalized populations for the sake of profitability and maintaining White supremacy. I'll write more on this discussion later.

Related to international students, faculty also want these international students to come to campus, but there is a recognition that they are being recruited for reasons that are less than altruistic and their campuses aren't supporting these students appropriately. The unsafe environments discussed in the first conversation do not only apply to domestic students of color, but to all students of color, including international students. Once again, we see both community and market logics interplaying. Communities are calling for a supporting of the domestic student of color, a historical project of continued importance. This neo-racism, as some have called it, is a continuing project that intersects not only race, a construct that is grounded in U.S. history and extends it to those coming from other countries. We've seen it before around post-September 11th hatred of Muslim communities and others who look as though they are from the Middle East. This neo-racism is showing up on our college campuses. At the same time, university administrations are expanding their communities beyond a geographically bound area, particularly into other countries through recruitment activities, on-line programs, study abroad, and international satellite campuses. These actions rely on a neoliberal market logic that is predicated on globalization, domination,

colonialism, and United States educational elitism to draw international students,

particularly those from Asian countries with "less elite" educational systems to the U.S.

There is also this interesting idea of fetishism or exoticism playing out as discussed by

Greg. In his experience, we see a commodification of bodies and experiences that lends

itself directly to neoliberal actions as university administrators place these "diverse"

faces and bodies on catalogs, websites, and other materials to say "we are diverse.

Come be diverse with us." There is an advantage to be gained from this action. Faculty

spoke about the money that international students bring to campuses because they often

do pay full price. This is partially true; but international students also bring prestige,

rankings, and are likely to graduate. Universities can say spend less money on

international students, while maintaining acceptable levels of diversity, and gaining more

prestige. This is the interest convergence being spoken of.

> *Throughout there is certainly a centering of student experiences in the decision-*
> *making. I think part of it comes from these faculty members' own experiences. On the*
> *walk back Jennifer said to me:*

>> *It absolutely has everything to do with the fact that I am a first generation college*
>> *student that I am the first in the entire history of my family to have a PhD and I*
>> *also think with a master's program…my hope is that I bring out the best in the*
>> *student, to do whatever it is they want to do.*

I'm interested in continuing to explore these topics and their implications for universities.

There are some studies that I think can come from these conversations. Lots to think

about. The work continues.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

Previous research on faculty decision-making noted that faculty are influenced by "individual proclivities, and by various facets of their identity and their intellectual and social trajectories" (Lamont, 2009, p. 58). This study set out to determine if, in addition to those individual factors, faculty are also influenced by their organizational context and the norms, values, and behaviors (i.e., logics) of their institutions (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012). Particularly of interest are the decision-making processes of faculty of color and how they perceive diversity, equity, and justice in the graduate admissions process. As discussed in Chapter 2, faculty are influenced by discipline logics, various homophilies, epistemology, and by standardized measures of excellence (e.g., GRE, GPA; Posselt, 2014). However, the research is limited and none specifically focused on faculty of color. This study aimed to fill that gap.

Faculty of color are of interest because it was hypothesized that faculty of color utilized racial homophile in the admissions process due to their interest in mentoring racialized others (Fries-Britt & Kelly, 2004; Rogers & Molina, 2006) and may have experienced negative institutional climates as graduate students or faculty members leading them to have a unique perspective on the educational experience at their university (Aguire, 2000; Ahmed, 2012; Gildersleeve, Croom, & Vasquez, 2011; Griffin, Muniz, & Espinosa, 2012; Poon & Hune, 2009). This conglomeration of perspectives

could provide insight into an important aspect of the university that is understudied, yet

vitally important – admissions in doctoral education (Bowen & Rudenstine, 1992; Holley

& Joseph, 2013). Examining admissions processes and outcomes is one way to assess

how diversity is valued at a university. University leaders should aim to support diverse

campus communities (e.g., students, faculty, staff) in order to create dynamically diverse

campuses that promote inclusion and equity across a variety of levels (Garces &

Jayakumar, 2014).

Utilizing a critical race institutional logic perspective, I sought to understand how

faculty of color were influenced by their institutional context and how those experiences

affected the way that faculty made decisions in the doctoral admissions process. As

disciplines are idiosyncratic (Posselt, 2013a), I examined higher education and student

affairs programs. The research questions guiding this study were:

1. How, if at all, do institutional logics influence how faculty of color understand

    diversity, equity, and justice in Higher Education and Student Affairs doctoral

    admissions processes?

    a. How do faculty of color navigate those logics and their multiple intersecting

        identities, values, beliefs, and experiences when discussing diversity, equity,

        and justice?

    b. How do faculty of color find support when discussing diversity, equity, and

        justice in the doctoral admissions process?

I conducted semi-structured interviews and focus groups with fourteen faculty of color in

doctoral degree granting predominately White institutions in the United States as well as

a critical discourse analysis of diversity and mission statements. Thirteen of the faculty were untenured and one was newly tenured. In the next section I discuss the findings of the study in relation to the literature and in connection to conceptual framework. The implications, limitations, and future research opportunities are then presented. A reflective conclusion ends the chapter.

Discussion

What became clear throughout this study is that faculty of color are influenced by their institutional logics in very specific and important ways that have direct implications for how diversity, equity, and justice are understood and cultivated on predominantly White campuses and in higher education and student affairs programs. Faculty of color who are untenured or newer to their positions also felt restricted in their ability to utilize their agency in advocating for students from diverse backgrounds because of the faculty member's race and/or tenure status. They anticipated a resistance to their identities and ideas, but at the same time, resisted those dominations by modifying the way they interacted with their peers. Faculty were attracted to students similar to themselves racially and epistemologically and considered race at all points during the admissions process. Faculty in this study also believed that neoliberal practices and its inherent tie to globalization was shifting the way that diversity was understood on college campuses. Specifically, they believed that university administrators are conflating international students of color with domestic students of color and moving institutional missions away from focusing on a greater inclusion of domestic students. Last, faculty received specific messages about how diversity, equity, and justice were understood on their campuses

based on how administrators responded to critical cultural incidences. This messaging influenced the way that faculty recruited students of color. Ultimately, this study reveals expanded understandings of diversity, equity, and justice in doctoral admissions and gives voice to faculty of color in that process.

The admissions decision. Faculty of color in this study departed from the current narrative of faculty decision-making in doctoral education (Posselt, 2013a) in two important ways. First, faculty of color considered applicant diversity immediately and at all times throughout the process. Secondly, faculty did not consider the Graduate Record Exam (GRE) or other standardized measures of success valid indicators of quality or excellence. These are separate yet intertwining concepts. These two considerations highlight the ways that faculty of color have been marginalized due to their own negative experiences around standardized measures of success and the importance of social identity, particularly race and class (Steele, 1995, 1997), in the everyday life of the faculty member. Faculty of color also are attracted to students who share similar racial identity, backgrounds, and epistemologies. At the same time, they often feel restricted in their ability to fully engage with their faculty peers around issues of diversity, equity, and justice; however, they find ways to resist those restrictions by modifying their behaviors.

All participants noted racial saliency first in each of their interviews and described that saliency in the context of their university's predominant whiteness (Quaye, 2013). This saliency of race, in combination with gender, sexual orientation, and perceived age combined to support an intersectional portrait of the faculty of color experience and its influence on the admissions process. In these ways, faculty show up in their race as they

advocate for students of color (Ahmed, 2012). As a color-blind racial theoretical mindset overtakes society and education (Bonilla-Silva, 2009), faculty centralized the experiences of people of color in their admissions discussions. By de-centralizing whiteness, faculty of color challenged the tenants of color-blind racism and neoliberalism (Harvey, 2005) that they believed their universities functioned under in their espoused and lived missions.

Color-blind ideology is a "collective expression of White dominance" (Bonilla-Silva & Dietrich, 2011, p. 192) that normalizes incorrect stereotypes about people of color, namely Black people, in order to erase racialized history and experience. Through the tenant of *abstract liberalism,* one of the color-blind ideological frames, a free-market mindset allows "reasonable" people to make arguments against affirmative action and other equity-based programs by arguing that they are "a violation of the norm of equal opportunity" (Bonilla-Silva & Dietrich, 2011, p. 192). Ultimately, people who utilize this frame believe that all people should have the same opportunity to be successful and that discrimination and other forms of marginalization do not exist. Purveyors of this ideology also argue that because they do not feel discrimination or see discrimination in their own everyday life, it does not exist for others. This mindset mirrors the free-market practices inherent in neoliberal theory thereby bolstering an anti-equity-based mindset.

In order to challenge these tenants, faculty of color engaged in a process of anticipated resistance during their graduate admissions processes. This meant that faculty expected to be challenged by their peers, and prepared for it. Faculty prepared to make arguments for students they wanted to admit and around the concerns for which they felt

strongly. The students whom faculty argued most for were namely students of color and students who were interested in exploring issues of equity. They felt this resistance both in the admissions process by faculty in their programs.

As a result, faculty members modified their language and behaviors to ensure that they protected themselves from enhanced scrutiny from tenured faculty and others with dominant identities. The practice of asking questions came up in multiple faculty interviews. I reflect on this practice as two-fold: an act of survival and an act of resistance. As an act of survival, faculty asked questions to be seen as civil or collegial with their peers (Haag, 2005). There is continued worry that not fitting into their department's historical culture will affect their tenure process. Questioning, rather than assertively stating issues, is one way they engaged in the matters of the department without being seen as being out of line with the dominant, normative behaviors of being an untenured faculty member. Technologies and resistance are discussed in a subsequent section.

Faculty internally challenged dominant narrative of educational excellence through their explicit rejection of the GRE as a gauge of doctoral readiness. The racialized experience of faculty members, race's connection to capital accumulation, and race's relation to educational exclusion prompted faculty to generally disregard the GRE, and to a lesser extent the GPA. In Posselt's (2013a) study, she found that faculty defaulted to GRE scores to evaluate merit for reasons that the high GRE scores provide access to elite intellectual communities, high GRE scores may help protect faculty from admitting students who cannot perform, and it is a convenient metric. She then found

that faculty considered diversity only after that merit-based "first cut." Final diversity-related decisions were based on faculty feeling an obligation to diversity, intellectual and financial opportunity, and to compete with other programs. In the first cut, merit is at odds with diversity, and only after a certain standard is met, does diversity become integrated into discussions of merit.

Even though it is well researched that the GRE does little to predict student success beyond the first year of graduate school the tests continue to be highly utilized in graduate admissions (Attiyeh & Attiyeh, 1997; Freely, William, & Wise, 2005; Kuncel, Hezlett, & Ones, 2001; Kuncel et al., 2010) faculty in this study challenged the current narrative by only considering the GRE score when a) they knew that other faculty would challenge them, b) they had to consider students for fellowships/assistantships, and c) there were graduate school minimums. Even in this last case, faculty often noted that they would be willing to write a letter of support to the graduate school for students of color who did not meet the minimum GRE requirement if there was other evidence that a student would be successful in the program (e.g., letters of recommendation). The GRE was not used as an initial cut off for the faculty interviewed and was more seen as a procedural hurdle. This is not to suggest that faculty of color do not look at GRE scores at all, but the faculty who I interviewed were very clear that they did not support the GRE as a valid measure of success. Some of this aversion stemmed from personal experience with doing poorly on the GRE and now feeling that they survived and are succeeding as faculty members. Others referenced research that discounted the validity of the test as a way to measure merit (Guinier, 2015). Faculty are clearly concerned with the levels of

capital that students of color and other underrepresented groups may have gained throughout their previous educational experiences and therefore the amount of support that they had regarding test preparation and success on these measures (Bell, Rowan-Kenyon, & Perna, 2009; Engberg & Gilbert, 2013; Perna & Kurban, 2013; Yosso, 2005). As faculty of color, and previously students of color, there is a certain experience that each participant brings to the admissions process that provides additional context for understanding the applicants. The color-blind tenant of abstract liberalism is challenged through these actions (Bonilla-Silva, 2009). Faculty vehemently disregard that theory as it relates to the GRE and make it very clear that even though their schools request the test, that they will not use it in admissions considerations.

Faculty in this study mainly identified as critical, post-modern, constructivist, feminist and/or queer scholars whose epistemology supported a more complex understanding of systems of oppression, diversity, equity, and justice and the ways that standardized tests have been created and utilized to maintain White supremacy in higher education (Guinier, 2015; Levinson, Gross, Link, & Hanks, 2011). No faculty considered themselves positivists. These critical and constructive perspectives help faculty to recognize various forms of capital and the ways that society marginalizes racial minorities and constricts the forms of capital attainment that are valued in higher education (Perna & Kurban, 2013; Perna &Swail, 2001; Yosso, 2005). Posselt (2013a) found that some faculty will only consider bringing diverse students to campus when they are seen as the least amount of risk. This is in contrast to the all of the faculty in this group, but was significantly different from one faculty member in particular who was

willing to take those risks even for a student who did not have a Master's degree,

generally a pre-requisite for obtaining a doctoral degree in HESA. Just as social identity

is salient for the faculty in this study and drives their research and actions, considerations

of social identity also trumps the measures of success that, if not considered to be up to a

particular standard, may reflect negatively on a student applicant, namely GRE or GPA

(Liu, 2011). These actions seem to align closely with a set of values that were not

aligned the normative behaviors of their fields, particularly for this one faculty member

(Weber, 2009).

Conversely to how the GRE was not considered throughout the process, diversity

was considered throughout the entire process. Certainly race played a role in the

dismissal of the GRE, but diversity broadly helped faculty to feel connection to students

and identify potential collaborations. Some faculty were given only race and gender

statistics initially, but read for the student's implicit and explicit diverse identities in

reading letters of recommendation, a tool that some faculty in Posselt's (2013a) study did

not utilize. Faculty partially felt a common connection with other people of color, but

also believed that students who were like them (i.e., came from similar backgrounds)

would also be the students who wanted to do the type of work that they did (i.e., work on

race, gender, equity) or work that may not fit into normative ideas of scholarship (e.g.,

trans*). As Holvino (2010) noted, faculty will engage with logics and employ them in

different ways particularly when they identify with multiple identities. So this variety of

attraction is not surprising. Faculty felt a duty to seek out those students and to bring to

the forefront those student's identities rather than have those identities be "managed"

(Ahmed, 2012), assessed for "risk" (Posselt, 2013a), or whitewashed (Bonilla-Silva, 2009) thereby challenging the logics of their fields that privilege standardized measures of success. Once again, reasoning related to providing diverse students with important forms of capital emerged as important for these faculty members. Mentorship, students with similar backgrounds, and identifying students who have related or non-normative research topics pushed faculty of color to dismiss the GRE and to privilege identity.

Aside from examining race and diversity throughout the entire admissions process, faculty sought out students who shared a racial homophile with them. That is, faculty who identified as Black sought students who were Black. Asian American faculty sought students who were Asian American. However, these were not exclusive determinants of interest for the faculty as they generally had very complex notions of identity and the experiences of people of color generally. Faculty were eager to talk about students who "looked like them," but were just as eager to support all students of color who were doing work informed by critical worldviews, would forward the profession, and had a unique viewpoint. At least two faculty members mentioned that they would support White allies who were critically minded and focused their work on issues of power and oppression; but if those students did not explicitly state terms such as "equity," "inclusion," or "oppression," that they would not consider those students and noted that there were other programs for those students to apply to instead. Faculty would rather work with students who had critical epistemologies over those who did not have those worldviews.

Lastly, four participants did believe that their presence in the program contributed to their applicant pools being significantly more diverse. Based on the number of faculty of color in the program and the issues they were studying, faculty made a direct correlation to the applicant pool. This made their selection process easier in the fact that they had choice in their student body and were not constantly yearning to recruit more students of color.

In relation to the research question, the institutional logics of the participant's universities were guided by neoliberal and color-blind theories which stood in contrast to the faculty members' understandings of diversity, equity, and justice as being representative of a variety of identities, understanding of past imbalances, and actionable toward a public good. Their universities sought to encourage meritocratic measures of success such as the GRE that are contingent on applicants having access to specific forms of capital. Additionally, these logics were also believed to be in contrast to their universities' espoused values through diversity and mission statements, meaning that the values of the university (e.g., supportive of diversity) were in conflict with the practices (e.g., requiring standardized measures of success). The contrasting value and practice components of institutions are a well-documented tenant of neoliberalism (Harvey, 2005).

Ultimately, faculty of color in this study challenged dominant ideas of academic excellence (i.e., GRE) and neoliberal and color-blind theoretical logics around liberalism in ways that supported diverse student acceptance during the admissions process. The faculty members' reaction to those logics was clearly in resistance to them. By not

allowing race and other identities to be disregarded in the admissions conversations, faculty of color centered the experiences of racialized students and embedded those discussions within their own experiences as people of color. This solidarity with future scholars and practitioners in their field also uplifted students who held critical worldviews, similar research agendas which focused on issues of equity, and who may have lacked certain forms of capital that generally support student admission into graduate programs. This support extended to predominantly domestic students of color whom faculty hoped to uplift, but also influenced the way faculty understood international student admissions.

      International student of color conflation with domestic students. Faculty of color resisted very specific logics around student of color admission during the admissions process that conflated domestic students of color with international students of color, a theme explored in this section. Since WWII, universities have expanded their global footprint, and the United States has solidified itself as the premier country of study for doctoral students from around the world (Lee & Rice, 2007; Rhoads & Liu, 2008). As one participant noted, "The international piece is a big push" and reflects an institutional reframing of diversity that conflates international students of color with domestic students of color. This institutional logic field-level shift supports a neoliberal project of capital gain, minority community dissolution, prestige increase, and global expansion.

      Rhoads and Liu (2008) noted, "Concerns about town-and-gown relationships are now matched, or more likely exceeded, by transnational and multinational forces acting

through complex and interconnected networks and associations" (p. 273). The faculty in this study highlighted a point of intersection and conflict between multiple orders – community (e.g., town and gown; Marquis, Lounsbury, & Greenwood, 2012) and market orders (i.e., neoliberalism; Harvey, 2005). Marquis, Lounsbury, and Greenwood (2012) described newer understandings of "community" that include both geographically-bound local communities and international communities that now exist because universities have expanded their global footprint through satellite campuses, study abroad, international admissions recruitment, among other activities. Historically, a community-based logic supported an increase in domestic students of color as a way to remedy past discrepancies in campus representation, to support integration, and to create a more equitable, socially just society (Milem, 2003). As market logics have crept into higher education since the mid-1970's (Giroux, 2015; Harvey, 2005), the community has become less localized and more transnational and "universities shifted from their social institution character to their industry form to cope with attacks on their legitimacy" (Rhoads & Liu, 2008, p. 296).

The global domination project is supported by neoliberal practices that push university leaders to identify new streams of revenue and increased markers of prestige by expanding their global reach and recruiting and admitting international students, particularly those students from Asian countries such as China and India, and South American countries like Brazil (Altbach & Knight, 2007; Council of Graduate Schools [CGS], 2014). Students from these countries come to campus with more wealth and are able to pay tuition, fees, and other costs of attendance (Rhoads & Liu, 2008).

International students require less institutional financial support, are productive in ways that support an academic capitalism regime (e.g., patents, adjunct teaching; Chellaraj, Maskus, & Mattoo, 2008; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004), increase diversity (both visual and otherwise), and as a result positively impact rankings and institutional prestige. Ultimately, universities increase their profit margins, even at nonprofit universities (Altbach & Knight, 2007).

Faculty in this study are particularly attuned to this continuing shift and engagement in market logics and the fact that their university leadership is engaging in a practice of interest convergence (Bell, 1980) and public deception, or "myth" as one participant called it, in conflating statistics on international students of color with domestic students of color. This rhetoric has the implication of shifting the narrative of diversity discourse away from remedying historical representation and equity work for domestic students of color. In an interest convergence argument (Figure 6.1), university leaders can invest little aid in international students, meet or exceed diversity measures, and increase prestige whereas there is much more financial investment in domestic students of color, with similar gain in levels of diversity, and less prestige (from an academic capitalism perspective) along with less academic gains in graduation and persistence rates as compared to domestic White students. While faculty noted that they fully supported the admissions of international students, they did not want the admissions of international students to take away from the admission of domestic students of color.

Faculty of color also challenged the idea of international and domestic student conflation because university administrators can utilize visually diverse student faces to

present an image of dynamic diversity without truly attending to a U.S. historicity or

actually having campuses that are structurally diverse broadly (Osei-Kofi, Torres, & Liu,

2012). Diversity is addressed regularly in viewbooks and on institutional websites, yet

diversity is not defined and is often only "celebrated" (Hartley & Morphew, 2008).

These institutional behaviors speak to the fetishization of people of color and the

commodification of their bodies particularly toward a specific capitalistic goal (i.e.,

enrollment) in the admissions context. Osei-Kofi, Torres, and Liu (2012) wrote,

"Diversity is often welcomed only when it inhabits certain spaces or performs in certain

ways…when institutions challenge the commercialization of education…the

informational materials they produce for prospective students will look very different" (p.

403). Scholars have noted shifts from realistic portrayals of university life to more

idealistic and aspirational versions through recruitment materials. Regarding diversity,

the idealistic version often centers whiteness, dismisses institutional and cultural history,

and does not reflect an accurate portrayal of campus life or student body (Hartley &

Morphew, 2008; Osei-Kofi, Torres, & Liu, 2012).

　　　　Lastly, faculty of color challenge the increasing internationalization of doctoral

education for the sake of diversity because they believe that universities are not situated

to support international student learning and language challenges. There is also concern

that some faculty do not have a significant understanding of global issues that may affect

student inter-relationships. The neoliberal project fuels a secondary outcome as a result

of the commodification of international students of color called neo-racism, or racism

stemming from national origin (Lee & Rice, 2007). Lee and Rice (2007) argued that neo-

racism may affect the types of student services provided to international students and may result in a rejection of admission, both examples that faculty in this study recognized. Lee and Rice wrote, "many support services at [international students'] U.S. institution, including admission, registration, residence life, and dining do not well accommodate international students despite the greater needs such students have as compared to native students" (p. 386). Faculty of color understand their own experiences of marginalization and recognize the potentialities of marginalization for international students. This marginalization stems from some international students' lack of capital, particularly those associated with navigational, linguistic, and social (Yosso, 2005) stemming from poor student services, general cultural adaptation, and a normative understanding of excellence situated within a majoritarian White supremacist context (Lee & Rice, 2007). Faculty of color are concerned with the student experience of international students, how they and their faculty peers can support international students, and lack of support services for those students. Even though Posselt (2013a) found that faculty at elite institutions do believe that international students are important to include in institutional definitions of diversity, many of those faculty were from international communities themselves, and few spoke to the concerns associated with the admission of those students. She argued for more research on this conflation and this study provides nuance for this continued discussion.
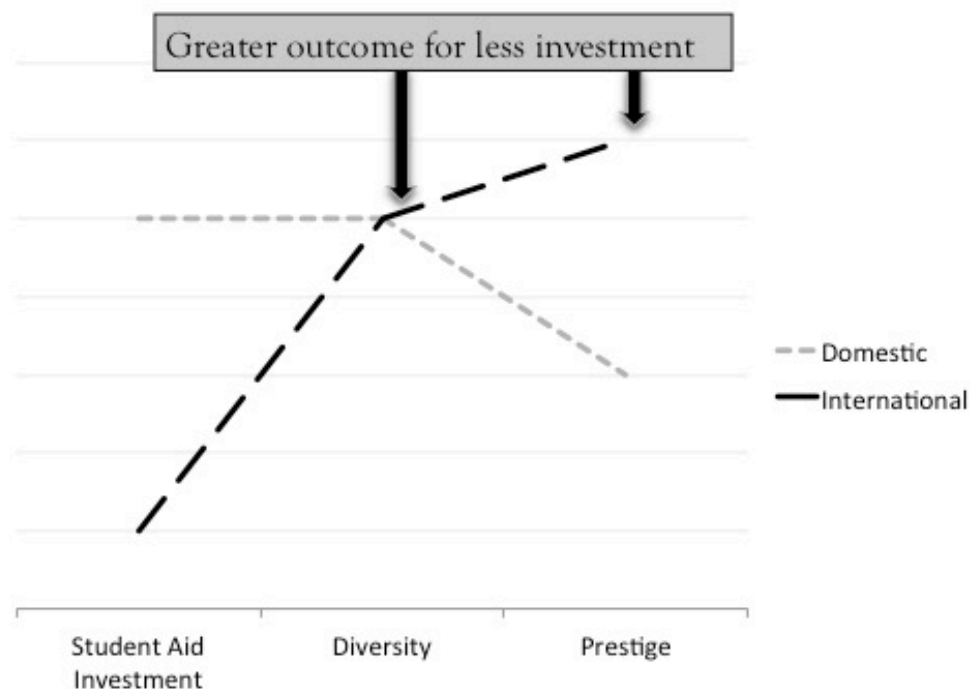
Figure 2. Interest convergence in international doctoral education

This finding gives nuance and expands upon the conversation around a growing

issue on college campuses and within graduate education. Through this finding there are

clear market-based logics, situated within neoliberal theory, that define diversity in very

broad terms (e.g., including international students in diversity) and challenges historically

based community logics (e.g., domestic racial equity). In a way, diversity and equity are

at odds. As stated previously, neoliberal theory tends to be contradictory. Faculty of

color, who have lived racialized experiences, understand the opportunity for systemic

oppressions and marginalization to affect the international student community and resist

those institutional logics. While faculty did not often verbalize their resistance to this

shifting narrative, they were very aware of the acute problems embedded within this

conflation of identities on college campuses. When they did challenge the logic, it seemed to stem from a student development and success paradigm where faculty were concerned with a student's ability to communicate and interact with peers and faculty. Although faculty did not always verbalize a discontent with the ways that international students were treated in the admissions process, there was a paradigm shift that warranted their attention and a clear attention to the shift in their campus' institutional logics.

Institutional responses to community cultural incidences. Shifting understandings of logics also played a role in understanding how universities were connected to and a part of their communities. Communities are broadly defined by Marquis, Loundsbury, and Greenwood (2011) as both those that are connected through technology and extension (e.g., campuses abroad, online education) and those bounded geographically (e.g., town-gown). Communities can also be groups of people that share identities, values, activities or other commonalities and be based in one of those organizing structures. Campus leaders of universities that are founded on principles of serving a public good mission and guided by public good values (Kezar, Chambers, & Burkhardt, 2005) should respond to community incidences in ways that are appropriate to the scope of the matter. Faculty of color in this study believed that institutions should be reactionary as well. Community institutional orders and logics provide a source of meaning and influence the behavior of institutions and thereby their members (Marquis, Loundsbury, & Greenwood, 2011). Faculty of color noted that the ways that their institutions responded to critical cultural incidences, particularly racial incidences, had direct effects on the way that they understood their institution's values concerning

diversity, equity, and justice. For instance, faculty noted a delay in the timing that emails were sent out in response to major incidences. They also noted lack of responses and what that meant for the way they understood their university's values. Also, faculty who interacted with other faculty around event planning provided insight into the ways that responses toward incidences required top-down approval to be seen as valid within the university context. In turn, that understanding affected the way that faculty recruited students of color and other minority students to their campuses and resisted their campus' institutional logics.

It has become clear broadly and to these faculty that the relationship between institutions and the community have changed partially due to neoliberal logics' creep into higher education (Kymlicka, 2013). Kymlicka (2013) noted that neoliberalism has "reshaped the structure of social relationships, including relationships to the family, workplace, neighborhood, and civil society. It may have even reshaped people's subjectivities – their sense of self, their sense of agency, and their identities and solidarity" (p. 99). As actors of the neoliberal state, universities are removed from the social events that shape the community and that are at the core of a racialized experience. Therefore, when police brutality, killing of Black bodies, or disregard for major national holidays celebrating Black figures occur, according to faculty in this study, university leaders do not see themselves as responsible for responding to those matters for fear of losing funding, or being at the ire of conservative White elites (e.g., Board of Directors, donors) and others that seek to maintain White supremacy. Indeed, neoliberals do not encourage, and even physically attack, any actor that concerns itself in matters of the

social good over financial solvency (Harvey, 2005) unless one supports the others progress toward its groups broader goals (Bell, 1980; Kymlicka, 2013).

Although neoliberalism has a hold on university culture, Lamont, Welburn, and Fleming (2013) argued that there is a social resilience to those engaged in a neoliberal project and that includes one that is solidly based in communities of color, or ethnic communities, that utilize their social capital to collectively act in order to support each other (Kymlicka, 2013). Faculty of color engaged in this social resilience against what Foucault (1997) called technologies of domination. When universities fail to respond to community incidences they seek to erase the histories and presence of entire groups of people. One technology is that of erasure; however, faculty of color engaged their access to cultural and institutional context and knowledge to build new knowledge, support students, and build resiliency individually and collectively in order to resist against this erasure. In essence, they engaged in a practice of building community cultural wealth for incoming students (Yosso, 2005). Additionally, faculty took it on themselves to challenge White supremacy by building coalitions with allies and also planning speaking engagements and conversation groups that focus on talking about the issues concerning the community at the time. When faculty felt unable to have a voice in those matters, they also helped students (particularly undergraduates) to plan those events.

It should be made clear that faculty of color, new and untenured, felt strongly enough about the lack of response from their campuses that they were willing to take these actions despite lack of protection that tenure provides, which was an absolute value oriented decision that convicted them to act (Weber, 2009). However, tenure only

protects faculty to an extent as there is a continued neoliberal attack on the tenure system that looks to remove faculty and may not protect faculty of color who are deemed "dangerous" or "difficult" particularly when it comes to examining issues of civility and collegiality (Haag, 2005). Foucault (1997) argued that in a panoptic society a person "is seen, but does not see; he [sic] is the object of information, ever the subject in communication" (p. 200). It seems though that due to the loosely coupled nature of the university (Birnbaum, 1988), faculty take it upon themselves to become the "the crowd, a compact mass, a locus of multiple exchanges, individualities merging together, a collective effect" (Foucault, 1997, p. 201) toward changing the campus culture. Faculty in this study became that center in their departments and within like-minded groups of colleagues in order to improve organizations that were supportive of people of color.

Although potentially unintentional, faculty of color then become the campus' "diversity practitioners" (Ahmed, 2012) in order to resist logics that ignored community cultural incidences. Faculty of color have shown to be purveyors of diverse course offerings, diverse curricula, and support students of color in the classroom by reducing isolation and providing mentorship and support in predominantly white spaces (Laden, 1999; Levin, Jaeger, & Haley, 2013; Nettles, 1990; Poon & Hune, 2009; Young & Brooks, 2009). Ahmed (2012) argued that diversity practitioners "do not simply work *at* institutions, they also work *on* them…diversity work is hard because it can involve doing *within* institutions what would not otherwise be done *by* them" (original italics; p. 22). Faculty of color feel a pull to do the work of diversity practitioners in addition to their role as faculty members stemming from their analysis of the institution particularly as

these faculty members have specific insight and knowledge from research in the field (Milem, 2003), national organization standards about the student programming (e.g., CAS, 2006), and personal experience about how institution policies and practices influence the campus climate (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Friedland & Alford, 1991). The labor of neoliberalism intersecting with their racial identity, epistemological worldviews, and personal experience forced faculty of color in this study to engage in work that may be considered exhausting. Greg reiterated this point in his narrative when he talked about working to be a nice Black man. His desire to remain authentic in his identity while challenging the racism in his department provides nuance to the understandings of power within an institutional logics perspective framework. Levinson, Gross, Link, & Hanks (2011) discussed the contemplative nature of instrumental rational decision-making (Weber, 2009) which Greg clearly showed remained a necessary framework for action as he protected both his job security and his personal being. This work of exhaustion was clearly connected to Greg's racialized experience on his college campus that was negatively bolstered by an insufficient reaction to incidences around the killings of Black people by police officers and the lack of attention by others in his program faculty. Other faculty noted similar experiences.

Once again, institutional logics conflicted with the way that faculty understood diversity, equity, and justice on their college campuses and these understandings directly influenced the way that they did the work of graduate admissions. The faculty did not see their universities as supportive of matters of concern to them related to diversity, equity, and justice, particularly that of police killings of Black people in the U.S., and

because of that, they took on the role of being diversity educators for prospective students and their campuses broadly. Faculty both took extra efforts to explain their campus culture to prospective students and took it upon themselves to provide campus programming around diversity matters in order to change that culture. They took these actions in order to challenge the whiteness of their universities and to provide safer spaces for their faculty colleagues of color and current and prospective students. Unfortunately, these actions were seen as taxing to them and required faculty to expend additional energy on "being nice" or acting a their campuses diversity educators, a role they wanted to take on to support prospective students, but an act of resistance they wish did not have to exist.

Technologies of domination and faculty resistance. While I have provided some examples of various forms of technologies of domination and faculty resistance, I would like to take some time to elaborate on a few ways that faculty feel constrained and the ways that they resist these dominations. Faculty of color in this study experienced a few different forms of domination particularly from narratives espoused by their institutions (e.g., globalization, lack of response) and unspoken but felt narratives from their peers around tenure, age, and race. Based on these technologies, they engaged in three forms of resistance: finding allies, asking questions and being pleasant, and creating their own programs.

Half of the participants noted that they were perceived as young and therefore delegitimized as faculty members within their institutions and infantilized at the intersection of race. This age restriction seemed linked to their perceptions of their

ability or inability to act as a result of their untenured status. Even though many did note age as a salient identity, more faculty noted tenure as a particularly restricting force in their ability to take action in the admissions process. For instance, faculty had to make decisions about who they would "go sword" for, a phrase one participant used to describe somebody he would advocate strongly for in the admissions discussion.

As noted earlier, faculty were very specific about racial saliency based on their place in predominantly White institutions. Faculty sometimes felt like they were not seen as civil because they would be the person to always bring up race or issues of equity (Haag, 2005). They received these messages from faculty and students alike. DuBois (2005) asked in *The Souls of Black Folk*, *"how does it feel to be a problem?"* (p. 1). Some faculty in this study believed that they were seen as problems. Ahmed (2012) remarked that diversity practitioners are often seen as problems and are "welcomed *on condition* they return that hospitality by integrating into a common organizational culture, or by 'being' diverse, and allowing institutions to celebrate their diversity" (original italics; p. 43). The struggle between centering their race and being welcomed into the faculty culture was a struggle for these faculty particularly since they felt tokenized while also being expected to be silent.

When it came to these civil and collegial behaviors, faculty had mixed experiences (Stockdill & Danico, 2012). Even though some faculty thought that their campuses overall were tokenizing, isolating, and embedded with whiteness, their programs were overall seen as places where they felt safe, could voice opinion, and have freedom to address concerns. This was stated by three faculty members explicitly.

Although these spaces of resistance existed for the faculty, their programs did not

necessarily insulate them from the broader institutional logics. The other faculty believed

that their interactions with peers were civil and their faculty collegial, they still reported

feeling like they were under a watchful panopticon (Foucault, 1997). In this way, faculty

changed their behaviors and actions to fit the broader programs' narrative scripts of how

to act collegially as to not cause tension. This tension generally forced faculty to engage

in resistant code-switching behaviors (Butin, 2001; Medina & Luna, 2000; Sadao, 2003)

that helped support their ability to survive on their campuses although they may not show

up in ways that are authentic to their being (Avolio & Gardner, 2005).

Faculty who engaged in resistant behaviors usually did so in three specific ways.

First, as Griffin, Pifer, Humphrey, and Hazelwood (2011) found, faculty built networks

both external and internal to their institutions. These allies tended to be White potentially

because faculty felt isolated and not connected to other people of color. They were not

always White, however. Allies were found in both informal and formal ways and utilized

in the admissions process to leverage collective action toward a specific candidate

(Posselt, 2013a). This action was also recognized in Posselt's (2013a) study; however, it

was not utilized for supporting diverse candidates. Faculty of color and their allies

leveraged their support toward bringing in candidates who brought diversity to the

applicant pool. Informal allies were built through chance or unrelated interactions such

as learning about another faculty member's area of study through conversation, or

discussing racial incidences in the community. Formal allies were built when faculty

purposefully set out to "check-in" with other faculty members regarding their thoughts on

a set of candidates. Faculty made sure to be "on the same page" during their meetings as to leverage that support for candidates. Ally behaviors were not generally used to reject candidates and these actions show a more coordinated action regarding ally building than has previously been noted in the literature.

Faculty also regularly noted a change in their language. Faculty were more likely to ask questions rather than make statements when challenging their peers in admissions meetings and in broader discussions around program matters. This softening of language points to an active resistance. Asking questions on the one hand can reinforce the power afforded to those who are tenured over those who are untenured. Being untenured can hinder a faculty member's ability to be fully present and engaged in the action of admitting students to a program particularly when faculty have to "pass" on their identity in order to survive (Jones et al., 2012). When thinking about being able to be authentic within one's self, passing, or de-centering one's identity in order to blend in with a dominant perspective, may be a way that faculty of color resist dominant ideology or survive within hostile environments. Asking a question gives the perception that these untenured faculty of color have less power, knowledge, and expertise by reducing certainty and allowing the other person to easily challenge the validity of the question. In reality, these faculty are providing important context and nuance to admissions decisions in ways that require other faculty to think more deeply about the assumptions they bring to the conversation. As one faculty shared, "I love a good question; cause then I'll get to watch the older faculty stumble on the answer. And I get to sit there like 'mmhmm, yeah I didn't think you could answer that one.'" Salaita (2014) noted civility and collegiality

is "the etiquette of submission." Even though questions may reduce perceived power, faculty believed that this was a sure way to at least begin a discussion around topics such as race without seeming defensive or angry and it required other faculty members to be engaged in the discussion rather than the onus being on a single faculty member (Ahmed, 2012; Smith, 2009).

Lastly, faculty resisted by engaging in their own program building. Only a few faculty engaged in these actions based on interviews, but their behaviors spoke to what Weber (2009) called absolute value action, or action that is so deeply tied to values and beliefs as to not be suppressed. In this case, faculty took social action in collaboration with other faculty and students and resisted the institutional logics that did not allow for a university response to critical cultural incidences. By building a collective group of faculty and students who would hold public group dialogues, meetings, and support each other around talking about community concerns, faculty worked to rewrite the logics of their institutions by diminishing market-based logics and upholding community-based logics. For example, one faculty member took action to hold a dialogue around the issues in Ferguson and was challenged by a faculty peer who questioned if the Chief Diversity Officer was involved in the program. By challenging the narrative that the CDO needed to be involved and creating the program herself, the faculty member redefined a professional institutional order of hierarchy based in a bureaucratic organizational model which dictated to her campus community peers that events related to diversity were only to be held if supported by a CDO (Manning, 2013).

Understanding not only the ways that logics influence faculty of color, but also the ways that they resist the logics that do not align with their values around diversity, equity, and justice is important to lifting and centering the voices of people of color. This section shined light on the ways that faculty navigate institutional logics and found support for discussing diversity, equity and justice in the doctoral admissions process. They took action in three very specific ways. By engaging in network building, they found allies that helped them do the diversity work that they often felt pulled to partake in as people of color and people who cared about equity and justice. Second, they changed their language in order to challenge dominant narratives, while also surviving in potentially unfriendly departments. Lastly, they completed their own diversity programming that they felt the campus was lacking. This section shows the additional work that people of color engage in on a daily basis to both forward their equity-based scholarship and practice and to support themselves as people of color on predominantly White campuses.

Implications

There are several implications that arise from this study. First, this study contributes to multiple bodies of literature. Specifically, this study expands the knowledge base on faculty of color experiences in higher education and, in particular, decision-making. By theoretically examining the experiences of faculty of color through an organizational and individual level theory, there are clear connections between organization action and individual experience.

Experiences of faculty of color have been shown to be wrought with racism, tokenism, and isolation, but less research explores how faculty of color have changed their organizations through acts of resistance. This study provides evidence of the "praxis of diversity" (Ahmed, 2012). Faculty resist for the sake of their own survival in oppressive spaces, and they actively work to change their spaces by challenging whiteness and organizational logics that stand to oppress marginalized groups.

The study of community institutional orders is also relatively new. Based on the findings of this study, there are implications for examining how other community logics may influence other campus constituents. An organizational analysis of campus climate and experience provides a more substantial assessment behind the reasons why faculty make the decisions they do and how to appropriately address matters of concern.

There are many practical implications of this study. As a former student/academic affairs practitioner, a diversity practitioner, and aspiring faculty person of color, providing implications across a wide range of constituents and in meaningful detail is important to me. In the following subsections, I provide those implications.

Increasing institutional capacity for diversity, equity, and justice.

Create non-tenure track faculty research positions with critical worldviews. It has been continually argued that structural diversity is not enough to meet the potential positive outcomes of diversity (Garces & Jayakumar, 2014; Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pederson, & Allen, 1999). At the same time, faculty of color also feel isolated and tokenized in their universities and programs, particularly when critical community incidences occur. With this in mind, there is validity in building visually diverse campus

contexts. While universities are cash-strapped in a neoliberal era, universities can begin

to temporarily increase structural diversity through the creation of non-faculty research

positions for underrepresented groups such as postdoctoral research positions. These

postdoctoral researchers would teach, research, and provide service to the campus

community around issues of diversity, equity, and inclusion as well as act as mentors,

colleagues, and peers to students, faculty, and staff on campus. Clinical faculty positions

may also be a significant boost to increasing structural diversity on campus. Ideally,

these positions would have clear pathways to permanent positions. If organized correctly

the structural diversity of campuses will not be the only thing affected. Appropriately

empowered postdoctoral researchers and clinical faculty also have the opportunity to

engage in important service and mentorship on their campuses that move those campuses

toward dynamic diversity. These people also add to the diversity of course offerings,

curricula, and reduce isolation. Administrators must be intentional about providing clear

scopes of work as to not overburden these people, should provide competitive wages,

professional development, mentorship, and access to important programmatic activities

such as admissions. Findings from this study show that faculty of color utilize critical

masses of peer allies to leverage power in their programs, discuss important cultural

events, and reduce isolation particularly if those peers come to the program with critical

worldviews and concern around matters of race.

Hire faculty of color with critical worldviews. In addition to the many benefits

that are accrued by hiring clinical faculty and post-doctoral researchers, hiring tenure

track faculty of color is an obvious implication because there is an assumed correlation

between the number of faculty of color in a program and the number of students of color who apply to the program. What is apparent from this study is that faculty of color seek out students of color and students with diverse backgrounds across a range of identities. Aside from social identity homophile, faculty of color are attracted to students who have varied worldviews, experiences, identities, and research interests that align with diversity, equity, and justice outcomes. By hiring faculty of color who go on to admit diverse students, there is a possibility of enhancing dynamic diversity on college campuses. Faculty who are able to recruit diverse students and aid in their retention should be rewarded through the funding of research assistantship dollars, research funding, or other appropriate reward structures.

Chief Diversity Officers (CDO). Limited evidence exists that suggests that Chief Diversity Officers (CDO) have significant effect on improving dynamic diversity on campuses as their positions are often isolating, underfunded, and understaffed (Williams & Wade-Golden, 2013). However, one particular example from this study showed that the hiring of Chief Diversity Officers do have influence on college campuses for campus community members. Due to their hierarchical position within the university, CDOs wield a level of power around issues of diversity, equity, and justice that many other members of the community do not. In particular, a CDO may be able to leverage institutional support to react appropriately to community concerns and support faculty members in providing space to discuss topics of importance. Ideally, CDOs also have a grasp of the current research base on diversity and equity work in higher education and can utilize that knowledge and their positional power to support programs and policies

that positively affect student, faculty, and staff concerns (e.g., recruitment, retention,

mentorship) and keep community members accountable to measurable standards.

Name oppression, whiteness, and inequity regularly. Universities must be

explicit in naming the systems of oppression that affect their campus, community, and

constituents. They must move away from *only* using the terms diversity, social justice,

inclusive excellence or other synonyms. Ahmed (2012) wrote, "If diversity becomes

something that is added to organizations, like color, then it confirms the whiteness of

what is already in place" (p. 33). Whiteness is as central to the experience of these

faculty as their own racial identity for the fact that they are surrounded by whiteness and

the persistent investment in it by their colleagues and the university broadly. Ahmed

continued, "Diversity becomes about *changing perceptions of whiteness rather than*

changing the whiteness of organizations" (p. 34). Universities that are complicit in only

naming the things they want (e.g., more Black students) rather than the things that they

do not want, or are so vague in their desired outcomes as to be rendered useless (e.g.,

anti-racist, anti-sexist), leave whiteness, sexism, ableism and other oppressions intact.

When critical incidences occur, there are ideal opportunities for university administrators

to make strong statements about the values of an institution. In diversity and mission

statements, strategic plans, budget decisions, the types of faculty lines and research

centers that are supported, activities organized, scholarships created, policies created or

removed, and myriad other ways, institutions have the opportunity to reshape their

institution's logics as to impress upon their community how the university leadership

wants work to be conducted on a college campus. There are ultimate benefits to

administrators who create campus cultures that support diversity, equity, and justice.

Students aim to attend universities that prove to be diverse entities and support equitable

learning opportunities. Globalization and internationalization of higher education can

become positive conduits of student learning and engagement and provide impetus for

companies to support the campus mission. Equity and cost-saving do not need to be at

odds, yet they do need to be in balance.

Inclusive action by non-minority groups. Faculty of color found allies in their

White peers. These peers were often found by serendipitous event and at the surprise of

the faculty. However, building allies need not be incidental if universities provide spaces

for faculty of color and allies across identity to be in solidarity around issues of inequity.

Unfortunately, White faculty members, particularly if tenured, bring a level of legitimacy

that is not afforded to untenured faculty of color. When White allies engage with faculty

of color their collective action seems to produce positive affects for the goals of faculty

of color regarding admissions. Faculty with majority identities should engage in personal

and professional development that allows them to engage with their identities to

recognize their privileges and the ways that they uphold systems of oppression and

marginalization. Deans of colleges can be proactive in providing those spaces and spaces

for conversations to occur around topics of interest to faculty of color. They can open

those spaces to any faculty who wish to participate. These spaces should not be spaces

where White faculty come solely to learn from faculty of color experiences, but rather

spaces where discussion can take place and action can be planned. Baez (2000) found

that service was an additional venue for faculty of color to resist and survive tenure

issues. These groups can be places where that service is conducted without over-taxing the faculty of color solely. While not only a place to learn, White allies then become more self-aware of their privileges and should help support other faculty members. While race is certainly centralized in this discussion, these spaces can also be spaces to discuss the concerns of people at the intersections of their identities. Importantly, this service should be built into the formal tenure and promotion plans for faculty members in order to incentivize faculty to participate. Ideally, the incentivizing of this service will transform the culture into one where faculty are internally motivated to continue these conversations.

Broad implications. There are broad implications for administrators. First, university policy must be clear around the purpose of international student recruitment and enrollments. The faculty of color who were participants in the study were not anti-international students in doctoral admissions. However, they are not content with the interest convergence taking place that substitutes international students of color with domestic students of color. Administrators must have intentional and educated discussions with enrollment management, budget, and student services officers to create a clear framework for how students are admitted, what purpose they play in the university, and how best to serve them. No students should be considered a commodity to be utilized as pawns for a neoliberal agenda. Administrators must be clear with their intentions. The work of convincing administrators to do this work will not be easy. Rather, it will take intentional one-on-one conversations, data, and student stories to change both the hearts and minds of those who may be resistant to these realities. The

action plan toward this goal is not cookie-cutter and must be determined by a concerned group of faculty, staff, students, and community members at each university; however, recognizing this growing conundrum is an initial first step toward ensuring diversity and equity are not at odds. Supporters of equitable agendas can utilize common core values of leadership and advocates to come to a common understanding of what diversity, equity, and justice looks like on their campuses in order to meet the needs of the university in today's context.

Second, university conceptualizations of campus community need not only include faculty, staff, and students. The faculty of color in this study are clearly concerned with their communities that are based outside of the university. Universities in this study were less concerned with their communities unless it regarding economic development, technology transfer, or global engagement, all potential neoliberal projects. These competing logics created a disconnect between the values of the university and the faculty. In order to fully realize the potential of faculty of color, university administrators would benefit from a reconceptualization of the town-and-gown relationship. Faculty discussed not only events that occurred nationally, but also events that occurred within their universities' town limits. University leaders should be attuned to many types of concerns including, but not exclusive to, enrollment access, access to campus facilities (e.g., library, gym), and research engagement and the ways that they positively and negatively affect and allow entry to or keep out community. There are other physical manifestations of separation between community and university that signal that these are now two separate entities. Those may include campus gates, walls, "marking" campus

property as separate from town property, and security presence. Physical markers and institutional action send logics not only campus actors, but also to community actors. Because universities are major industry players in their communities, their actions hold much power to influence perception of what is valued or not. Universities have much to benefit from local and global understandings of community as it relates to supporting diverse enrollments and equitable policies and practices. For instance, community partnerships with local hospitals lead to campus programs that have deep learning components. City-based campuses can partner with local schools to improve education for students in low resourced areas and ultimately provide pathways for diverse students who are well prepared into the university. Reducing physical barriers to universities also send symbolic messages to local community members that the university is not a place for others, but a place for everybody. This type of rhetorical symbolism is required in order to engage in a new conversation around who is able to attend higher education, who works in higher education, and who the university aims to support. Attending to these sorts of community-based engagements helps to set up and support pathways of success for diverse groups of students who may ultimately apply to doctoral programs. Additionally, students, staff, and others from the community may also help to build stronger relationships with the city broadly and also attend to engaging campuses in building dynamic diversity.

Lastly, and relatedly, university leaders must also become social advocates on pressing matters affecting their communities thereby engaging in acts of justice. When the Sigma Alpha Epsilon fraternity at the University of Oklahoma was caught singing

racial epithets on a bus, university President David Boren issued what some considered a strong condemnation of the fraternity and stated, "real Sooners are not bigots. Real Sooners are not racist." Although there was some critique of this response in that Boren suggested that racism did not happen on his campus rather than owning up to White supremacy that did in fact exist, this symbolic act certainly engaged particularly logics within the university that signaled that attention was going to be paid toward diversity efforts. The university and the fraternity's international office soon closed the fraternity. The reaction was but a singular voice in a sea of silent voices and may, in fact, have been motivated by non-altruistic pressure. Either way, universities have a social responsibility to act on the country's most pressing issues. The work they do should reflect the needs of society (Rhoads, 1998). Speech acts are but one way that universities make their values known and help influence public opinion. The ways that universities engage with broader issues, the types of technology that are created, the way their buildings are built, who is involved in decision-making, among other actions signal a broader public good mission based in social justice, one that also supports a diverse and equitable campus environment. Faculty of color specifically, and repeatedly, identified a lack of campus response even as small as an email as a key factor in their determination of a campuses commitment to supporting their humanity as a member of the campus. Speech acts are a minimum requirement for supporting faculty of color.

Institutional logics play a clear role in determining the way that faculty of color understand diversity, equity, and justice on their campuses. Logics determine the ways that processes play out on their campuses and also affects the way that they attend to their

service work, in particular doctoral admissions. There are implications for not attending

to diversity, equity, and justice on college campuses that may negatively influence the

ways that dynamic diversity is achieved or not by way of admissions. Market-based

logics do not resonate with faculty of color particularly if those logics work against the

admission of domestic students of color, or dehumanize international students.

Administrators would benefit from being clear in their admissions standards around

international students and how international student admission affects domestic students

of color admission. Faculty of color believe that the community is an important

component of life and that the university does not exist in a bubble. Administrators

should reconceptualize how they define community in order to include a broader scope of

who is included in community and so that the neighboring community is engaged in

university matters. Redefining the town-gown relationship and responding accordingly

to matters of the community are seen as important roles of the university. The final

section defines some limitations of this study.

Limitations

There are a few limitations to this study. First, to fully engage in a review of the

decision-making processes for faculty of color, a case study methodology and multiple

data point collection may provide a more nuanced account. However, due to the need to

protect the identities of participants, interviews and focus groups were the most

confidential forms of data collection. The need to ensure anonymity also affected the

data presentation style. While this data presentation style is important and supports the

conceptual framework, some specificity may have been lost in the process of combining participant characteristics and experiences.

Although the group of participants was relatively diverse and represented most census-defined racial groups and geographical locations, the majority of participants were women, a demographic representative of the field broadly. Only three men participated and most participants were heterosexual. A broader scope of identities including participants with disabilities and queer-identifying participants may have provided new data about how those identities interlock with one's other marginalized identities to influence the faculty experience.

Ultimately, the trustworthiness of the data was not compromised with this group of participants. The study sought to discover how faculty of color made decisions in the doctoral admissions process and a wide range of experiences were represented. Future research may wish to focus on specific themes or specific identity groups.

Future Research

Graduate education and its component aspects is a greatly understudied area of higher education. This study interrogates one point in the process of graduate study, admissions. Within that broad category of study, it analyzes faculty of color decision-making. There are many additional angles to examine graduate education and faculty of color's role in graduate education, some of which revealed itself unintentionally through this study.

First, there is little evidence that discussions around the balance of international and domestic students of color is occurring on college campuses. While faculty of color

are thinking about the topic, that does not mean that they are acting on these thoughts or that their campus leaders are having these discussions. Much of the current literature out of non-profit organizations focuses on descriptive statistics of international student enrollment. Qualitative case study inquiry may focus on how administrators are discussing this issue and its resultant outcome.

Outcomes of faculty of color engagement in the admissions process is another aspect of the graduate process that is lightly explored in this study. There is no causal relationship between the faculty member's actions and the outcome of the incoming class' demographics. It might be of interest to conduct a survey project to determine if faculty of color presence in programs has a positive relationship with the number of diverse students enrolled in doctoral programs. Currently, there is merely a correlation as noted by the faculty themselves.

A complementing study may examine the college choice processes of students of color into doctoral programs. Faculty of color can control specific factors that doctoral students then sort through to ultimately make decisions about their enrollment. In the end, students do have power in the relationship to make decisions that best suit their needs and desires. While there are many best practice research studies, there is little empirical evidence that explores what students of color seek out in doctoral programs.

Although this study specifically looks at diversity, equity, and justice, the theoretical and methodological views utilized in this study allow for the analysis of institutional influence on a variety of social actors including people with disabilities, women, queer-identified people, and others. Because this study revealed that institutional

logics do have a significant affect both on value attribution and on social action, there is

an opportunity for study that not only aims to reveal marginalization and oppression, but

whose findings continue to transform universities into more effective, efficient, and

productive organizations because of equitable, inclusive, and diverse environments.

Reflection and Conclusion

I took on this project for multiple reasons. First, throughout my graduate

education, both at the Master's level and now at the doctorate level, I have had faculty of

color who have supported and guided me through my process. I would not be where I am

today without them being in front of and beside me. That much is clear. As I entered my

doctoral program and realized the cohort I was coming into, a cohort of five men of color,

it became clear that this group was going to be special and there was going to be a bond

that tied us together and would help carry us through our program. Isolation, tokenism,

and the other concerns we experienced previously and read about in books would not be

our experience. I was interested in how my faculty came to the decision to bring us

together and while I could not interview them directly, I could talk about this issue with

faculty at other institutions. Lastly, I am a striving faculty person of color who has many

concerns with the future of higher education and student affairs in this country. My

identity is inextricably linked to this topic and I was interested in the faculty experience

and, at the same time, what my future experience might be like.

This study has opened my eyes to the many ways that institutions negatively

affect the work of their faculty of color and also the many ways that faculty have found

solace and support in those spaces. I entered the project hopeful about the future of

higher education and the role I might have as a faculty member and, as I complete the project, I am a little less certain that having a hope for a brighter future is enough to truly change a system that is so dominated and immersed in oppression and whiteness. Certainly these faculty are doing important, critical work every day, but their stories are strewn with the negative ways that they experience the university. They are also bolstered by a clear critical consciousness and engaging with anti-oppressive ideologies that support diverse, equitable, and just educational systems.

I always revert back to a story that was passed to me by a social justice educator and colleague who said:

> Social justice work is like building a wooden pier to get across an ocean. Our ancestors have laid down wood plank by plank to get us where we are today and the work we do in this moment is another plank for those coming up behind us. We will not solve all of our problems today. But we must be willing to engage in the conversations and work that allow us to at least lay one plank down.

That is my goal and I think that engaging in the university as a faculty member does allow me to be the person who lays down the plank. I can do that through utilizing my agency to admit future students who have been marginalized and supporting those students, by challenging my peers who do not understand my experience, and making change with my absolute values driving me forward. This project has taught me that much and given me a more nuanced hope as I push forward in my career as a person of color in solidarity with a wonderful group of peers across the country.

APPENDIX A

EMAIL TO POTENTIAL PARTICIPANTS

Hello,

My name is Dian Squire and I am a Ph.D. candidate in the Higher Education program at Loyola University Chicago. For my dissertation study, **I am recruiting assistant or newly tenured (1-2 years tenured) associate faculty of color in doctorate-granting Higher Education and Student Affairs programs in Predominately White Institutions in the United States.**

The purpose of this study is to understand how faculty of color are influenced by institutional logics. Institutional logics are symbols, practices, norms, and values that help dictate behavior and action in organizations. The researcher is interested in how, if at all, these logics influence how faculty of color discuss diversity, equity, and justice in doctoral admissions decisions.

Participants would be required to participate in an on-line interview (e.g., Skype) and an optional focus group at AERA 2015 in Chicago, IL.

If you are interested in participating, please click here <link> *to complete the consent and demographic forms.* You are being asked to complete these forms before your interview because I will be completing a critical discourse analysis on your institution's foundational documents (e.g., mission statement, diversity statement, strategic plan) prior to the interviews.

If you have questions, please email me at dsquire@luc.edu.

Regards,

Dian

APPENDIX B

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Project Title: Exploring how institutional logics influence how faculty of color discuss diversity, equity, and justice in Higher Education and Student Affairs doctoral admissions processes

Researcher(s): Dian Squire (PI), Ph.D. candidate Loyola University Chicago
Faculty Sponsor: Bridget Turner Kelly, Ph.D.

Introduction:
You are being asked to take part in a research study being conducted by Dian Squire for part of his dissertation study at Loyola University Chicago under the supervision of Dr. Bridget Turner Kelly, Associate Professor in the Higher Education program at Loyola University Chicago.

You are being asked to participate because you meet all of the following criteria. You:

a) identify as a person of color. A person of color is a person who identifies as a racial/ethnic minority (e.g., Black, Asian, Latin@/Hispanic, multi-racial) and not exclusively as White.
b) are an assistant or newly tenured (1-2 years tenured) associate faculty member at a U.S. university;
b) work in a doctorate-granting Higher Education and Student Affairs program (or its aptly named equivalent).

Please read this form carefully and ask any questions you may have before deciding whether to participate in the study.

Purpose:
The purpose of this study is to understand how faculty of color in doctorate-granting higher education and student affairs programs at predominantly White institutions are influenced by institutional logics. Institutional logics are symbols, practices, norms, and values that help dictate behavior and action in organizations. The researcher is interested in how these logics influence how faculty of color discuss diversity, equity, and justice in doctoral admissions decisions. Additionally, this study explores how faculty of color navigate their multiple identities in discussing diversity, equity, and justice. The researcher is also interested in how faculty of color locate support related to diversity, equity, and justice in doctoral admissions procedures or processes.

Procedures:
If you agree to be in the study, you will be asked to participate the following research components: You will be asked to participate in:

1) a 60-90 minute interview via online platform (e.g., Skype, GChat) to discuss personal identity; diversity, equity, and justice; institutional logics; graduate admissions; and, admissions outcomes.
2) a 90-120 minute focus group at the American Educational Research Association (AERA) in Chicago, IL in April 2015 (optional for attendees). This focus group

acts as a place of resistance (hooks, 2009) from which faculty of color can share stories, reflect on experiences, provide support, and create a community, outcomes that are in alignment with critical race methodology. This focus group is a member-checking tool and acts as a forum to complete the social network map.

3) a social network mapping activity during the above focus group. If not attending AERA, this may be done in March 2015, scanned, and emailed to the researcher.

Risks/Benefits:
There are minimal risks involved in participating in this research. For example, you may experience some discomfort responding to some of the interview questions. Additionally, if you participate in a focus group, I cannot guarantee complete confidentiality.

There are some direct benefits to participants who participate in all sections of this study. Participants who partake in the focus group in particular may be able to build a community of scholars of color. In this focus group, I hope to provide a space where faculty of color can share and compare stories, strategies for success, and build support networks for each other.. Data gathered from this study will help the researchers better understand how faculty of color are influenced by their institution's logics and how those logics dictate behavior particularly in doctoral admissions processes.

Confidentiality:
- When you fill out your demographic form you will select a pseudonym, and the pseudonym will be kept on a password protected computer. After the interview, a transcript (completed by the PI, Dian Squire) will be emailed to you to ensure validity and accuracy of your statements.
- All data involved in this study will be stored on a password protected computer. Only the PI and the faculty sponsor will have access to this data (Email communications, assignment materials, pseudonym information, tape-recorded interview recording and transcript).
- When the study is completed, including writing and reporting findings, all data and information related to the study will be destroyed (Email communications, assignment materials, pseudonym information, tape-recorded interview recording and transcript).

Voluntary Participation:
Participation in this study is voluntary. If you do not want to be in this study, you do not have to participate. If you decide to participate, you are free not to answer any question or to withdraw from participation at any time without penalty.

Contacts and Questions:
If you have questions about this research study, please feel free to contact Dian Squire at dsquire@luc.edu or the faculty sponsor, Dr. Bridget Turner Kelly, at bkelly4@luc.edu.

If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, you may contact the Loyola University Office of Research Services at (773) 508-2689.

Statement of Consent:
I agree to participate in this interview/focus group, and to the use of this interview/focus groups as described above.

_____ _____

Participant's Signature   **Date**

_____ _____

Researcher's Signature   **Date**

APPENDIX C

DEMOGRAPHIC FORM

CONTACT
Email: _____
Phone: _____
Preferred interview platform and contact information:
    a) Skype _____
    b) Google Chat (GChat) _____
    c) Adobe Connect online meeting platform (link will be sent via email)

PERSONAL
    1. Name: _____
    2. Preferred Pseudonym : _____
    3. Sex: M   F Intersex
    4. Gender: _____
    5. Race: _____
    6. Ethnicity: _____

PROFESSIONAL
    1. # of years as faculty: _____
    2. Tenure Track? Y N
    3. Tenured? Y N
    4. If yes, for how long? _____
    5. Is this the first university you have worked at? Y N
        a. If no, why did you leave the other institution(s)?
        _____
        ____
    6. How do you describe your epistemological stance (e.g., constructivism, post-positivist, critical)?
        _____

UNIVERSITY
    1. Institution name: _____
    2. Program title name: _____
    3. Can you please briefly describe the *Sex*, *Race*, and *Tenure Status* and any additional social identities you find salient for the faculty in your direct program/department (HESA)?:
    1. Faculty Member 1:
    2. Faculty Member 2:
    3. Faculty Member 3:
    4. Faculty Member 4:
    5. Faculty Member 5:
    6. Faculty Member 6:

APPENDIX D

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Interview Purpose: To capture personal stories that garner deeper insight into how faculty of color receive diversity, equity, and justice scripts from their universities and negotiate those logics in the doctoral admissions process in HESA programs.

Script: Thank you for taking the time to speak with me regarding your experiences as a faculty person of color in a predominantly White institution. This study aims to better understand how you, as a faculty person of color, receives diversity, equity, and justice scripts from your institution, how you employ the constructs of diversity, equity, and justice in the doctoral admissions process, and how you navigate your multiple identities during that process. Additionally, I am interested in where you find support as a faculty person of color both within and outside your university as it relates to doctoral admissions. As a reminder, I will conduct these interviews first and then we will meet with the rest of the participants at the American Educational Research Conference (AERA) in Chicago to conduct a focus group.

You have already filled out the demographic form before speaking with me today. But I would like to review the Consent Form that you have in hand. [REVIEW CONSENT FORM]

I do want to be clear that even though I am foregrounding race and racism in my analysis, you may not foreground your race as your most salient identity. Therefore, I hope to take an intersectional approach to this study and examine what identities you find most salient in the admissions process and how you navigate your university's logics and scripts with your own identities.

PERSONAL IDENTITY
- Can you tell me a little about yourself?
- What are your most salient social identities?
- What makes those identities most salient for you?
- What are your most salient social identities as a faculty member?
- What makes those identities most salient in the university context as it relates to the doctoral admissions process?

DEFINING DIVERSITY, EQUITY, AND JUSTICE
To start, I would like to briefly review how I have defined diversity, equity, and justice and get your thoughts on the definitions, whether you agree or not and why or why not.
- [Read definitions of DIVERSITY, EQUITY, and JUSTICE]
- What resonates with you when I read the definition of DIVERSITY, EQUITY and JUSTICE
- How do my definitions of diversity, equity, and justice (DEJ) align with how your institution defines these terms, if at all? How and where do they differ?
- How do your definitions align with how your institution defines these terms, if at all? How and where do they differ?

- What actions, or inactions, allow you to know that your definitions align (or don't align) with your institutions?
- How does that make you feel? Act?

INSTITUTIONAL LOGICS
- In what ways do you receive information about how your university understands DEJ?
- [Provide any findings from Critical Discourse Analysis of university websites and diversity statements to help prompt faculty]
- In what ways do you receive information about how your college/school understands DEJ?
- In what ways do you receive information about how your program chair or other faculty in your program understands DEJ?
- In what ways is DEJ discussed in relation to the graduate admissions process?
- How does that make you feel? Act?

GRADUATE ADMISSIONS
- What does the admissions process look like in your department?
- Can you please explain any processes your program uses to collectively compare students?
- When you read admissions applications what do you look for in a candidate? What makes you look for those qualities in particular?
- How do you define a quality candidate?
- How heavily, if at all, do you weigh objective measures of success?
- Do you feel any pressure from the university, at any level, to make particular admissions decisions related to diversity?
- What do you think about these pressures?
- At what point, if at all, do you factor in diversity?
- Does anything about your life or identities attract you to particular candidates?
- When you read admissions applications, do you ever identify candidates who would not be good fits for the program? What makes them lack fit?
- What types of candidates would you "stand up" for? Why?
- Have there been times when you have not "stood up" for a particular candidate even though that candidate would be a good fit for your program? Why or why not?
- Can you describe any times that you went "head to head" against another faculty member to argue in favor of a candidate? What about in opposition to a candidate? Why did you make the case for that student? Why were you opposed to that candidate? What was the other faculty member's argument?
- Can you describe any times where you worked with another faculty member to persuade your colleagues about a particular candidate? Against a particular candidate? What were the circumstances that led to this? Why were you

supportive of or opposed to that candidate? Why was the other faculty member supportive or opposed?

- When I say the words "civility and collegiality" in relation to engaging with your fellow faculty members, what reactions do those words elicit for you?

OUTCOMES
- Have you already selected your doctoral class for this incoming year?
- Can you share the demographic diversity of your group?
- Were any of these students applicants that you had to "stand up" for?
- What do you see as the strengths and weaknesses of this class based on their diversity?
- Is this class historically characteristic or outstanding in some way?

APPENDIX E

FOCUS GROUP PROTOCOL

Focus Group Purpose: To provide a space to member check semi-structured interviews, provide a space for faculty of color to share stories about the doctoral admissions process, and to talk about networks of support as faculty of color.

Script: Hello everyone, welcome and thank you for joining me. I will be guiding our conversation today by asking some questions regarding the aggregate findings and themes from your individual interviews and to do a small activity that will allow you to map your social networks and share those networks with each other. Our discussion will take about 90 minutes, and in that time I hope to hear from everyone.

I want to make sure you are all comfortable sharing, and for that purpose I want to remind you that what we talk about here is shared in confidence, and encourage everyone to be mindful of that. While I cannot ensure full confidentiality, I will do all I can to respect your confidentiality. Similarly, I will not be attaching names or other identifying information with your comments. I will be recording the conversation so I can easily and accurately recall what is shared.

INTRODUCTION
I would like to start by having everybody introduce themselves with their pseudo name chosen by you for this study, position, institution type, and why you joined this study.

INTERVIEW FINDINGS
I would like to preface the focus group discussion by saying that these are preliminary findings based on the interviews of the people in the room. These are not meant to be representative of everybody in the room, but you may want to respond to the findings because you have a similar or contrasting experience. This is fine and welcomed. I do ask that everybody respect the experiences of each participant in the room and from whose experiences these findings stem. I also welcome you to correct my interpretations of the findings. As a reminder, I used an institutional logics perspective framework that examines the various levels of organization messaging and behavioral control. I strengthened my analysis by foregrounding Critical Race Theory. Do you have any specific questions about what I have shared thus far?

[FINDING EXPLANATION 1 through X]
1. What about this finding resonated with you?
2. Do you have any contradicting or conflicting experiences you would like to share? What circumstances allowed you to have that contradicting or conflicting experience?
3. Did this finding resonate with anybody now, but maybe was not a part of their experience in the interview?
4. Does anybody have anything to add to this finding?
5. [ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS SPECIFIC TO EACH FINDING]

SOCIAL NETWORK MAPPING

Last, I would like each of you to take part in a short exercise that allows you to map where you receive support as a faculty person of color. Each of you has a piece of butcher-block paper and various color markers. I would like you to draw a "map" of where you receive support from as a faculty person of color related to doctoral admissions. This may be from national associations, family, friends, professional colleagues, etc. The key that you make is up to you, and how you draw your map is up to you. If you can please identify in some way the relationship between those people and yourself, the strength of that network, and how frequently you speak with that person. We'll share these briefly once you are done.

1. Where are the majority of your networks located?
2. How many of your networks exist within your university? Are they located in your program?
3. What makes it possible (or not) for you to have the networks that you identified?
4. Do you think it is important for you to have strong social networks within your university?
5. Can you please put a star next to the people you can talk to about issues of diversity, equity, and justice?
6. Can you please put a triangle next to the people you might talk to about doctoral admissions processes, applicants, and decisions?

Script: I would like to thank you for taking part in this project. My hope was to provide all participants with a shared space to engage in conversation around these experiences. I want to acknowledge the trust that it took each person to engage here today and thank you for putting some of that trust in me in doing this study. My next steps are to go back and review the findings that we have discussed here today and build richer narratives. I will also construct a section that describes the findings regarding your social network maps and how these networks support you all in your experiences. Once I have completed the study, I will share it with all of you. Thank you once again.

APPENDIX F

GEE'S BUILDING TASKS OF LANGUAGE

Gee*'s (2012) Building Tasks of Language*			
Building Task	**Explanation**	**Discourse analysis question**	**Question to identify Building Task**
Activities	Our use of language informs others of what we see ourselves as doing. What is being said helps others recognize what is going on.	What activity is being enacted?	What is the larger or main activity (or set of activities) going on in the situation?
Connections	To note the relevance or irrelevance between two things; even to disconnect those which are inherently relevant, or vice versa. To connect actions, meanings, or words to convey your message.	What common theme, public debate, understanding provides context?	What sorts of connections are made within and across the interaction?
Identities	Use of language to indicate a role we have taken on, or switching to enact a new identity	What identity is this language being used to enact?	What identities (roles, positions) seem to be relevant to, taken for granted in, or under construction in the situation?
Politics	How we use our language effects the distribution of social goods (i.e. adding to or taking away from reputation, authority, status, power, etc.) We convey our perspective on motives, responsibility, right and wrong, etc.	What perspective on social good is this piece commenting on?	What social goods (e.g. status, power, aspects of gender, race, and class) are relevant (and irrelevant) in this situation? How are they made relevant or irrelevant?
Relationships	Use of language signals the type of relationship we have or want to have with those with whom we	What relationship is this building with the audience?	What sorts of social relationships seem to be relevant to, taken for granted, or under construction in the

	are communicating.		situation?
Sign Systems	Different languages (Spanish, Mandarin), different jargon (language of lawyers, artists, sportscasters), and nonverbal communication (charts, facial expressions, images) are sign systems. We use language to privilege one set of knowledge (e.g., doctor vs. patient) over another – and we thereby accord greater authority to one person than another. We use sign systems to mark ourselves as members of a group (or not).	What language is used (e.g., informal, jargon, professional)?	What sign systems are relevant (or irrelevant) in the situation (e.g., speech, writing, images, and gestures)? How are they made relevant or irrelevant?
Significance	We use language to make things significant. We give things, people, ideas meaning or value. How and what different things mean in the present situation.	How does the language make something significant?	What are the situated meanings of some of the words and phrases that seem important in the situation?

APPENDIX G

CODES

Diversity Statement Codes
   Operationalization
   Outcome of Diversity
   Diversity Descriptions
   People used for a purpose
   Stakeholders
   Prioritization
   Constituencies Included
   Univ actions re: diversity
   Word placement/order
   Diversity locations
   Requirements for Success
   Systems of oppression
   Shortcomings
Neoliberalism
Gee's Building Tasks
   Intertextuality
   Significance
   Activities
   Identities
   Relationships
   Politics
   Sign systems
   Connections
International/ization
   Meeting goals
   Comparing to domestic
   International benefits
   Home countries
   Student support
   Competing dynamics
   Special admissions considerations
Communication/Faculty Identity
   Race saliency
   Intersectional identities
   Gender saliency
   Age saliency
   SES Saliency
   Religious saliency
   Sexual Orientation Saliency
   Disposition
   Epistemology
   Taxation/tokenism/isolation

Communication/Factors Influencing
  Tenure
  Allyship
  Anticipated resistance
  Time on campus
  Faculty Voice
  Relationships with White faculty
  Relationships with FOC
  Avoiding tough discussions
Admissions/Homophile
  Capital Homophile
  Race homophile
  Epistemological Homophile
  Other Student Characteristic Attraction
  Research topic homophile
Admissions/Process codes
  Admissions processes/tools used
  Coaching students/Networks
  Advocating for students
  Program application pool
  Diversity timing
  Informing students about culture/climate
Admissions/Once Accepted
  Graduate student socialization
  Student links to faculty/personal responsibility
Institutional Diversity
  Campus administrator Role
  Community relations
  Siloing of diversity
  Diversity as safe/rhetoric
  University diversity policy
  Campus climate/context
  City climate/context
  Expanding definitions of diversity
  University (in)action to incidences/diversity
  Spaces of resistance
  Ideal University
Mezzo level: College and Program
  Program separated from university
  Funding, resources
  Program level DEJ messaging
  College level DEJ messaging
  Program climate

Resistance/lack of understanding
Micro Level: Faculty understanding of DEJ
Diversity definition differences
Equity definition differences
Justice definition differences
Alternate definitions of Excellence
Admissions/Criteria
GRE
Student ability to perform
Personal diversity considerations
Faculty effects on recruitment
Personal statements
Work experience
Academic Record
Understanding of the field
Bougie Students
Miscellaneous admissions criteria
Admissions/Macro criteria
Funding students
University restrictions on admissions

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