

DISCOURSES OF DIFFERENCE: COMMUNICATING DIVERSITY IN U.S.

HIGHER EDUCATION

by

KRISTINA RUIZ-MESA

B.A., Villanova University, 2005

M.A., Villanova University, 2007

A dissertation submitted to the
Faculty of the Graduate School of the
University of Colorado in partial fulfillment
of the requirement for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
Department of Communication

2016

COMMUNICATING DIVERSITY

This dissertation entitled:

Discourses of Difference: Communicating Diversity in U.S. Higher Education

written by Kristina Ruiz-Mesa

has been approved for the Department of Communication

Dr. Timothy R. Kuhn, Committee Co-Chair

Dr. Lawrence R. Frey, Committee Co-Chair

Dr. Karen L. Ashcraft

Dr. Brenda J. Allen

Dr. Michele Moses

Date: _____

The final copy of this thesis has been examined by the signatories, and we find that both the content and the form meet acceptable presentation standards of scholarly work in the above mentioned discipline.

IRB protocol # 13-0229

Ruiz-Mesa, Kristina (Ph.D., Communication)

Discourses of Difference: Communicating Diversity in U.S. Higher Education

Dissertation co-directed by Professors Timothy R. Kuhn and Lawrence R. Frey

Abstract

This research focused on institutional framings of diversity in mission statements and communicative practices of chief diversity officers (CDOs) in U.S. institutions of higher education. Grounded in applied communication scholarship, this project investigated how CDOs employ communicative practices in formal and informal settings to inform institutional policies and practices related to diversity and inclusion. To document dominant framings of diversity used by campus leaders, a content analysis of institutional mission and diversity statements ($N = 50$) was conducted. The findings showed that diversity is framed in those statements as inclusive excellence, social justice, and required legally. To explore the connection between those framings and CDOs' communicative practices related to institutional diversity work, in-depth interviews ($N = 25$) were conducted with CDOs. Interviewees provided examples of how CDOs employ communicative practices in formal communication settings through audience analysis, personal distancing, persuasive storytelling, and reflexive questioning. Additionally, CDOs used informal micropractices of collaboration and relationship building, identity work, and coping with microaggressions to garner campus support and to gain allies for their campus diversity and inclusion efforts. The contributions of these findings to applied communication scholarship are discussed with regard to new concepts that are offered for understanding and improving CDOs' communication to promote greater equity and inclusion in higher education.

Keywords: Applied communication, chief diversity officers, communicative practices, diversity, inclusion, higher education

Acknowledgments

This work is dedicated to the students who have taught me what it means to fight for education.

To the Department of Communication at the University of Colorado Boulder (CU-Boulder): Thank you for the opportunity to learn, study, and grow in this incredible program. I am forever changed by my experiences in this program, and I am grateful for my CU-Boulder friends, colleagues, and mentors.

To my advisor, Dr. Tim Kuhn: “Thank you” cannot begin to express the appreciation and gratitude I have for all that you have done for me as a scholar, teacher, and person. Your patience, encouragement, and kind words made all the difference for me in this PhD program. Thank you for the many pep talks, letters of recommendation, and countless phone calls.

To Dr. Larry R. Frey: Your research taught me what it means to be a social justice scholar, and I am incredibly grateful that I have had the opportunity to learn from you. Your teaching, mentoring, and feedback have made me a better scholar and writer. Thank you for the support you have provided me throughout this program, and for the time and effort you have invested in me and in my work.

To Dr. Michele Moses: The moment I first walked into your Gender Issues in Education course, I knew you would be an important person in my life. Your approach to teaching, research, family, and mentoring is inspiring. Thank you for teaching me, supporting me, and for being on my dissertation committee.

To Dr. Brenda J. Allen: Thank you for your scholarship, mentorship, and time. You taught me the importance of self-care in diversity work, and the value of voice. I am grateful to have learned from you. Thank you for serving on this committee.

To Dr. Karen L. Ashcraft: Thank you for your feedback, time, and encouragement. Your scholarship and courses challenged how I view organizations, power, and identity, and our many hallway conversations after class always left me excited for our next conversation. Thank you for being a member of my dissertation committee.

To my mentor, teacher, and friend Dr. Terry Nance: Thank you for pushing me further than I thought possible. I have learned more from you than I can express. You are a spectacular teacher, amazing orator, passionate administrator, and a kind and loving friend. Thank you for always believing in me.

Dr. Emory Woodard, Dr. Maurice Hall, Dr. Sherry Bowen, Dr. Kermit Moore, and the wonderful Communication Department at Villanova University: Thank you for teaching me that communication and community can change the world. You all gave me the academic training and confidence to pursue this degree. Go Wildcats!

To my Villanova family: Thank you for showing me the true meaning of veritas, unitas, and caritas. I work for truth, unity, and love in all I do. I am eternally grateful for the lessons, memories, STOVs summers, and the Peace a Pizza and Hope's Cookie runs.

My friends, colleagues, and students at Cal State, Los Angeles: Thank you for your support, for motivating me, and for taking a chance on me. I love being a Golden Eagle!

My cohort at CU-Boulder: Thank you for your friendship, generosity, comradery, kindness, and scholarship! A special thank you to Jenna, Graham, Josie, and Steve, who always made sure that I had a place to sleep and great company to eat with when in Boulder.

Thank you to Drs. Katie Harris, Nora Pillard Reynolds, Jennifer Peet, Sarah Blithe, Jess M. F. Hughes, Meghan Dunn, and soon-to-be Dr. Caitlin Wubbena, for talking and thinking through ideas with me, and for your proofing and formatting help!

To my dissertation accountability partner and dear friend, Elizabeth Eger: Thank you for the daily Skype calls and texts, for keeping me grounded, talking through ideas, and for reminding me to be kind to myself. I am grateful for our friendship.

To my friends from Vineland, Villanova, Boulder, Irvine, and everywhere in between: Thank you for your support and encouragement over the last 6 years. Special thank you to: Kelly Miller, Jess & Ethan Tesoroni, Eric & Sierra Clark, Paul & Whitney Gladney, Frank & Christine Iosue, Angie & Jim Bagley, Joan Prendergast, Erica Nowak, Julio Rodriguez, Tony Smith, Ruth Lopez, Christina Paguyo, and John Luke Hay.

To the animal care staff and volunteers at the Pacific Marine Mammal Center: Thank you for the opportunity to live out my childhood dream of working with seals and sea lions each Monday morning. Being with the patients, and all of you, kept me grounded and provided me with much-needed breaks from writing and research.

To the students at Villanova, Rosemont, CU-Boulder, UC Irvine, and Cal State LA: Thank you for teaching me about drive, compassion, hustle, and justice. You have made a lasting impact on me. All of the work that I have done, and will continue to do, to improve access and equity in higher education is because of all of you and the lessons you have taught me throughout the last decade.

To my grandfather Mario Ruiz-Mesa, Sr. (Elo), and to my surrogate grandmothers Elina (Eli) Ruiz-Mesa and Rosalina (Chiqui) Zervigon: Thank you for sharing your love of learning, travel, and reading, and for your constant encouragement.

My sister, Krystal: Thank you for grounding me and reminding me that there is a world outside of my work. Thank you for sending me random Internet articles and Amazon wish lists when I needed a laugh. Your ability to enjoy life and go with the flow makes me smile.

My parents, Mario Ruiz-Mesa and Carmen Garcia Ruiz-Mesa: Thank you for loving and supporting me, even when you thought I was nuts for quitting my beloved job and moving across the country. Your work ethic, commitment to community, and passion for social justice have shaped who I am. I work every day to make you proud! I love you!

To Lucien, my snuggly, sweet French Bulldog, and constant companion: Thank you for sitting next to me and comforting me through every writing session. You have been with me through three degrees over the last decade. Thank you for making me laugh, and for forcing me to take breaks and go outside. You deserve every long walk and overpriced organic treat you get!

My incredible partner in life, love, and everything that is good, my husband Gianmarc Grazioli: I will be forever grateful for your love, support, and encouragement. Thank you for your encouraging words when I was unsure, your confident words when I didn't think I could finish, your calming words when I was convinced the universe was against me, and your loving words every day for the last 15 years. I love you more than I can ever say, but I'll work like hell to show how much I love you every day.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1.....	1
Organizational Responses to Diversity and Inclusion.....	2
Diversity Policies and Practices in U.S. Government.....	3
Diversity Policies and Practices in U.S. Corporations.....	6
Diversity and Inclusion in U.S. Higher Education.....	8
Diversity Officers in Higher Education.....	12
Applied Communication Research.....	15
Organization and Overview of Chapters.....	17
Chapter 1 Notes.....	19
CHAPTER 2.....	20
Exploring Diversity and Inclusion in Organizational Settings.....	20
Making a Business Case for Diversity	21
The Problem with Managing Diversity.....	23
Diversity and Inclusion in Educational Settings.....	32
Diversity and Inclusion Infusion in Communication Classrooms.....	33
Diversity and Inclusion in Communication Textbooks.....	38
The Centrality of Communication for Diversity and Inclusion in Academia.....	42
Supporting Diversity and Inclusion through Organizational Mission Statements.....	47
Chief Diversity Officers and Communicative Practices of Diversity Work	52
Chapter 2 Notes.....	56
CHAPTER 3.....	57
My Positionality as Researcher.....	57
Institutional Mission Statements Analyzed.....	58
Sample Selection on Institutional Mission Statements.....	59

Qualitative Content Analysis of Institutional Mission Statements.....	63
Interviews of Chief Diversity Officers.....	68
Description of Chief Diversity Officer Participants.....	70
Interview Situation.....	70
Interview Topics and Questions.....	72
Sharing Personal Experiences.....	74
Interview Analysis and Writing.....	74
Chapter 3 Notes.....	79
CHAPTER 4.....	80
American Association of Colleges and Universities.....	82
Inclusive Excellence.....	82
American Association of University Professors.....	85
National Association of Diversity Officers in Higher Education.....	87
Framings of Diversity by National Education Organizations.....	88
College and University Mission Statements.....	90
Mini Case Study of Southern Vermont College.....	98
Mini Case Study of College of the Ozarks.....	100
Institutional Diversity Statements and Diversity Officers' Communicative Practices...	105
CHAPTER 5.....	109
Chief Diversity Officers in U.S. Higher Education.....	110
Chief Diversity Officers' Communication with Supervisors	115
Faculty Interactions with Chief Diversity Officers.....	118
Chief Diversity Officers' Formal Communicative Practices.....	121
Chief Diversity Officers' Audience Analysis.....	123
Use of Quantitative Evidence by Chief Diversity Officers.....	128
Personal Distancing.....	130

Use of Qualitative Evidence by Chief Diversity Officers.....	133
Persuasive Storytelling.....	134
Reflexive questioning.....	135
Combined Used of Quantitative and Qualitative Evidence.....	138
Common Diversity Framings used by Chief Diversity Officers.....	141
Diversity as Inclusive Excellence.....	142
Diversity as Social Justice.....	146
Diversity as a Legal Requirement.....	150
Informal Chief Diversity Officers' Micropractices.....	153
Collaboration and Campus Relationships.....	153
Identity Work and CDO Embodiment.....	159
Coping with Racial Microaggressions.....	165
Chief Diversity Officers' Family, History, and Knowledge.....	170
Conclusion.....	173
CHAPTER 6.....	175
Conceptual Contributions of the Study.....	176
Expanding Co-Cultural Theory.....	177
Framing Diversity and Inclusion Efforts.....	183
Facilitating Communication about Difference and Latent Triggers.....	187
Empathetic Understanding and Overcoming Experience Empathy Gaps.....	192
Applied Recommendations to Support Diversity and Inclusion Efforts.....	201
Institutional Recommendations for Supporting Diversity and Chief Diversity Officers.....	202
Institutional Recommendation 1: Expanding beyond the Frame of Inclusive Excellence.....	202

Institutional Recommendation 2: Chief Diversity Officers Should Report to the University President.....	205
Institutional Recommendation 3: Provide Staff and Funding to Support Chief Diversity Officers	206
Institutional Recommendation 4: Chief Diversity Officers’ Communication Competence Should be Assessed during Job Interviews via a Presentation ...	209
Recommendations for Chief Diversity Officers.....	210
Chief Diversity Officers’ Use of the Experience Empathy Gap.....	213
Limitations and Future Research	216
Conclusion.....	218
Chapter 6 Notes.....	221
REFERENCES.....	222
APPENDIX A.....	254
APPENDIX B.....	255
APPENDIX C.....	259

LIST OF TABLES

1. Student Racial Demographics for Sample Institutions.....	61
2. Mission Values of Sampled Institutions of Higher Education.....	92
3. Percentage of Core Values Found in Sample Materials.....	96

LIST OF FIGURES

1. The United States Population by Race for 2012 and 2060.....	11
2. Educational Attainment for United States Adults Age 25 and Older in 2012.....	13
3. Systematic Sample of Four Types of U.S. Institutions.....	62
4. Chief diversity officers' responsibilities.....	111
5. Chief diversity officers' supervisors.....	113

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Today, in the United States, more than half of the children under the age of 5 years old are Latino, African American, American Indian, or Asian (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015), and in the 50 years between 2000 and 2050, Latino and Asian populations in the United States are expected to double in size (Ortman & Guarneri, 2009). In addition to increasing racial and ethnic diversity, 3.8% of the U.S. population identified as lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender (LGBT) in the latest Gallup poll (Newport, 2015), and 56.7 million U.S. citizens, comprising 19% of the U.S. population, have a documented disability (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012). Given the increasing diversity across intersections of identity categories,¹ the question of how organizations, including the U.S. government, schools, and corporations, adapt to serve the diversifying populations of students, workers, health-care patients, consumers, and other constituencies is a pressing concern for policymakers, educators, health-care providers, business owners, and concerned citizens.

Given the changing U.S. demographics, there is a corresponding need for organizations to employ diversity strategies and practices of inclusion to serve increasingly diverse populations, to stay relevant and navigate global markets, and to meet current and future educational, economic, and social needs (D. G. Smith, 2009). Researchers across academic disciplines have documented numerous benefits of group and organizational diversity, including teams' increased ability to learn (see, e.g., Stahl, Mäkelä, Zander, & Maznevski, 2010); more innovative and better group and organizational decision making and performance, primarily because of increased creativity and innovation (see, e.g., Galinsky et al., 2015; Nielsen & Nielsen, 2013; Østergaard, Timmermans, & Kristinsson, 2011; Roberge & van Dick, 2010); and increased employees' identification with organizations (see, e.g., Luijters, van de Zee, & Otten, 2008) and satisfaction, primarily by fulfilling individuals' needs for variety and development (see, e.g., the meta-analysis by Stahl, Maznevski, Voight, & Jonsen, 2010). Hence, as the United States and U.S.

organizations and institutions continue to experience increased diversity, it is helpful to understand ways that those organizations and institutions can be more inclusive in their communicative practices and policies.

This applied communication project focuses on how individuals responsible for diversity and inclusion in one important type of organization—higher education—engage communicative practices in their diversity work. Although U.S. institutions of higher education are the primary context for this project, this study is grounded in the larger context of diversity and inclusion work that has been accomplished across U.S. organizations. Accordingly, below, I provide a historical overview of diversity and inclusion in the United States, and I review strategies and attempts by an array of organizations to increase diversity and inclusion, before focusing, in particular, on U.S. institutions of higher education.

Organizational Responses to Diversity and Inclusion

The term “diversity” first was used in the field of biology to describe differences within and between species in nature (Convention on Biological Diversity, n.d.). Today, however, *diversity* is used by the U.S. Department of the Interior’s Office of Civil Rights (n.d.) “to refer to many demographic variables, including, but not limited to, race, religion, color, gender, national origin, disability, sexual orientation, age, education, geographic origin, and skill characteristics” (para. 5). In addition to referring to a list of demographic variables, diversity in colloquial U.S. communication has “become a shorthand for ensuring that participation adequately reflects the heterogeneous makeup of our society, especially with regard to race and gender” (Foner, 2000, para. 1).

U.S. organizations have responded to the need for heterogeneous makeup via the inclusion of diverse identities, perspectives, and experiences, with *inclusion* defined as creating a supportive and welcoming environment where all individuals are valued throughout the organization (Sturm, 2006). Diversity and inclusion are desirable for their potential organizational benefits, as mentioned previously, but they also are required to comply with federal equal employment opportunity hiring regulations. To

understand how diversity has been grappled with and implemented in a variety of organizational settings, the section below provides an overview of laws, policies, and practices aimed at promoting inclusion and diversity in U.S. government, corporations, and institutions of higher education.

Diversity Policies and Practices in U.S. Government

The United States has a long history of racial oppression that dates back to the country's founding (see, e.g., Omi & Winant, 2004). Slavery, racial genocides, lynchings, internment camps, isolation programs, forced sterilization, and segregation have plagued U.S. residents and citizens of color for centuries (for detailed historical accounts, see, e.g., Blackmon, 2009; Deloria, 1999; Omi & Winant, 2004; Yoshino, 2007). The violent and painful past of U.S. policies and laws surrounding race have created and supported a system of government where all people are not treated equally in the eyes of the law. Racial inequalities related to education, housing, health care, incarceration, and employment remain important concerns today in the United States.² Given the institutionalized racism that has permeated for centuries the U.S. legal and judicial systems, it should come as no surprise that diversity and inclusion were not engaged in systemically by the U.S. government until after World War II. Prior to the passing of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 (also known as the McCarran-Walter Act), which abolished racial restrictions in U.S. immigration that had limited naturalization to immigrants who were a "free White person" of "good moral character," citizenship was denied routinely to immigrants of color (Omi & Winant, 2004).

In the U.S. educational system, it was not until the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* case that the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that state laws establishing separate public schools for Black and White students was unconstitutional, but it would take another 3 decades for the last U.S. public schools to integrate officially (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2004). Moreover, social integration of racial groups in the educational system still is in progress. Despite legal rulings, segregated proms, class trips, and other social events were supported institutionally by school districts in Georgia, Mississippi, and Alabama until

2014, with Wilcox High School in Georgia hosting its first racially integrated prom in Spring 2014 (Gumbrecht, 2014). The divergence between legally required integration and social integration speaks to the deeply held racist ideologies that continue to fester in pockets throughout the United States.

In the area of U.S. employment, it was not until 1961 that federal action was taken to reduce racially discriminatory hiring practices. In 1961, U.S. President John F. Kennedy signed Executive Order 10925, which created the Equal Employment Opportunity (EEO) Commission and prevented employers seeking federal contracts from engaging in discriminatory hiring and employment practices based on race or nationality. Section 301 of the Executive Order stated that “the contractor will take affirmative action to ensure that applicants are employed, and that employees are treated during employment, without regard to their race, creed, color, or national origin” (EEO Commission, n.d., para. 23). In taking an affirmative stance against discrimination, President Kennedy required federal contractors to engage in less discriminatory hiring practices. On the heels of Kennedy’s Executive Order of affirmative action in federal contract hiring, Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 “outlawed employment discrimination” (Kelly & Dobbin, 1998, p. 960). In accordance with the new federal mandates against hiring discrimination, organizations began to hire individuals who specialized in nondiscriminatory hiring practices that were compliant with affirmative action. Although Executive Order 10925 and the Civil Rights Act of 1964 improved equitable hiring practices and reduced employment discrimination, there remains much work to do to increase diversity and inclusion across the United States.

In the 50 years since the passing of the Civil Rights Act, there have been thousands of demonstrations, strikes, and riots around the United States to protest discriminatory laws and practices. Unequal pay, police violence, voter discrimination, immigration, and mass incarceration are just a few of the areas where issues of diversity and inclusion remain unresolved in U.S. governmental policies and practices. Within the ranks of the U.S. government, diversity and inclusion fall within the purview of several offices, including the Civil Rights Division of the U.S. Department of Justice, the Office of Civil

Rights for the U.S. Department of Education, and the Office of Civil Rights for the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. Each of these units is designed to ensure that U.S. laws, services, and educational opportunities are being provided to U.S. residents and citizens, regardless of race, ethnicity, gender, or social class. In addition to ensuring access to legal and governmental services, these units, which fall under the jurisdiction of the U.S. Office of Diversity and Inclusion (ODI), are charged with oversight of equitable hiring practices that promote diversity and inclusion.

ODI, which is housed within the U.S. Office of Personnel Management, is responsible for safeguarding that the federal workforce is compliant with EEO hiring practices. ODI also is charged with increasing diversity and inclusion in all federal employee hiring. This charge was expanded by the signing of Executive Order 13583 in 2011 by President Obama, which “promote[s] the Federal workplace as a model of equal opportunity, diversity, and inclusion” (The White House, 2011, para 1). The rationale provided for this Executive Order stated that “our Nation derives strength from the diversity of its population and from its commitment to equal opportunity for all. . . . A commitment to equal opportunity, diversity, and inclusion is critical for the Federal Government as an employer” (The White House, 2011, para. 2–3). In addition to communicating the value of diversity and inclusion in the federal employee workforce, President Obama argued in the Executive Order that, as the “Nation’s largest employer, the Federal Government has a special obligation to lead by example” (The White House, 2011, para 3). This leadership in diversity and inclusion efforts at the federal level supports, and speaks to, the rapid diversification of the U.S. population and the need for a diverse workforce that represents and can serve the diverse population.

As the United States continues to become more diverse racially over the coming decades, questions of inclusion, equal participation, and treatment in the eyes of the law, increasingly, will become even more salient for the governmental, social, and economic success of the nation (Hunt, 2006). As news stories across the United States break about police brutality against men and women of color, and as presidential

hopefuls use racial stereotypes and prejudices to garner support, the need for equal treatment and opportunity in representation, employment, and education is even more paramount for the success of the nation. In addition to the social justice rationale and the pressing political and social issues facing the United States, the economic and human resource benefits of diverse and inclusive workplaces are valuable and have been recognized by the federal government, as well as by many U.S. corporations. The following section highlights how U.S. corporations have engaged in promoting inclusion and diversity.

Diversity Policies and Practices in U.S. Corporations

In the decades following the federal mandates of the Civil Rights Act and the introduction of affirmative action and EEO via Executive Order 10925, U.S. corporations began to recognize that beyond the need for compliance, there were important benefits of a diverse workforce in a global market. These benefits include increased “creativity and innovation” (Roberge & van Dick, 2010, p. 297), and gaining “market share and profits” (Andrevski, Richard, Ferrier, & Shaw, 2010, p. 2). Several years after the introduction of the initial U.S. antidiscrimination hiring policies, there was a shift from a focused compliance role to one that was designed to increase, manage, and support inclusion and diversity practices. The shift from compliance to active inclusion of diversity has expanded the role of individuals charged with simply following EEO and affirmative action guidelines to employing novel approaches to recruit and retain diverse employees, increase employees’ satisfaction, and to maintain a work–life balance for all employees. Additionally, organizations offer diversity and inclusion training for employees, and they engage in inclusive public relations and organizational communicative practices (see, e.g., McCuiston, Ross Woodbridge, & Pierce, 2003).

One of the first corporate organizations to embrace diversity and inclusion was the advertising, marketing, and public relations firm of Ogilvy & Mather. Ogilvy & Mather was founded in 1948 by David Ogilvy, who was an early supporter of diversity and inclusion in hiring (Ogilvy & Mather, n.d.). A recently published collection of Ogilvy’s (2014) writings discussed his passion for racial equality, and his

experience as chairperson of the United Negro College Fund. In a 1968 report on hiring practices at that advertising firm, Ogilvy (2014) wrote that “in recruitment and promotion, we are fanatical in our hatred for all forms of prejudice” (p. 132). Today, almost 50 years later, Ogilvy & Mather is one of the largest advertising, marketing, and public relations corporations in the United States, and it continues to support diversity and inclusion efforts. On the firm’s diversity and inclusion webpage, a statement stressing the centrality of diversity and inclusion in marketing communication said, “Diversity is the lifeblood of effective marketing communications, and Ogilvy has seen the benefits that a diverse workforce can generate” (Ogilvy & Mather, n.d., para. 4).

As the statements included on the diversity and inclusion webpage of Ogilvy & Mather indicate, the role of corporate diversity expanded beyond compliance and started to focus on the benefits of diversity in the corporate workforce, with research about those benefits increasing during the 1990s (see Zanoni & Janssens, 2004). Throughout the decade of the 2000s, much of the organizational diversity research focused on how diversity was understood and framed by organizations and management, including trade unions (Kirton & Greene, 2006), human resources (Zanoni & Janssens, 2004), and senior executives (McCuiston et al., 2003); as mentioned previously, benefits (and potential problems) of diversity for organizations; and, more recently, how to promote diversity in organizations.

One important way that organizations have grappled with promoting diversity and inclusion is through the creation of pipeline programs that are designed to mentor and guide individuals into specific career paths (Kilian, Hukai, & McCarty, 2005). Pipelining individuals into organizations, subsequently, can lead to targeted training and orientation programs that are designed to increase all employees’ knowledge, awareness, and inclusion efforts surrounding issues of difference. Pipeline, training, and orientation programs are used especially by organizations working to increase diversity, inclusion, and retention of employees of color (Bezrukova, Jehn, & Spell, 2012).

Individuals responsible for designing, implementing, and assessing pipeline, training, recruitment, and retention programs have gone by several titles over the last 45 years. After the passing of the Civil Rights Act, and the signing of President Kennedy's Executive Order 10925, affirmative action or compliance officers were hired to ensure that organizations followed antidiscrimination legal practices. After organizations recognized the importance and value of diverse and inclusive workplace environments, diversity managers were appointed. Research about organizational diversity, however, continued to focus on training techniques, best practices in recruitment and retention, and how diversity can best serve organizations' needs, including growth and profit (see McCuiston et al., 2003).

Although increasing profit and serving organizational needs are seen as paramount in most corporate organizations (McCuiston et al., 2003), nonprofit organizations and institutions of higher education measure success not in shareholder earnings and stock prices but in actualization of organizational mission, practices, and experiences. For institutions of higher education, enrollment, persistence, graduation, student satisfaction, and alumni donations (National College Access Network, n.d.) are key measures of organizational success. Although diversity initiatives in government, corporate, and educational sectors stem, in part, from affirmative action and EEO policies, as the following section shows, the trajectory of diversity and inclusion work and research in U.S. higher education has since diverged (D. A. Williams & Wade-Golden, 2013).

Diversity and Inclusion in U.S. Higher Education

The history of U.S. higher education, similar to that of the U.S. government and many U.S. organizations, is one fraught with racial segregation, prejudice, and oppression. U.S. higher education, thus, has a tension-filled history with regard to issues of inclusion, difference, and equality. Although some institutions of higher education, such as Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs), were created, precisely, to serve underrepresented populations, the majority of institutions were established to serve wealthy White men. The first institution of higher education established in the United States was

Harvard University in 1636 (Hacker & Dreifus, 2010), and all nine students were White males (Harvard University, 2014). In 1650, in need of missionary funds to continue to operate the university, Harvard established an “Indian College” to educate, assimilate, and indoctrinate men from local American Indian tribes to the English language and Christian faith (Atlas, 2011). In 1665, Caleb Cheeshahteamauk was the first Native American to graduate from the Harvard Indian College. The first African American, Richard T. Greener, graduated in 1870, more than 230 years after Harvard University opened its doors (Snibbe, 2011). Over the course of the next 100 years, U.S. higher education would become central in national debates about access to educational institutions, opportunities for upward mobility, and serving the needs of a diversifying nation.

In the early 1960s, university students from around the United States began organizing and supporting civil rights efforts. The Civil Rights Movement and President Kennedy’s Executive Order for affirmative action inspired student advocates to lead protests for admissions and hiring policy changes on U.S. university campuses. Student advocacy, supported by committed faculty members and administrators, led to the creation of minority affairs offices, which often were established in addition to an affirmative action officer and, typically, were positioned within human resources. Minority affairs officers were appointed to serve the needs of, mostly, African American students on campus. Going beyond the focus of the affirmative action officer on affirmative action compliance, the minority affairs officer added a level of care to the recruitment, retention, and compliance work. There was, however, an eventual shift from minority affairs toward multicultural affairs, to serve a racially diversifying student population of Latino and Asian students. As a response to the growing research on multicultural education and inclusion (Nieto, 1992), U.S. college campuses shifted from multicultural affairs to offices of diversity and inclusion that now are visible on many campuses.

The need for an educated diverse workforce in the federal government and in U.S. corporations has propelled diversity and inclusion efforts in U.S. higher education. In 2014, there were 20.6 million

students enrolled in degree-granting institutions of higher education in the United States (U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics [NCES], 2015a). The 20 million students enrolled currently in colleges and universities across the nation represents the largest, and most racially diverse, college student body in U.S. history (U.S. Department of Education, NCES, 2015b). More students from traditionally underrepresented racial groups (e.g., Hispanic/Latinos, African Americans, and American Indians/Alaska natives) now attend institutions of higher education than ever before (U.S. Department of Education, NCES, 2012a), due, in part, to increased outreach, recruitment, and retention programs (Milem, Chang, & Antonio, 2005), which often are led by diversity officers on college campuses (D. A. Williams & Wade-Golden, 2013).

Although increased diversity in student enrollment is a vital first step in educating a diverse workforce, retention and graduation are paramount to realizing the benefits of a diverse educated population. Currently, in the United States, more Latino babies are being born than any other population (Smialek & Giroux, 2015). As more students enter higher education from traditionally underrepresented populations, institutions of higher education must adapt to serve all students' needs (Bailey & Dynarski, 2011; D. G. Smith, 2009; Torres, Howard-Hamilton, & Cooper, 2003). Along with those institutions becoming more diverse, the U.S. Census Bureau (2012) has projected that by 2060, the United States will be considerably "more racially and ethnically diverse" (para. 1; see Figure 1 detailing the U.S. Census population projections by race).

Given population projections and demographic shifts related to the racial makeup of the United States, the educational attainment figures by race indicate a problematic future if educational attainment for populations of color does not increase. Educational research has demonstrated that U.S. institutions of higher education have lower graduation rates for Latinos and African Americans than for their White peers (e.g., "College Graduation Rates," 2009; "The Racial Gap," 2014; U.S. Census Bureau, 2013). If graduation rates for Latinos and African Americans remain unchanged, the United States will not have the

college-educated population that is needed to fulfill government, education, and health-care needs for the aging U.S. population (Hunt, 2006). As Figures 2 displays, the changes to the U.S. population are not leading to an equally diverse educated workforce.

With roughly one third of the U.S. population earning a bachelor’s degree, and only 14.5% of the Latino population earning a 4-year degree, the population projections reported by the U.S. Census Bureau (2013) pose a rather bleak vision of the future of U.S. education and nation. Without increasing educational attainment for Latinos, the United States faces a lack of educated political, educational, business, health-care and social leaders. To increase student access, retention, and graduation for populations that, currently, are underrepresented in higher education, many U.S. colleges and universities are turning to diversity officers to create and support organizational efforts to increase diversity and inclusion (D. A. Williams & Wade-Golden, 2013). The following section introduces the work of diversity officers in higher education, and it begins to explore how diversity and inclusion work on campus is accomplished through communicative practices.

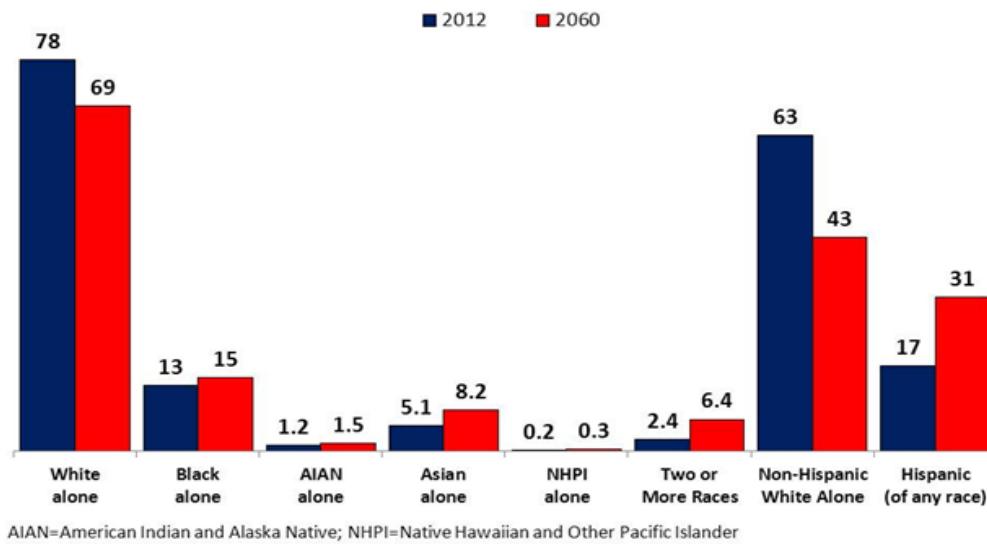


Figure 1. The United States population by race for 2012 and 2060. This figure illustrates the projected population shifts by race (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012).

Diversity Officers in Higher Education

To design and implement effective diversification strategies that create, support, and sustain inclusive working and learning environments, organizations often create an administrative position, called *chief diversity officers (CDOs)*, to manage and support organizational diversity (Banerji, 2005; D. A. Williams & Wade-Golden, 2013; Wilson, 2013). Specifically, CDOs are responsible for planning, implementing, and assessing diversity and inclusion efforts, such as organizational outreach, programming, and support services (D. A. Williams & Wade-Golden, 2013). In addition to higher education, CDOs can be found in “IBM in the corporate sector, Major League Baseball in professional sports, the Democratic Party in politics, and the American Cancer Society in philanthropy” (D. A. Williams & Wade-Golden, 2013, p. 1). In institutions of higher education, CDOs are responsible for improving recruitment and retention of traditionally underrepresented faculty, students, staff, and administrators, as well as for organizing programs, dialogue sessions, seminars, and training programs to create and sustain inclusive learning and working environments on U.S. college campuses (D. A. Williams & Wade-Golden, 2013). CDO positions, thus, have been created to address educational inequities and underrepresentation in student, faculty, staff, and administrative positions, with those officers positioned to support policies and practices for creating and sustaining welcoming and inclusive campus climates (National Association of Diversity Officers in Higher Education, 2013).

Given the exclusionary and elitist history of U.S. higher education, it is not surprising that diversity offices and officers often face criticism from privileged voices, who see diversity programs and services as special treatment, entitlement programs, and/or tangential to the educational enterprise of U.S. higher education (e.g., Adams, 2014; Jaschik, 2013; D. A. Williams & Wade-Golden, 2013). Diversity officers have been targeted due to their organizational position and portrayed as “diversity police” (Robbins, 2004, para. 3) who are responsible for monitoring, punishing, and policing their college campus for diversity and inclusion violations. This positioning of CDOs as policing colleagues is detrimental for CDOs who are

working towards creating stronger campus communities and more inclusive communication about education and diversity.

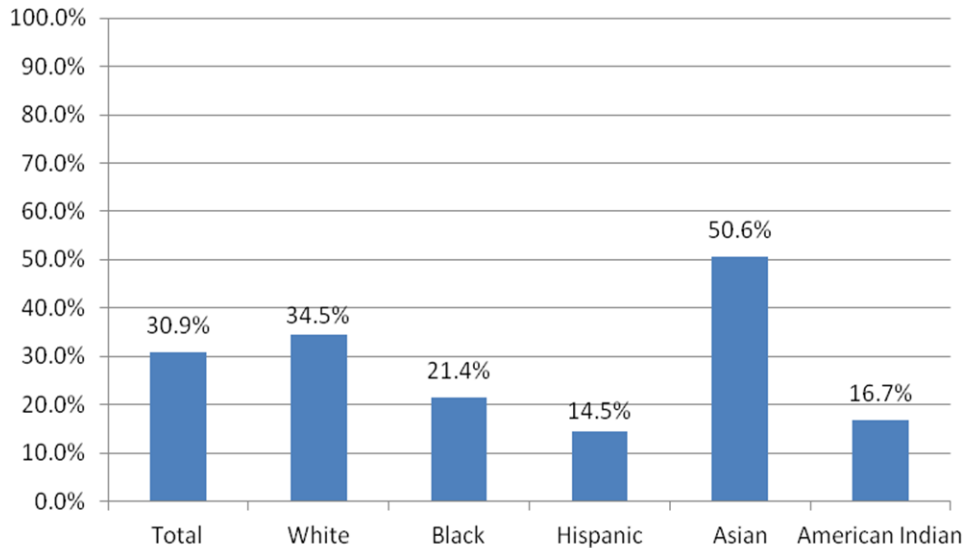


Figure 2. Educational attainment for United States adults age 25 and older in 2012. This figure illustrates the rates of educational attainment by race for U.S. adults (U.S. Department of Education, NCES, 2012b).

As leaders of diversity and inclusion efforts on college and university campuses, CDOs are positioned uniquely as communicators responsible for the (re)framing and (re)presenting of the value of diversity and inclusion on their campus, by designing and implementing communicative practices, policies, and inclusion initiatives to increase diversity. How CDOs communicate the importance of diversity and inclusion in organizations of higher education is at the center of this research project. Given that communication is the “essence of organization because it creates structures that then affect what else gets said and done and by whom” (Weick, 1987, p. 97), CDOs’ communication about diversity and inclusion structures how diversity and inclusion is accomplished. In recognizing the central role of communication in sustaining organizational diversity and inclusion, communication scholars are well positioned to analyze communication problems and recommend solutions for improved communicative practices, for the purpose of supporting institutional diversity and inclusion efforts.

This exploratory study, which springs from my academic background as an applied communication scholar who is committed to promoting social justice (in this case, as directed toward educational equity), and who is equipped with a decade of experience as a campus diversity officer, investigates how diversity and inclusion are communicated and contested in diversity and inclusion work in higher education, by focusing on how diversity and inclusion are talked about, engaged, and supported through CDOs' communicative practices. My training as a communication scholar paired with my experience as a campus diversity officers provides me an opportunity to explore how communication about diversity and inclusion frames, constrains, and creates ways that diversity work and diversity officers are viewed, valued, and supported in higher education.

More specifically, to understand how U.S. colleges and universities communicate their vision and commitment to diversity and inclusion, first, this study analyzed institutional mission statements with regard to language about and framings diversity and inclusion. Once I gained a broad understanding of how U.S. institutions of higher education addressed and communicated the value, relevance, and centrality of diversity and inclusion in their mission, I conducted interviews with CDOs to understand how they communicate about diversity and inclusion to facilitate a more inclusive, diverse campus. Effective communication is listed as a necessary skill for CDO positions, yet there is little research or clarity about what constitutes effective communicative practices in diversity and inclusion work. Diversity training, collaboration, and cross-campus relationships are mentioned as potential practices for CDOs (D. A. Williams & Wade-Golden, 2013), but beyond broad ideas of expected interaction between campus groups, there is little clarity about the role of communication in higher education diversity and inclusion work. The lack of knowledge about what communication skills and practices are needed to be a successful CDO may contribute to the high burnout rates of campus diversity leaders (D. A. Williams & Wade-Golden, 2013). Additionally, unclear communication about what diversity is and how diversity and inclusion is and should be engaged through communicative practices by college and university leaders may contribute

to campus and constituency tensions surrounding CDO work. As explained below, this problem-based research constitutes applied communication scholarship.

Applied Communication Research

As an academic endeavor, communication is a “practical discipline” whose purpose, according to Craig (1989), is “to cultivate praxis, or practical art, through critical study” (p. 98). This pragmatic approach to communication is designed to inform the practices of interaction, with the purpose of using “good judgment in situations that require deliberation and choice” (Craig & Tracy, 1995, p. 251). The particular form of research that probably accomplishes this goal best is called “applied communication research.”

According to Cissna (1982):

Applied research sets out to contribute to knowledge by answering a real, pragmatic, social question or by solving a real pragmatic, social problem. Applied *communication* research involves such a question or problem of human communication or examines human communication in order to provide an answer or solution to the question or problem. The intent or goal of the inquiry (as manifest in the research report itself) is the hallmark of applied communication research. Applied communication research involves the development of knowledge regarding a real human communication problem or question. (p. iv)

Applied communication scholars, thus, seek to solve important real-world human communication problems.

One important class of real-world human problems are those involving *social justice*, which, typically, is associated with achieving equal social/human rights and opportunities. Researchers who are concerned with social justice focus on and work with marginalized, oppressed, and underresourced communities to secure social change. In the communication discipline, Frey, Pearce, Pollock, Artz, and Murphy (1996) articulated a particular type of applied communication research, called *social justice*

communication research, that involves “engagement with and advocacy for those . . . who are economically, socially, politically, and/or culturally underresourced” (p. 110; see also Swartz, 2006). Many scholars, subsequently, have conducted social justice communication research (see, e.g., Frey, 1998a; Frey & Carragee, 2007a, 2007b, 2012).

According to Frey and Sunwolf (2009), both social justice communication research and other forms of applied communication research can be approached from at least two points on a continuum that ranges from observation to intervention. At the observational end of the continuum, applied communication researchers “observe people confronting pragmatic communication issues to describe, interpret, explain, and, in some cases, critique what occurs for the purpose of enlightening other scholars” (Frey & Sunwolf, p. 36). At the intervention end of the continuum, researchers go beyond observation to intervene and “conduct research about their interventions with relevant audiences to manage or solve communication problems and to promote needed social change (Frey & Sunwolf, p. 39). When researchers intervene to promote social justice, and document and report their practices, they engage in what Frey and Carragee (2007c) called *communication activism for social justice research* (the second generation of social justice communication research).

Applying these conceptualizations of applied communication research to the present study, this research focuses on an important, real-world problem: making U.S. universities and colleges more diverse and inclusive. That problem represents a social justice issue in the sense that numerous communities—specifically, people of color—have been marginalized from and at U.S. universities and colleges; consequently, efforts to include members of diverse communities in that educational site and make all students feel welcomed is a social justice issue. To study that important social justice issue, this applied communication study adopts an observational perspective to better understand the role of communicative practices associated with diversity and inclusion work in U.S. higher education; specifically, as reflected in

university and college mission statements and, even more specifically, the communicative practices of educational leaders, CDOs, who are charged with fostering diversity on those campuses.

The goal of this scholarship is not just to describe and better understand this important social justice issue but to provide recommendations that are useful to CDOs, and universities and colleges, more generally, in promoting diversity and inclusion. Such recommendations, potentially, include suggestions for communication skills and experiences that should be considered when universities and colleges hire CDOs, as well as the communication training that newly hired CDOs might receive, with those recommendations aiding the short-term goal of supporting campus diversity and inclusion work. This observational applied communication research also may serve as the grounds for more intervention-oriented applied communication research, with researchers intervening in some tangible way to affect CDOs' work (e.g., by offering workshops for them). That combination of observational and intervention-oriented applied communication research, ultimately, is designed to promote the broader and longer term goals of affecting positively the recruitment, retention, and experiences of underrepresented groups in U.S. higher education, for the purpose of creating and sustaining more inclusive, diverse, and just educational organizations and practices. To explain the organization of this study, the concluding section of this chapter, below, provides an overview of the remaining chapters of this dissertation.

Organization and Overview of Chapters

This dissertation is organized into six chapters, including this introductory chapter. Chapter 2 reviews literature about diversity and inclusion across the discipline of communication. I begin the review by focusing on how corporations and other types of organizations have focused on diversity and inclusion efforts in their hiring, training, and outreach practices. In evaluating the framing of diversity and inclusion in organizational settings, I pay close attention to how the business case for diversity is used to ground diversity and inclusion efforts in market needs and financial opportunities. After looking at diversity and inclusion efforts in corporate settings, I review research on diversity and inclusion in educational

organizations—specifically, in universities and colleges. Beginning with the use of classroom techniques and materials to increase diversity and inclusion, the review expands to include research on organizational communication of diversity in university and college mission statements. The last section of the literature review discusses experiences of faculty of color in the academy, and closes with a discussion of how facilitating diversity and inclusion as a CDO is rooted in communicative practices. In addition to reviewing literature, at the appropriate places, Chapter 2 also presents the research questions that guide this study.

Chapter 3 examines the qualitative methods that were employed to answer the research questions presented in Chapter 2, describing the data-collection process, participants, and analysis of the data. Chapter 4 presents the results associated with the analysis of U.S. university mission statements with respect to how diversity is framed and talked about at U.S. institutions of higher education. Chapter 5 builds on the common communication patterns employed in institutional mission statements to present the results of interviews conducted with CDOs regarding how they talk about and engage in communicative practices to promote diversity work at their institution, with a particular focus on intersectional identities that inform and construct their communicative approaches to diversity work. Chapter 6, in addition to addressing limitations of the study and recommending directions for future research, discusses the theoretical and pragmatic value of the findings from this research study, focusing, in line with applied communication research, on how theoretical insights, especially about the *diversity empathy gap*, which references the lack of understanding related to issues of difference and privilege, can be applied in the form of recommendations to CDOs, campus allies, and U.S. institutions of higher education about engaging in communicative practices to address that gap and promote more inclusive and diverse universities and colleges.

Chapter 1 Notes

¹*Intersections of identities* refers to interconnecting and competing ways that identity categories (e.g., race, ethnicity, gender, social class, and sexuality) are experienced in conjunction with other categories. Experiences are not limited to a single identity, such as woman or man, but are based on intersecting identities, such as the intersections of gender and racial identities that are experienced by Asian women or Black men.

²African Americans are more likely to be unemployed than their White peers of equal education, and, when employed, African Americans earn less than their White peers in the same job. The education gap between White students and students of color continues to grow, with African American, Latino, and Native American students graduating consistently at lower rates from U.S. colleges. More than 27% of U.S. African Americans currently are living in poverty, as compared to 12.7% of U.S. White Americans (for additional examples of racial inequalities in the United States, see Bonilla-Silva, 2013; Irwin, Cain Miller, & Sanger-Katz, 2014).

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

This chapter reviews literature related to diversity and inclusion in a variety of communication contexts. First, the review begins by defining and discussing organizational diversity and inclusion efforts, with an emphasis on diversity and inclusion management and training in corporate and business settings. Second, I explain how diversity and inclusion have been conceptualized and studied in educational settings, from individual classrooms to college campuses. Third, I examine how diversity and inclusion have been framed by organizations through mission statements, which leads to posing the first research question regarding the communication of diversity and inclusion in higher education organizational mission statements. The final section of the chapter moves from the framing of diversity and inclusion in higher education mission statements to reviewing research on chief diversity officers (CDOs) who conduct diversity work in a variety of organizational contexts. That section ends with a discussion of CDOs in the context of higher education, and the posing of the second research question, which explores CDOs' communicative practices to promote diversity and inclusion.

Exploring Diversity and Inclusion in Organizational Settings

As discussed in Chapter 1, diversity and inclusion have become growing areas of interest for organizations. Driven by projected changes in racial demographics in the United States, as well as diversifying global markets, and a desire for increased social access and equity, organizations have undertaken major changes to increase organizational diversity and inclusion (see, e.g., D. A. Williams & Wade-Golden, 2013). Of these reasons for working towards organizational diversity and inclusion, one of the most prevalent rationales is to increase profitability and access to diverse markets and populations. The following section explores this rationale, often referred to as the “business case for diversity” (Mease, 2012, p. 384).

Making a Business Case for Diversity

The business case for diversity is “the practice of connecting human differences to an organizational bottom line” (Mease, 2012, p. 384). As a former diversity consultant, Mease (2012) used her professional network to conduct *empathetic interviews* with 19 diversity consultants, where “the interviewer becomes an advocate and partner in the study, hoping to be able to use the results to advocate social policies and ameliorate the conditions of the interviewee” (Fontana & Frey, 2005, p. 696). The interview questions focused on consultants’ experiences, challenges, and coping strategies for overcoming obstacles in their organizational consulting about diversifying organizations. Mease found that although the business case for diversity may be appealing to organizational leaders interested in serving their shareholders’ financial desires, this approach to diversity and inclusion minimizes the value of diversity and inclusion by reducing “people to resources to be managed, rather than people to be respected and valued as human beings,” and it marks diversity as “worthwhile only for its bottom line” (p. 387). The reduction of people of color, women, and other marginalized groups to mere resources that can be leveraged for organizational financial benefits often is how diversity consultants frame diversity and inclusion to organizations that are resistant to that effort (Litvin, 2006). In addressing the business case for diversity, both Litvin (2006) and Mease argued that the communication framing of diversity and inclusion in ways that benefit the organizational bottom line can be used as an entry point for diversity and inclusion work. Hence, despite their disdain for the business case for diversity frame, the obsession with organizational financial returns on investments leads consultants to use that frame to accomplish organizational diversity and inclusion work.

Although the business case for diversity may spark the economic interest of organizational leaders, and offer diversity and inclusion consultants access to organizations, both Litvin (2006) and Mease (2012) suggested that a more robust rationale for promoting diversity and inclusion that is rooted in organizational change and social justice can be employed as trust is built between the organizational leaders and diversity

consultants. Litvin used participant observation in organizations, interviews with diversity consultants, and archival research on diversity management materials, to build her argument that consultants can use a more politically targeted approach that centers organizations as social change agents for promoting diversity. In centering organizations as social change agents, Litvin wrote that diversity consultants played into the egos of organizational leaders by inviting them to become forces for good, by increasing “opportunities for all individuals to develop themselves through interaction with and learning from a pool of colleagues varied in perspective, background, strengths, disabilities, skills, and assumptions” (p. 90). However, in her suggested framing of organizational opportunities that are related to diversity and inclusion, Litvin did not mention race or gender, seeking to circumvent specific social identities that may incite visceral negative responses from organizational leaders; instead, both Litvin and Mease suggested that the business case for diversity can be reframed and balanced with “other discourses, such as emotion, social justice, even ‘feeling good’” (Mease, p. 398) to obtain organizational buy-in for diversity and inclusion.

Whereas Litvin (2006) and Mease (2012) focused their critiques on the use of the business case for diversity, Kirby and Harter (2001), both communication scholars, suggested that the business case for diversity extends to organizational investments in their employees’ satisfaction. Kirby and Harter (2001) argued that organizational leaders should invest in the benefits that derive from diversity and inclusion, as these benefits affect employees’ “quality of work life” (QWL). To remain competitive in the global marketplace by producing quality work, an organizational environment is needed where all employees feel valued. As discussed in Chapter 1, one way to promote employees’ satisfaction and feelings of value is through organizational diversity programs that include training sessions on the value and benefits of diversity (for an overview of those programs’ effects, see the meta-analysis by Kalinoski et al., 2013). Kirby and Harter (2001), for example, explored how diversity training affects employees’ QWL, hypothesizing that “when differences among individuals are understood and appreciated, the organization

should be a better place to work” (p. 122). Kirby and Harter (2001) found that when diversity training was designed as an extension of “diversity management,” where the primary function was “to improve competitive advantage and organizational profitability” (p. 122), the training did nothing to improve organizational members’ QWL. Kirby and Harter (2001) argued that “if diversity training programs are based in bottom-line imperatives, then the strategies portrayed as improving QWL may simply continue patterns of White-male management domination under the guise of emancipating and valuing a diverse workforce” (p. 126). The authors noted that if diversity training focuses on management concerns and not on the workforce, training sessions can create a divide between the interests of organizations and their employees. When diversity training was most successful, topics and goals of the training were aligned with employees’ daily practices and desire for a workplace where all employees felt valued. In addition to examining and problematizing bottom-line motivation for organizations’ use of diversity programs and trainings, Kirby and Harter (2001) addressed concerns about using the metaphor of “managing diversity” (p. 123), which, as explicated below, they expanded on in later research.

The Problem with Managing Diversity

Kirby and Harter (2003) expanded on their study of the metaphor of managing diversity by conducting a metaphor analysis (modeled after McMillan and Cheney’s, 1996, research on the metaphor of “student as consumer”) of 17 diversity management books that were listed as top sellers by the bookstore Barnes and Noble, and nine websites of companies that specialized in diversity training and consulting. Kirby and Harter (2003) examined these books and websites to “identify ways in which the tenor, diversity, is understood from the managerial frame” (p. 34). Kirby and Harter (2003) found that a primary framing of the managerial metaphor was “creating competitive advantage by improving the competences of managers in dealing with diversity” (p. 35). Kirby and Harter (2003) highlighted how organizational managers often frame diverse employees and clients as a “resource of diversity” (p. 36). The foci of the various diversity management books were consistent in their motivation to identify and maximize what

diverse individuals could do *for* organizations, and not how diverse individuals can best be served *by* organizations.

As communication scholars, Kirby and Harter (2003) recognized the material consequences of the metaphor of managing diversity, writing that “metaphors can guide thought . . . [and that] the language of managing diversity might have consequences that direct and perhaps constrain how organizational members think about the process of working with a diverse work force and customer base” (p. 39). Hence, given that organizations distance social identities (e.g., race, sexuality, ability, and gender) from individuals who are considered to be diverse (people who are not White, male, heterosexual, and able-bodied), the managing diversity metaphor functions to dehumanize the managerial process, and the people who are to be “managed” (Kirby & Harter, 2003). The dehumanization resulting from this distancing of identities through diversity management is not limited to business organizations. Researchers in a variety of areas, including employment relations (e.g., Kirton & Greene, 2015), health care (e.g., Irizarry & Gallant, 2006), human services (e.g., Gallant & Krone, 2014), management (e.g., Lorbiecki & Jack, 2002), and education (e.g., Nelson, Poms, & Wolf, 2012a) have examined and expressed concerns and tensions concerning the metaphor of diversity management, and the dehumanization that is associated with it.

One such tension with diversity management emerged in a study of a Midwest hospital diversity management training program concerning the communication of the “legal and social understandings of diversity” (Irizarry & Gallant, 2006, p. 43). In the study, Irizarry and Gallant (2006) conducted in-depth interviews with a dozen clinical and nonclinical White hospital managers to examine how hospital managers communicated about what diversity management meant in their position at the hospital. Each of the managers interviewed attended four mandatory diversity workshops related to Affirmative Action and EEO, and sensitivity to diversity. Irizarry and Gallant focused the interview questions on topics related to the diversity management training program as related to managers’ clinical or nonclinical hospital position. The authors noted a tension between what clinical and nonclinical hospital managers deemed as

being sufficient for diversity management; specifically, whereas nonclinical managers “interpreted and enacted diversity management as a process of adhering to the legal rules” of federal equal opportunity and affirmative action mandates, clinical managers on the hospital floors who worked with diverse patients recognized that diversity management far exceeds mere compliance with federal hiring and treatment mandates, and they “interpreted and enacted diversity management as a social process requiring cultural sensitivity when interacting with diverse groups of people” (pp. 45, 46).

The focus on not serving patients based on differing cultural needs and expectations was highlighted by clinical managers, who claimed that hospital employees engaged in “stereotyping patients from ethnic groups, expressing bigotry toward patient populations, and engaging in communication patterns that socially isolate patients from diverse cultures and racial groups” (Irizarry & Gallant, 2006, p. 46). An example provided by one of the managers interviewed in the study explained that a lack of knowledge of diverse cultures can leave staff members feeling “really inadequate” and “ill prepared” (p. 46) for treating patients who are not White. When an American Indian family came into the hospital, the same manager explained that the “different values and cultural beliefs” between staff members and patients left staff members feeling as if they were walking on “eggshells” because they were not knowledgeable about cultural practices and norms, did not know how to talk about cultural issues, and were unsure “how to act” (Irizarry & Gallant, 2006, p. 46). This hesitation and anxiety produced from a lack of cultural knowledge of diverse groups affected negatively both patients and hospital employees. The experience of this clinical manager with the American Indian family supported the need for diversity education and training for hospital employees to better serve medical needs of all patients, regardless of cultural identity.

Recognizing the importance of serving an increasingly diverse patient population, all hospital managers in Irizarry and Gallant’s (2006) study cited fear of violating federal and social expectations when communicating about and with patients from diverse backgrounds. Irizarry and Gallant wrote about

managers having “curbed discussions” and that they struggled with “resolving uncertainty” (p. 47) in their communication with diverse patients and with regard to diversity processes. Hospital managers were unsure how to talk about diverse patients and they shared concerns about offending patients and violating federal hiring and treatment mandates. In response to employees’ apprehension and discomfort regarding discussions of cultural differences, hospital managers requested “discussion forums for diversity management in order to improve communication understanding” (Irizarry & Gallant, p. 47). The fear and apprehension experienced by managers when communicating about diversity and cultural differences spoke to a lack of exposure to diverse cultures and insufficient training in informal and applied communication as related to meeting diverse patients’ needs and medical care.

The lack of organizational diversity among managers in many occupations, including health care, is a growing concern, given the diversifying needs of U.S. populations (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015). Moreover, as Irizarry and Gallant’s (2006) study revealed, communication between dominant and diverse cultural members is of paramount importance. Thus, as the U.S. population continues to change over the coming decades, more communication research that focuses on diversity and inclusion is needed to improve organizational practices and services.

Echoing the need for more communication training related to diversity, Gallant and Krone (2014) interviewed 30 human services employees about their experiences with diversity policies and practices in their work. Employees highlighted two major tensions that were related to diversity and inclusion. The first tension was fear and apprehension associated with ensuring fair treatment of all clients, as prescribed in federal affirmative action and equal opportunity policies. A lack of understanding about what constituted fair treatment in everyday practices created an environment where both White and nonWhite employees believed that they were being treated unfairly. Accusations related to “reverse discrimination and various forms of special treatment” from White employees about nonWhite employees were filed, and nonWhite employees argued that there was unfair treatment related to “the exclusive use of non-White

employees to serve non-White clients” (Gallant & Krone, p. 44). Unclear expectations about fair treatment, consequently, led to employees’ fear of offending clients and other employees, and of violating federal policies, which led to their apprehension of, and disengagement from, discussions about diversity. Cries of unfair treatment from employees, paired with fear and apprehension about diversity discussions, further illustrated the need for communication training related to diversity in that setting (and elsewhere).

Although communication training related to engaging diversity and inclusion is needed, the framing of training programs can affect organizational members’ receptivity to them. Gallant and Krone (2014) suggested, based on their research findings, that diversity “policies and programs can raise questions and inadvertently reinforce resistance to diversity” (p. 49). To combat resistance to diversity, Gallant and Kirby recommended expanding diversity training from the “business case for diversity” (discussed previously) to “the broader sociopolitical quest for social justice” (p. 50), to create organizational cultures that value diversity and promote inclusion (see also Tomlinson & Schwabenland, 2010; van Dijk, van Engen, & Paauwe, 2012). They wrote that in using a communication lens for diversity training, facilitators can highlight shared experiences and interactions across identity category differences, and create opportunities for discussion about diversity policies. By focusing on communication in diversity training and policies, organizations can deconstruct discourses that equate diversity with quotas, federal mandates, and political correctness, as well as expand dialogue and understanding about how diversity and inclusion benefit employees, organizations, stakeholders, and clients/customers.

Diversity training that focuses on building communication skills is recommended by many communication scholars who have studied ways to improve diversity and inclusion efforts, offering approaches for intrapersonal, interpersonal, group, and organizational success related to diversity and inclusion. Although the benefits of diversity and inclusion have been studied and confirmed for decades (B. J. Allen, 1995), the communication literature on diversity and inclusion reveals inconsistencies in how

communication scholars have defined and addressed issues of identity, race, difference, and diversity (Nicotera, Clinkscales, Dorsey, & Niles, 2009). Nicotera et al. (2009) discussed how race has been studied rhetorically, biologically, socially, and legally, but that the “communication literature on identity shows no consistent use of the terms race, ethnicity, and culture” (p. 208). In addition to those inconsistencies, Nicotera et al. highlighted the frequent “reduction of race” (p. 208) to issues between Black and White communities. This limited view of race as affecting only those two communities serves to silence the needs and concerns of other communities, and it minimizes the role of intersecting identities of social class, ethnicity, gender, and nationality.

Although each organizational setting has unique needs related to its occupation and mission, there are some common communication goals that are shared across organizational types. Building social relationships in the workplace is one shared goal that Riedlinger, Gallois, McKay, and Pittam (2004) found for strengthening diverse networks. The researchers conducted two focus groups with a group of 42 strategic communication managers who worked at 37 cooperative research centers where managers developed partnerships between academic institutions and industry leaders in technology, energy, agriculture, and medicine. Participants also completed questionnaires related to effective communication and managing social identities in their professional role. Riedlinger et al. found that social relationship building between organizational members from different industries with different “norms and values” (p. 65) represented a communication opportunity for increasing organizational inclusion through shared experiences. When organizational members knew each other in both a social and professional context, relationships were strengthened and feelings of shared goals and organizational inclusion increased for both parties. One specific strategy for building such social relationships to increase organizational functionality was “reducing the salience of conflicting identities” (Riedlinger et al., p. 73), or minimizing differences between groups. Forming and maintaining relationships with diverse organizational members,

thus, is a vital communication component for fostering successful diversity and inclusion efforts, and for maintaining positive and productive working relationships.

Riedlinger et al.'s (2004) suggestion regarding the reduction of the salience of social identities may appear problematic, as the focus on conflicting identities raises a question regarding the root of conflicts that are related to identity. Given that the majority of U.S. organizational managers are White males (D. A. Williams & Wade-Golden, 2013), identities and values that undergird organizational, nonconflicting norms align with the majority population. As Grimes (2002), a critical organizational scholar, argued, a problem with most approaches to diversity management is the “interrogating, re-centering, and masking” (p. 382) of whiteness. In suggesting a reduction of the salience of conflicting identities or differences, Riedlinger et al. (2004) articulated how intergroup differences can cause discomfort and conflict in the organization. In their conclusion, Riedlinger et al. wrote that “communication can be improved by increasing identification with the organization, and minimizing identifications that interfere with this process” (p. 77). The identifications that interfere with organizational identification, however, may be viewed as any identity that is different from the identities of organizational leaders.

Considering that most organizational leadership positions now require a college degree (and remembering the discussion in Chapter 1 of the disparate representation in educational attainment by racial groups), it should come as no surprise that the majority of executives in U.S. organizations are White males (Zweigenhaft & Domhoff, 2014). Moreover, the number of nonWhite chief executive officers (CEOs) of Fortune 500 companies has declined over the last several years; in fact, the “number of non-White male CEOs dropped from its peak at seven for African American in 2007, at thirteen for Latinos in 2008, and at fifteen for Asian Americans in 2013” (Zweigenhaft & Domhoff, 2014, p. xii). Both men and women of color, thus, have lost CEO positions in Fortune 500 companies since 2013. Although the turnover and retirement rate of CEOs is 11% each year, the opportunity to hire men and women of color in

CEO roles has not improved. As Zweigenhaft and Domhoff (2014) concluded, “Diversity in the corner office had declined for every group except White women” (p. xxi).

Acknowledging the majority identities of those in the CEO role is important for understanding how organizational policies and programs, including diversity and inclusion efforts, are constructed from the beliefs, attitudes, and values of those in power. The organizational framing of social identities, diversity, and inclusion by organizational leaders establishes the tenor and type of diversity and inclusion efforts that organizations institute (Heath, 2007; Riedlinger et al., 2004). In addressing the unchallenged whiteness in diversity management literature, Grimes (2002) identified three perspectives on whiteness that undermine diversity and inclusion initiatives, and that uphold “*White privilege* [italics added]” (p. 382), which was defined by McIntosh (1988) as “an invisible package of unearned assets that I can count on cashing in each day, but about which I was ‘meant’ to remain oblivious” (p. 165). This original description of White privilege by McIntosh was a springboard for scholars’ discussion of White privilege and deconstruction of dominant ideologies of whiteness that were present in organizational practices (Grimes). White privilege provides many organizational leaders with the hubris to create diversity and inclusion policies without unpacking unearned advantages that they have received, and without critically engaging in discussions with marginalized groups to understand how to create more inclusive and diverse organizations.

The three perspectives identified by Grimes (2002) that undermine diversity and inclusion were “interrogating, re-centering, and masking whiteness” (p. 382). Through close reading and textual analysis of diversity management articles written by and for practitioners that were published in academic journals from 1987 to 1995, Grimes “uncover[ed] the taken-for-granted assumptions manifested in the texts” (p. 388), finding that whiteness often was recentered and masked, leaving organizations with superficial changes resulting from their organizational diversity and inclusion efforts. In contrast, Grimes claimed that interrogating the construct of whiteness “works to name, unmask, and de-center whiteness, bringing to light hidden assumptions about difference” (p. 382). Grimes argued that although unearthing whiteness in

organizational diversity management literature was a good first step, to achieve significant organizational change towards inclusive diversity, where all organizational members feel valued equally, organizational leaders must decenter the “invisible norm” (p. 382) of whiteness and challenge the status quo of organizational interactions and expectations. Grimes offered two practical implications for interrogating whiteness in diversity and inclusion work: (a) organizational leaders should be self-reflexive regarding assumptions of difference, merit, opportunity, organizational culture, and organizational practices; and (b) “white male power” needed to be named explicitly, which is “a difficult step and perhaps is made more persuasive by having some of the naming done by white males themselves” (p. 402). In shifting the focus of diversity and inclusion work from people of color and women to White male leadership, Grimes suggested that for organizations to change and be more inclusive and diverse, organizational policies and practices need to be challenged from the top of the organizational hierarchy.

Although organizational leaders play an important role in framing diversity and inclusion efforts, social and political pressures, often resulting from urgent situations, such as hate crimes and highly publicized discrimination court cases, also can be the impetus for initiating diversity and inclusion plans (L. S. Williams, 2008). Corporations, such as Coca-Cola and Bank of America, have faced lawsuits related to racial discrimination that have led to those companies engaging in crisis communication to reduce negative media attention and consumer backlash related to organizational diversity issues (Temin, 2011). Prominent diversity leadership scholar D. A. Williams (2008) called this reactive approach the “diversity crisis model,” and that it “usually involves stakeholder responses, a high-profile declaration of support from senior leadership, the commissioning of a planning group, deliberation and discussion by diversity planning teams, and the development of a diversity plan” (p. 27). The crisis model of diversity and inclusion has been criticized for creating superficial and symbolic organizational diversity and inclusion efforts and results (D. A. Williams, Berger, & McClendon, 2005).

The diversity crisis model is not limited to corporations; institutions of higher education and nonprofit organizations also have experienced the pressure to act as a result of diversity crises (D. A. Williams, 2008). D. A. Williams (2008) argued that diversity missteps by college leadership, as well as an increase in racist-themed campus parties and campus hate crimes are leading more U.S. institutions of higher education to employ the diversity crisis model. The increase in racist campus incidents (see, e.g., Garcia & Johnston-Guerrero, 2015), paired with the increasing politicization and polarization of access and funding for U.S. higher education (see, e.g., Jaschik, 2014), are making campus leaders feel the pressure to answer for their diversity and inclusion policies and practices. With some politicians creating and supporting educational policies that define the sole focus of higher education as preparation for job placement (see, e.g., K. Allen, Quinn, Hollingworth, & Rose, 2013; Oreopoulos & Petronijevic, 2013), questions arise concerning who is meant to attend college, where students should attend, and what students should study. The framing of who U.S. higher education is intended to serve is linked closely to diversity and inclusion work on college campuses. To better understand how diversity and inclusion efforts function beyond corporate organizations, the following section explores scholarly literature on diversity and inclusion in U.S. educational settings.

Diversity and Inclusion in Educational Settings

In U.S. institutions of higher education, diversity crises often are the impetus for the creation of campus diversity policies and practices (D. A. Williams, 2008). Although campus diversity and inclusion plans are intended to reach all campus constituencies, changes that lead to cultural shifts on campus for increased diversity and inclusion begin not on the campus-wide level but in the design and practices of individual classrooms (Ladson-Billings, 2001). Communication classrooms on U.S. college campuses have been engaging in diversity and inclusion for decades (Wood, 1998). In a keynote address presented at the 1998 Central States Communication Association conference, and published subsequently, Wood (1998) stated that communication scholars must offer “specific suggestions for integrating social diversity

into teaching and research,” and that communication teachers, in particular, should “foster understanding and appreciation of diversity as an essential foundation for a civil society” (p. 173). The call to action for communication scholars to engage diversity and inclusion actively also has been argued in communication and social justice scholarship (see, e.g., Frey, 1998b, 2009; Frey et al., 1996; Pearce, 1998). Scholars in communication education, instructional communication, and critical communication pedagogy, as explained below, have studied effects of diversity and inclusion in classroom settings.

Diversity and Inclusion Infusion in Communication Classrooms

In 2012, there were 83,770 students who graduated with Bachelor’s degrees awarded by U.S. colleges and universities in communication, journalism, and related programs (U.S. Department of Education, NCES, 2013). Additionally, many state university systems, such as the California and Texas systems, require all students and majors to enroll in a general education oral communication course. This exposure to communication through general education and major courses provides communication educators with ample opportunities to educate a large sector of U.S. college and university students about diverse audiences, communication styles, cultural norms, and values and benefits of diverse groups and organizations (Wood, 1998). In particular, intercultural communication courses provide educators with the chance to teach about diverse communication patterns around the globe; interactional expectations in a variety of intimate, platonic, and professional relationships; and to affect how students understand and empathize with people who are different culturally, racially, and socially from themselves (Carrell, 1997).

In an experimental study conducted at a midwestern U.S. university, Carrell (1997) selected four communication courses in which students were required to complete assignments and participate in activities that were designed to address topics related to diverse perspectives and groups. Specifically, students were assigned a research report (in an intercultural communication course), group perception activities related to self and others (in an interpersonal course), a final media project on a diverse culture (in the radio/television/film course), or an informative or persuasive speech (in a basic oral communication

course) about an issue related to diversity. Carrell employed a control group classroom, in which students were given the same assignments and activities, but they “did not include the infusion of diversity” (Carrell, p. 238). Students completed pretest and posttest instruments measuring their empathy (“a central component of intercultural communication competence”; Carrell, p. 234), as the purpose of the study was to see whether diversity in communication courses affected students’ empathy as it related to intercultural competency. Carrell found that prolonged classroom time spent on diversity had the greatest positive effects on students’ empathy; specifically, in the intercultural communication course, where students spent an entire semester learning about diverse cultures and practices, there was consistent empathy gains from the pretest to the posttest in students’ attitudes, traits, and behaviors related to diversity. Moreover, a one-time exposure to diversity topics, such as giving a speech in a public speaking course, had no effect on students’ empathy. Carrell argued, on the basis of these findings, that consistent and continuous infusion of diversity by instructors, through readings, examples, and assignments, throughout the semester, is needed for students to increase their empathy as related to diversity.

Given that many, if not most, general education requirements have undergraduate students of many, if not all, majors enroll in a public speaking or oral communication course, the value of that course for increasing students’ intercultural competency and empathy toward issues of diversity and inclusion is unique. Whereas Carrell’s (1997) study limited the public speaking course to a single speech about diversity and found no difference in the development of students’ empathy, as a basic course director who has designed a public speaking curriculum that infuses diversity and inclusion throughout the course, I would argue that diversity infused into the readings, lectures, and assignments affects how students respond to campus diversity and inclusion practices.

In the decades following Carrell’s study, communication educators have worked to incorporate diverse voices and assignments into communication classrooms (Swenson-Lepper, 2012). Through the integration of diverse perspectives and experiences in the classroom, communication educators are able to

teach about oppressive systems and conditions, and expand student understanding and empathy on issues such as racism, sexism, classism, and homophobia (R. A. Griffin & Jackson, 2011). R. A. Griffin and Jackson (2011), two communication educators who sought to expand student understanding for diverse perspectives, created a learning exercise called “Privilege Monopoly” for use in an introductory communication course. In an article detailing the exercise and its impact on student learning, R. A. Griffin and Jackson wrote that the discussions before, during, and after the classroom exercise provided students “with a rich opportunity to engage in learning and critical dialogue that highlights the intricate ways systemic oppression influences our interactions and relationships” (p. 2).

Prior to beginning the exercise, instructors facilitate a classroom conversation about communication, difference, and oppression. Once the discussion has ended, students are assigned a game identity. Unlike the silver thimble or top hat used in the traditional Monopoly game, the gamer identities for Privilege Monopoly involve race and occupational identities such as “White male doctor” or “Latina elementary school teacher” (R. A. Griffin & Jackson, 2011, p. 2) with a starting amount of money predetermined by the combination of occupation, gender, and race to purchase properties on the game board. In addition to buying and selling properties, the game uses current oppressive social practices, such as a White man paying less bail and spending less time in jail than a Black man, to illustrate social inequities. After 30 minutes of the exercise, instructors facilitate a discussion about the ways that communication interactions and relationships can reproduce or disrupt oppression. After successfully facilitating the exercise with students from high school to graduate school as well as college administrators, R. A. Griffin and Jackson found that the exercise helped to “generate awareness surrounding issues of diversity” and to foster “discussions about sustaining impact of power and privilege on people’s lives depending on who has access to them and who does not” (p. 4).

In addition to classroom exercises, such as Privilege Monopoly, communication educators have also used class assignments to expand student understanding of and appreciation for diversity. One such

assignment designed to “increase awareness between communication ethics and life in a diverse society” is through community service projects (Swenson-Lepper, 2012, p. 228). In Swenson-Lepper’s assignment, community service student groups are intentionally designed to be diverse by assigning students to groups based on gender and academic major. This diversification by gender and major allows for diverse perspectives to emerge even if the class is homogeneous in other identities such as race or social class. The service learning projects were used as the foundational experience from which students would write individual and group blog posts, as well as a final paper and would present a final group project. Swenson-Lepper focused on the individual blogs as an opportunity for reflection on issues of social inequities and diverse perspectives. In requiring students to respond to one another’s blogs, students felt challenged in their perspectives and reported “ethical challenges related to diversity” (p. 231). These ethical challenges from the service learning course experience allowed for identity growth, an application of communication ethics, and helped students “have a deeper, more visceral understanding of the [ethical] code they say they wish to live by” (p. 234).

While service learning assignments may facilitate an increased appreciation of diversity and a commitment to social justice, Britt (2012) cautioned that not all service-learning projects achieve these goals. Through “careful study of the historical,” social, and philosophical roots of service learning in U.S. higher education, Britt offered a typology of serving learning pedagogy for faculty to “hone their approaches” to “strengthen communities” and to deepen student learning (p. 86). Britt labeled “skill-set practice and reflexivity, civic values and critical citizenship, [and] social justice activism” as the three goals in the typology which should drive service learning projects (p. 83). When these three labeled areas inform the design and implementation of service learning projects, students have the potential to experience “being an individual in relation to [a] collective community” and have the opportunity to be a “[c]hange agent, through encouraging critical consciousness of structural inequalities and marginalization”

(p. 83). Classroom assignments, like the service learning projects designed by Britt, provide students with opportunities to learn about diverse perspectives, appreciate diversity, and work for social justice.

Another classroom assignment where diversity can be embedded in communication curricula to increase appreciation of and exposure to diverse experiences and perspectives is through the use of culturally informed speeches in the basic communication course of public speaking. Gareis and Cohn (2007) argued that of “all the communication courses that can be tailored to emphasize cultural diversity, one of the most adaptable but often overlooked is public speaking” (p. 247). As a general education requirement at many institutions, public speaking courses provide communication educators a broad audience of academic majors to teach about how audience analysis, feedback, and framing are all influenced by the identities and diversity of an audience. Gareis and Cohn recommended three “ingredients” for making “a public speaking course more culturally diverse” (p. 247). The ingredients are “syllabus based, instructor based, and student based” (p. 247).

For the syllabus, Gareis and Cohn (2007) wrote that if diversity is going to be imbedded throughout the course then “it must be highlighted initially on the syllabus through the statement of purpose, course goals, and assignments” (p. 247). This integration of diversity into the syllabus demonstrates to students that in order to be an effective public speaker you must craft messages that are culturally relevant, rhetorically sensitive, and inclusive. Additionally, once the syllabus reflects the instructor’s commitment to diversity within the public speaking course, the instructor must then “become a living example of the behaviors he or she wants the students to demonstrate . . . including modeling the expected behavior and offering a variety of examples related to the expected outcome” (p. 249). Modeling inclusive language in lectures and in class examples, and challenging normative language where speakers are always he and not she, or where couples are assumed to be heterosexual are two examples where instructors can model the expected inclusive language. The final ingredient Gareis and Cohn suggest is to cater speech assignments for cultural diversity. Specifically, one public speaking assignment in a widely used public speaking textbook

by Valenzano Braden, and Broeckelman-Post (2013) incorporating a cultural artifact speech where students introduce themselves to the class in a speech describing a culture, such as an ethnic or religious culture, in which they participate, and provides students with the chance to explain their connection with a culture. The cultural artifact speech example is one way instructors can highlight the diversity of the students in the class, and also contribute to an appreciation for the differences in experiences and cultures.

Using Gareis and Cohn's (2007) suggestions, basic course directors, who often are charged with designing, implementing, and managing elements of general education public speaking courses, have an opportunity to infuse the communication curriculum with diverse perspectives and voices, and, thereby, affect students of all majors across campus. Changing campus cultures and classroom environments requires a desire from instructors to increase their awareness and understanding of diverse issues by designing assignments and choosing course materials, such as textbooks, that engage thoughtfully diversity and inclusion.

Diversity and Inclusion in Communication Textbooks

Although the studies reviewed in the previous section did not discuss the specific textbooks used in the sampled courses, other studies of whether and how diversity is featured in communication textbooks have found a lack of diverse representation in content, examples, photographs, and assignments (see, e.g., Ashcraft & Allen, 2003; Gullicks, Pearson, Child, & Schwab, 2005; Hanson, 1997). Textbooks and other course materials set the tone for what topics, concepts, and perspectives are valued and necessary for success in the classroom (McGarrity, 2010; Myerson, Crawley, Anstey, Kessler, & Okopny, 2007). In addition to providing topics and contexts that students should know for a course, the "information that is presented in university and college textbooks shapes readers' identities" (Rudick, 2014, p. 17). Talking about and offering examples of certain groups and identities in textbooks and course material frames students' understanding of societal issues, such as diversity and inclusion, with Gullicks et al. (2005) arguing that the "emphasis in education to maintain and prescribe societal expectations may be directly

linked to the misrepresentation and underrepresentation of diverse experiences in the textbooks” (p. 248). A lack of diverse experiences and perspectives in college textbooks, thus, can lead students to not acknowledge or value perspectives that do not reflect dominant norms.

The maintenance of dominant U.S. norms, particularly those related to whiteness, can be seen in Ashcraft and Allen’s (2003) critical textual analysis of framings of race in six organizational communication undergraduate and graduate textbooks. Ashcraft and Allen selected textbook based on three criteria: (a) they offered “a synopsis of organizational communication as a field of study,” (b) covered a “range of levels, from theoretically oriented undergraduate texts to more sophisticated graduate-level works”, and (c) were “widely used and highly regarded by members of our discipline” (p. 8). Ashcraft and Allen found five framings of race that were present in the textbooks that served to “sustain raced organization . . . [and] support and obscure the tacit Whiteness of much organizational communication theory” (p. 28). One such frame treated race as a “contemporary trend,” one with which “students must be prepared to cope” (Ashcraft & Allen, p. 29) in their interactions with others from diverse racial backgrounds. This common framing of race as something to be dealt or coped with to succeed is similar to the business case for organizational diversity and inclusion, discussed previously in this chapter.

With the hope of moving beyond this limited view of race and issues of difference, Ashcraft and Allen (2003) offered seven strategies that communication scholars can employ to “revise the racial subtext of the field” in ways that are more “direct and complex” (p. 31): (a) “demonstrate the centrality of organizational life by integrating race-related issues throughout” foundational texts; (b) engage race as a “serious theoretical matter”; (c) “problematize the persistence of essential conceptions of race and develop alternatives to them”; (d) have communication scholars “address domestic race relations in their own right . . . [and to] distinguish domestic and interactional issues,” (e) “probe the idea that we are all raced beings, instead of conflating race with people of color” and “studying the organization of Whiteness”; (f) “study experiences relevant to members of various racial groups in diverse occupations and organizational

contexts”; and (g) “expand our scope of analysis beyond the firm . . . [and pay] attention to labor that occurs beyond traditional organization boundaries” (Ashcraft & Allen, pp. 31, 32). These strategies, thus, encouraged communication scholars to acknowledge and engage race in their teaching and research.

Textbooks addressing interpersonal and family communication, increasingly, have embraced diversity, in part, due to the diversification of U.S. families and increased number of interracial partnerships (Orbe & Harris, 2015). In a textbook on interracial communication, Orbe and Harris (2015) argue that due to changing racial demographic trends in the U.S. that “the ability to communicate across racial and ethnic groups is and will continue to be crucial to personal, social and professional success” (p. xii). Additionally, Orbe and Harris stressed that while “scholars have broadened their research agendas to be more inclusive” more research is needed to address the diversifying communication needs of the nation” (p. xvi). In 2010, the U.S. Census Bureau released the Households and Families brief (CB12-68), showing data that suggested interracial and interethnic marriages in the United States had increased by more than 28% percent since the year 2009 (Lofquist, Lugaila, & Feliz). In addition to more interracial and interethnic couples, there was a reported increase in the birth of biracial and multiracial children in the United States. The increasing racial diversity of U.S. families, coupled with the U.S. Supreme Court recent ruling in favor of marriage equality, has led to the legal recognition of more than 486,000 same-sex married couples living in the United States (Gates & Brown, 2015). Given the diversification of U.S. families and relationships, communication scholars are challenged to construct more comprehensive models that encompass diverse communication patterns and styles in order to prepare students for interacting across lines of difference at work, in their neighborhoods, and at home. When discussing diversifying populations, it is important to emphasize what communication scholars have argued for decades—that communication interactions, including approaches to conflict, can “involve personal and cultural issues” (Orbe & Harris, 2015, p. 244). Thus, in teaching communication strategies for creating connections and dealing with conflict across racial and ethnic differences, communication scholars must

be knowledgeable and be prepared to teach about diverse cultural values, relationship norms, and interactions. In an article detailing historical and cultural values of marriage and communication across the globe, Coontz (2003) argued that “values of both emotions and communication . . . [have] varied immensely from culture to culture, and within subgroups of any particular culture” (p. 187), and, thus, communication scholars must examine critically, and thoughtfully, intersections of difference. In valuing communicative practices and public expressions of emotions and affection that reflect White, middle-class, heteronormative ideals, entire segments of the U.S. population have been left out of research and practice (Coontz; L. H. Turner & West, 2003). Coontz stressed that to ignore “class and ethnic difference can lead to the idea that White, middle-class U.S. Americans have more psychological ‘depth’ than other social groups” (p. 191). Highlighting concerns raised by Coontz and by L. H. Turner and West (2003) regarding the inclusion of diverse families and experiences in communication research, a content analysis of four family communication textbooks by Webb et al. (2004) sought to quantify how many pages textbook authors devoted “to issues of gender and diversity” (p. 35). Webb et al. found that “diversity issues comprised less than 10%” of the material, and that “the highest percentages for diversity coverage tended to occur in headings, perhaps indicating a tendency for authors to segment treatment of diversity issues into chapters and subsections specifically devoted to such topics” (p. 47). This “ghettoizing” (Webb et al., p. 47) of compartmentalization of diversity topics to separate sections of textbooks stands in sharp contrast to infusing diversity into communication knowledge that is presented in textbooks. Similar to Ashcraft and Allen’s (2003) analysis of organizational communication textbooks, issues of race and other social identities outside of the dominant group identity were treated in the textbooks that Webb et al. studied as supplemental and not vital to communicative theory and practice per se.

Not making diversity and inclusion integral to communication theory and practice, as reflected in perspectives and examples that are included in textbooks and other curriculum material, potentially, can lead students of color and other underrepresented groups to feel marginalized in communication

classrooms and on campus. In response, communication educators have attempted to create more diverse and inclusive classroom environments, with some of those attempts studied by communication scholars. Muthuswamy, Levine, and Gazel (2006), for instance, conducted an empirical assessment of a campus race relations program that was created to promote and sustain “interactional diversity” (p. 110), by providing students of different racial backgrounds the opportunity to live and teach together through peer education. Muthuswamy et al. used an experimental design to assess whether participation in the race relations program affected participants’ “salience, attitude, behaviors, and knowledge” (p. 117) about race, as compared to a control group. Students in the program were found to hold “more positive attitudes, express interracial behaviors more frequently, and possess more accurate knowledge regarding issues related to race, in comparison to the control participants” (Muthuswamy et al., p. 105). In discussing the findings, Muthuswamy et al. argued for the centrality of communication in bridging racial divides between students on campus, and they stressed the importance of meaningful informal interaction to reap the educational benefits of diversity that were discussed in Chapter 1. As Muthuswamy et al. explained, “The notion of diversity entails benefits to the extent that it is defined and operationalized as a communicative phenomenon rooted in the nature of interaction” (p. 107). In rooting diversity efforts in educational benefits that are achieved through interaction, communication becomes the pathway for promoting organizational diversity and inclusion.

The Centrality of Communication for Diversity and Inclusion in Academia

For the last several decades, Gurin and colleagues (1999; Gurin, Dey, Hurtado, & Gurin, 2002; Gurin, Dey, Gurin, & Hurtado, 2003) have worked to increase classroom dialogues on race and diversity, with Gurin serving as an expert on educational benefits of diversity in her defense of affirmative action in undergraduate admissions at the University of Michigan, in the U.S. Supreme Court case *Gratz v. Bollinger*.¹ Gurin, in concert with many scholars in communication, education, psychology, and political science, argued for the centrality of interaction between diverse students in classrooms and on campus to

reap educational benefits of diversity. To achieve interaction between diverse populations, most institutional diversity plans in higher education aim to increase the representation of diverse races and ethnicities in student, faculty, and staff campus populations. Although communication and education scholars agree that the recruitment and retention of diverse campus populations is important, this practice, merely, is a first step to achieving diversity and inclusion (Gurin et al., 2003).

In working to promote campus diversity and inclusion, meaningful communication between student peers about issues of race, inclusion, and issues of difference are of vital importance for dismantling students' racial stereotypes, building connections among diverse students, and creating in students a sense of civic engagement for increased equity (Gurin et al., 2002). However, to create classroom opportunities for intergroup discussions on race and diversity, educators need preparation and training in these areas (Simonds, Lippert, Hunt, Angell, & Moore, 2008). As discussed previously in this chapter, communication textbooks, used to educate many graduate students and future communication instructors, have not discussed sufficiently issues of race and diversity (see e.g., Ashcraft & Allen, 2003; Gullicks et al., 2005; Hanson, 1997; Webb et al., 2004). Communication students and instructors, consequently, must engage consciously in additional reading and pedagogical training to incorporate into the classroom diversity in productive ways that reap the benefits of educational diversity. One solution to educating communication teachers about issues of difference and diversity is through teacher discussion groups. Communication scholar De La Mare (2014) suggested that educators form discussion groups to learn more about diverse perspectives, because in "dialogic space, free from institutional constraints and taken-for-granted practices," educators can think, learn and teach "in ways that are much more respectful, responsible, and meaningful" (p. 140). Although De La Mare lauded the intrapersonal and interpersonal developments of teacher dialogues on difference, and their potential effects on diverse classrooms, she did not address how educator focus groups also may place an additional burden on faculty of color to educate their peers about diverse experiences.

At institutions where there are only one or a few faculty of color, such focus groups (and other discussion formats) must be mindful not to treat faculty members of color as spokespeople for their race or as tokens of diversity (Stanley, 2006). Although student populations at U.S. colleges and university continue to diversify racially, faculty of color in higher education occupy only 21% of all full time faculty positions (U.S. Department of Education, NCES, 2015b)). Experiences of faculty of color overcoming barriers and challenging departmental and institutional injustices have been documented by more than 300 scholars in published research articles, chapters, reports, and books since 1988 (C. S. V. Turner, González, & Wood, 2008).

Although most of the work documenting experiences of faculty of color in higher education is published in education and higher education practitioner journals, one of the articles examined by C. S. V. Turner et al. (2008), a study conducted by Subervi and Cantrell (2007), addressed, specifically, factors that lead to the successful recruitment and retention of faculty of color in U.S. journalism and mass communication departments. Subervi and Cantrell surveyed 137 schools to determine if institutional qualities, such as size, location, students' racial demographics, accreditation, having graduate degrees, and offering faculty child care, influenced the policies and practices of hiring and retaining faculty of color in journalism and mass communication programs. The authors found that accredited programs, programs that offered graduate degrees, and institutions where the student population was racially diverse and where child care was offered to faculty were more deliberate and successful in recruiting and retaining faculty of color.

The findings from Subervi and Cantrell's (2007) study, and those reviewed by C. S. V. Turner et al. (2008), are in line with findings from studies that have explored experiences of faculty of color in communication departments (see, e.g., B. J. Allen, 1998; B. J. Allen, Orbe, & Oliva, 1999; Calafell, 2010a, 2010b, 2012; Davis, 2008; R. A. Griffin, 2012a, 2012b; T. M. Harris, 2012; Herbert, 2012; Jackson, 2008; Parker, 2009; Patton, 2004), particularly female faculty of color, who feel additional pressures to mentor

and complete service work on campus. For example, having child care on campus provides faculty members with the opportunity to work the extended hours that are necessary to complete the added mentoring and service work that often is asked of them (B. J. Allen, 1998), and, simultaneously, to remain connected with their family.

Moreover, faculty of color in the communication discipline have written about their experiences of institutional and departmental racism, feelings of tokenism, and the additional mentoring and service work expected of faculty of color. For instance, in an essay analyzing her experience as a Black female faculty member, B. J. Allen (1996) used feminist standpoint theory to highlight “U.S. academe as a discursive site for constructing identity” (p. 575), discussing how tokenism, or viewing one’s presence as a gesture or political statement, occupied her time as a faculty member. B. J. Allen (1998) later discussed sometimes feeling “more like a symbol or representative than an individual” (p. 580). Additionally, B. J. Allen (1998) wrote about the tensions between the time that it took to mentor students and the time needed for successful advancement in a faculty position.

In addition to extra service and mentoring, many faculty of color often are stereotyped racially by peers, supervisors, administrators, and students (Gilchrist & Jackson, 2012; Parker, 2009). Racial stereotyping of faculty of color has implications for how students interact with and value instructors. Hendrix (1998), who has studied the influence of race in and on communication education for more than 2 decades, conducted participant observations and interviews to examine how undergraduate students at a predominately White institution viewed Black and White faculty members’ credibility. Hendrix found that the students held Black faculty members to “more stringent” criteria for viewing them as having credibility, compared to White faculty member, especially when Black faculty taught an area that was not “linked to their race” (p. 24), such as an Ethnic Studies course.

Moreover, Hendrix and Wilson (2014) wrote about the lack of publications addressing students of color and the pedagogy of faculty of color, noting the tension that this absence of research causes for scholars of color:

It is only natural for all scholars to want to feel accepted in their academic community, but scholars interested in race tend to face a decision that influences their careers—either they can conduct their race-related research that may make their white counterparts uncomfortable and find themselves “on the outside looking in, “or they can revise their research agendas to include more mainstream topics—denying their voices and experiences—in order to be accepted and succeed in a community that would prefer not to see color. (p. 419)

The absence of abundant research on race in communication has been addressed through a lens of the *other* (Said, 1979), where faculty of color are positioned discursively in racialized opposition to the dominant norms of whiteness in academia. Parker (2009), an organizational communication scholar, writing about her racialized and gendered experiences as an African American female faculty at a predominately White institution of higher education, examined her standpoint, as well as published narratives of other faculty of color, to “illuminate practices and processes that reproduce exclusion and oppression” (p. 130) in U.S. institutions of higher education, finding that some of the practices of oppression were premised on racialized stereotypes and assumptions. Parker argued that discourses about African American women “are part of a larger racial, gender, and class politics informed by the reproduction of negative stereotyping of African American women in literature and film, the news media, and television ‘reality’ shows and sitcoms” (p. 120). Gilchrist and Jackson (2012) shared this position in writing that “African American communication scholarship has noted a correlation between Black women’s *otherness* stance in the academy and society’s general perceptions of Black women” (p. 245). The limited and often racialized stereotypes of women of color by the media leads to ethnic and racial stereotyping that manifests in everyday interactions (Gilchrist & Jackson; Scharrer & Ramasubramanian,

2015). As Parker argued, “It is in the context of these everyday communicative encounters that potential barriers to advancement are produced, reproduced, resisted, and transformed” (p. 120). Aligned with the literature on creating inclusive classrooms for students (discussed previously), supporting faculty of color in the academy, Parker argued, is rooted in everyday communicative practices that value diverse experiences, knowledge, and perspectives.

One primary and necessary way that institutions can support diversity and inclusion is through communicating the values of diversity and inclusion in their institutional mission statement (D. A. Williams & Wade-Golden, 2013). The following section reviews literature on organizational mission statements and addresses how mission statements can support institutional diversity and inclusion in U.S. higher education.

Supporting Diversity and Inclusion through Organizational Mission Statements

An *institutional mission statement* “represents a consensus on campus-wide values, expectations for student learning and development, and a statement of campus priorities for many years ahead” (Meacham & Barrett, 2003, para. 2). In portraying campus priorities and values, mission statements serve to determine how institutional resources are directed to achieve the stated expectations of the mission statement. Mission statements, thus, “act as carriers of ideologies and institutional cultures” (Swales & Rogers, 1995, p. 225), guiding organizational members to share in the “consensus of the community about its essential values and purpose” (Gudeman, 2000, p. 40), and the way that it allocates resources.

Organizational mission statements usually are brief and frequently are found in printed materials and on institutional webpages. These statements often are used for recruitment, retention, and outreach to employees, students, alumni, and local community members. Studies of mission statements have found that they can affect positively organizational performance (see, e.g., the meta-analysis by Desmidt, Prinzie, & Decramer, 2011; Patel, Booker, Ramos, & Bart, 2015), building and communicating corporate culture (Swales & Rogers, 1995), members visions of the organization (Kopaneva & Sias, 2015) and their

volunteering (Sullivan, Ludden, & Singleton, 2013), and, most relevant to the present study, institutional support of diversity and inclusion (Variotta, 1997; Wilson, Meyer, & McNeal, 2012).

To better understand how mission statements can affect organizational financial performance, L. S. Williams (2008), performed a content analysis of 42 organizations listed on the 2006 *Fortune 1000* list of most lucrative U.S. companies. L. S. Williams coded each mission statement for qualities such as target customers, services offered, company location, organizational philosophy and self-concept, concern for employees and public image, and technology used by the organization, and compared those qualities with organizational profits. The findings showed that the 14 most successful companies used first-person language 239 times in their mission statements. The use of first-person language has been shown to build alliances with and to demonstrate goodwill toward customers, clients, and other stakeholders (see also Swales & Rogers, 1995).

In addition to building goodwill towards consumers and clients, organizations also design mission statements with “the aim of facilitating ‘buy-in’ and of fostering identification with the company” for organizational employees ((Swales & Rogers, 1995, p. 227). As “carriers of culture, ethos, and ideology” (Swales and Rogers, 1995, p. 226) mission statements are an important component of organizations. In a rhetorical analysis of two companies’ (Honeywell and Dana) mission statements, Swales and Rogers examined how “corporations project their corporate philosophy through mission statements” (p. 223). The corporate mission statements of each organization varied in their purpose. The authors found that while the language used in each mission statement was similar, the “history, rationale, and role” of the statements stemmed from the diverse organizational histories and elicited different responses from organizational members. Depending on the perceived financial and organizational stability, Swales and Rogers wrote that mission statements can “operate to prevent change” or be “designed to encourage it” (p. 236). If an organization has operated the same way and has seen steady growth for decades, organizational employees are inclined to want to see traditional ways of operation reflected in the mission statement. In

addition to indicating stability to change, the two organizational mission statements analyzed also reflect a collective of organizational members by referring to “company people” as “Dana people” or “Honeywellers” (p. 232). By gaining organizational buy in from employees, the companies were able to sustain power by setting organizational agendas and framing organizational priorities and values as discursively aligned with the agendas and priorities of the organizational members.

To understand how employees view organizational mission statements, Kopaneva and Sias (2015) analyzed the congruency between employees’ conceptions of organizational mission compared with the official organizational mission. To study how employees understood the organizational mission, Kopaneva and Sias conducted 46 semistructured interviews with employees from 23 organizations. The interview protocol contained, mostly, open-ended questions that focused on what employees believed were the purpose, mission, and future of their organization. A thematic analysis of the interview transcripts showed that employees could identify only a third of the information in their organization’s mission statement; hence, employees’ conceptions of their organization’s mission statement were simpler and more direct than the official statements. Interestingly, official mission statements attempted to “construct the organization as an active social agent” (Kopaneva & Sias, p. 21), whereas employees’ conceptions of their organizations’ mission was tied to global markets and profits, with employees viewing the organizations where they worked as focused singularly on financial gains. The results, thus, suggested a “lack of congruence . . . [between] the level of everyday practice and organizational representation” (Kopaneva & Sias, p. 19).

For institutions of higher education, mission statements represent “campus-wide values, expectations for student learning and development, and a statement of campus priorities for many years ahead” (Meacham & Barrett, 2003, para. 2). In portraying campus priorities and values, mission statements determine, to some extent, as they do in corporations, how institutional resources are directed to achieve stated goals. Unlike corporate mission statements, however, typically, higher education mission

statements are “reviewed and endorsed by the campus’s board of trustees or governing board, often following review and recommendations by students and faculty, by administrators at several levels, and by the campus's provost and president” (Meacham & Barrett, 2003, para 2). In having institutional leaders, as well as students, contribute to the mission statement, the document serves as an important text that (re)constructs organizational purposes, policies, and practices.

However, mission statements also can silence and marginalize issues and populations that are not included or valued in those statements. As Ashcraft and Allen (2003) explained, organizational mission statements “articulate and hush” (p. 10) discourses of diversity. “Hushing,” as Ashcraft and Allen pointed out, is one way that mission statements, as organizational texts, are “institutionalized forces or networks of intertextual relations that sustain power” (Putnam & Fairhurst, 2001, p. 115). The power to communicate organizational values and to offer characteristics of ideal students, professors, staff, and/or administrators on a college campus through an institutional mission statement sets and supports organizational norms and expectations.

How mission statements communicate the value of diversity and inclusion on college campuses has material implications in the lives of those who study, work, live, and interact with campus communities, according to a decade of research and assessment on strategic diversity leadership that has been conducted by D. A. Williams (2013). In creating an organizational plan that supports diversity and inclusion on campus, therefore, colleges and universities should include diversity and inclusion in their mission statement. As D. A. Williams (2008) wrote in his book on strategic diversity leadership, referencing diversity in a college mission statement “reflects a highly visible commitment to diversity values” (p. 371). Specifically, D. A. Williams (2008) argued that in the mission statement, there needs to be a “clear definition of diversity and its implications for fulfilling the educational aspirations of the institution. By making the mission prioritize diversity, institutional leaders create a more lasting symbolic context for investing energy, resources, and time into specific diversity activities” (p. 371).

In addition to referencing diversity and inclusion in college mission statements, D. A. Williams (2008) stressed that “framing diversity in support of institutional mission diversity” (p. 372) is vital to creating and supporting campus diversity and inclusion. In connecting diversity and inclusion to institutions’ educational mission, mission statements allow educators to “reorient the policies and practices” (Variotta, 1997, p. 126) of the institution, to enable students and employees, potentially, to experience educational and civic benefits of diversity.

To work towards actualizing the educational and civic benefits of diversity and inclusion in U.S. higher education, the first goal of this research study investigated the framing of diversity and inclusion commitments in education institutional mission statements. Specifically, the following research question was posed:

RQ1: How do college and university mission statements define and talk about institutional diversity?

How institutional leaders construct rationales for why diversity and inclusion should be valued by their organizations establishes expectations for diversity and inclusion work on college campuses (D. A. Williams, 2008). Moreover, how institutional leaders talk about diversity and inclusion in mission statements can set parameters of diversity work on their campus. If, for instance, diversity is talked about in a mission statement as exposure to and interaction with members of diverse cultures, institutional leaders may focus diversity efforts in a student life division, with student life staff planning cultural dinners and festivals. However, if diversity is framed as part of the educational mission of the institution, as suggested by D. A. Williams (2008), the office of diversity and inclusion may be placed in academic affairs and charged with overseeing curriculum and/or establishing a speaker series on diversity issues.

For organizational members to believe in and support the diversity and inclusion commitments that are expressed in their organization’s mission statement, those commitments must be reflected in organizational practices. One major way that institutions of higher education and other types of

organizations ensure that their daily practices align with the institutional mission is to hire a CDO to oversee diversity and inclusion efforts. CDOs are a key to understanding how institutions implement and support organizational practices for diversity and inclusion. The following section reviews literature on CDOs and discusses the remaining research goals of this project.

Chief Diversity Officers and Communicative Practices of Diversity and Inclusion Work

As discussed in Chapter 1, CDOs exist in a variety of organizations, from corporations to colleges, and they are responsible for planning, implementing, and assessing diversity and inclusion efforts, such as organizational outreach, programming, and support services (D. A. Williams & Wade-Golden, 2013). The CDO position emerged from affirmative action and minority affairs offices, but has expanded from compliance and diversity management to a broader mandate that focuses on increasing diversity and ensuring that organizational culture is inclusive to diverse perspectives and experiences (D. A. Williams & Wade-Golden, 2007, 2013). In the corporate sector, CDOs can help organizations “shift their focus away from narrow skill sets and toward diverse thought that may originate in a different industry, process, country or culture” (Kampf, 2012, para. 3). In broadening organizational expectations, CDOs can assist organizations in “building a culture of diversity” (Kampf, 2012, para. 4).

In building an organizational culture that values and embraces diversity, CDOs act as organizational change agents who frame the importance of diversity and inclusion, and who are responsible for building relationships to support organizational change (Wilson, 2013). One way that institutional culture is changed toward greater inclusion is through the recruitment and hiring of people of color and other underrepresented populations (Kampf, 2012). By expanding the skill sets, knowledge, and experiences that are valued within the organization, CDOs can challenge normative hiring processes and create position descriptions that value diversity (Kampf, 2012). In recognizing the value of diversity in hiring, institutions benefit from the broad range of perspectives and experiences that create new ideas and ways of operating.

In diversifying institutions of higher education, the scope of the CDO position includes the recruitment of faculty, staff, administrators, and students (D. A. Williams & Wade-Golden, 2013). The recruitment process can include creating outreach programs, advertising available positions on diversity recruiting websites, providing financial incentives (K. A. Griffin & Muñiz, 2011), and networking with “individuals and organizations that are tapped into those activities that attract the consistent attention of academics of color” (Gasman, Kim, & Nguyen, 2011). Such recruiting and hiring strategies for increasing organizational diversity are not always welcomed by all members of an organization (Gasman et al., 2011; Wilson, 2013). In a study that focused on recruitment strategies for faculty at a selective university, Gasman et al. (2011) found that when interviewing faculty members about best practices for diversifying faculty, the conversation shifted, generally, to “a discussion of quality, as if increasing diversity is equal to lowering academic standards” (p. 216). The assumption that hiring faculty of color equates to lowered academic quality and that diverse faculty “lack eminence” serves as a “roadblock” (Gasman et al., p. 216) for campus diversity efforts. The framing of faculty of color as less academically qualified is a common strategy, in general (see, e.g., C. S. V. Turner, Myers, & Cresswell, 1999), and it is used to resist campus diversity and inclusion efforts, in particular (Gasman et al.). This resistance to diversity and inclusion efforts on campus is not limited to recruitment and hiring strategies (Wilson, 2013); CDOs encounter resistance in their other responsibilities, such as infusing the curriculum with diverse authors, topics, perspectives, and readings.

Campus community members who feel that their campus already is diverse and inclusive often resist the presence of a CDO on campus (Wilson, 2013). This “backlash” (Wilson, 2013, p. 433) over the hiring of a campus CDO can lead to isolation and alienation of CDOs from campus constituents who do not support diversity initiatives. To gather organizational support for campus diversity initiatives, CDOs must collaborate with units across the institution and build strong relationships with organizational members who have campus influence (D. A. Williams & Wade-Golden, 2007; Wilson, 2013). The ability

to collaborate with organizational members and to build relationships that support institutional diversity and inclusion efforts requires that CDOs craft successfully messages that appeal to broad audiences, and that extend beyond the business case for diversity (D. A. Williams, 2007).

D. A. Williams and Wade-Golden (2007), two of the most prominent scholars on CDOs in higher education, asserted that CDOs often are the “face” (para. 1) of institutional diversity efforts, and, as such, they need to manage strategically their messages and campus relationships and interactions. D. A. Williams and Wade-Golden (2007) noted that across “all areas of corporate, higher education, health administration, non-profit, and other areas of organizational life” (para. 8), there are common threads defining the CDO role. Although all of the characteristics described require effective communication skills, several traits—including collaboration, leading through status and influence, political savvy, ability to cultivate common vision, and sophisticated relational abilities—are accomplished through strategic communicative practices (D. A. Williams & Wade-Golden, 2007). Despite this communication focus, everyday communicative practices that are needed to be a successful CDO are not addressed in research. For example, in the description of sophisticated relational abilities, “a high degree of emotional intelligence, charisma, and communication abilities” are listed as requirements to “cross numerous organizational boundaries with a fluid ability to adapt language and styles to different audiences” (D. A. Williams & Wade-Golden, 2007, para. 28). Although many CDOs scholars agree that effective relational abilities are necessary for the position, how CDOs learn and hone these communication skills has not been addressed (D. A. Williams & Wade-Golden, 2007, 2013; Wilson, 2013).

The ability to analyze diverse audiences and to craft informative and persuasive messages are taught as basic components of introductory public speaking courses. For CDOs to have the “sophisticated” communication skills that D. A. Williams and Wade-Golden (2007) referred to requires a honing of communicative practices beyond sheer charisma. Communication scholars, therefore, are in an ideal position to identify, study, and offer recommendations for sustaining and improving communicative

practices that support institutional diversity and inclusion. Similar to how communication scholars have identified best practices for building relationships, managing identity, and face-giving and face-saving in interpersonal, intercultural, and group communication, there is an opportunity for communication scholars to understand how CDOs engage in communicative practices to build ally relationships and to influence those who are resistant to diversity and inclusions efforts. To learn more about how CDOs accomplish diversity work in higher education through their communicative behavior, the following research question was posed:

RQ2: What communicative practices do CDOs employ in their higher education diversity work?

This research study, thus, sought to understand how U.S. institutions of higher education frame diversity and inclusion in their mission statements, and how CDOs communicate to accomplish the goals articulated in those mission statements. The next chapter explains the methods employed to answer the two research questions that were posed.

Chapter 2 Notes

¹In *Gratz v. Bollinger*, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the University of Michigan was not in violation of the U.S. constitution in awarding 20 points (on a 150-point scale that the university used to admit students) to undergraduate minority students for the purpose of creating a diverse undergraduate student population.

CHAPTER 3

METHODS

To answer the two research questions posed in Chapter 2, this study employed qualitative research methods (in communication, see, e.g., Lindlof & Taylor, 2011; Tracy, 2013). Specifically, qualitative textual analysis (content analysis) was used to identify and analyze framings of diversity in the mission statements of U.S. higher education institutions; in-depth interviews were conducted with Chief Diversity Officers (CDOs) to understand their communicative practices related to diversity work in higher education. This chapter explicates the design choices that were made in this research study and describes the process of gathering and analyzing data. The chapter starts, however, by explaining how my experiences as a student of color, my commitment to promoting social justice, and my time as a former diversity officer at a predominately White institution affected my interest in this topic and my positionality as a researcher in this study.

My Positionality as Researcher

My approach and interest in research about communication and the promotion of diversity emerged from my intersectional ethnic, racial, gendered, classed, and religious identities. Having a Puerto Rican mother and Cuban father influenced deeply my identity as a Puerto-Cuban or Cubarican (depending on the context and day). I have a strong racial identity as a Latina, fortified by being raised and surrounded by dozens of cousins in a large Puerto Rican family, and by spending summers in Miami learning about my Cuban heritage. My parents have fought to maintain our Caribbean culture and Spanish language, and they made great sacrifices to make sure that I had a high-quality education. Their work ethic and commitment to serving others also inspired my work.

After high school, I attended an Augustinian Catholic university, and it was there that my dedication to a social justice career began. Upon college graduation, after a brief time spent working in conservation education at a zoo, I returned to my alma mater as a retention officer in a diversity office and,

simultaneously, as a full-time communication graduate student. In graduate courses, I learned about discourses and oppression in the classroom, and in my work as a retention officer on the same campus, I witnessed material consequences of oppression in the lives of many of the 150 students of color, first-generation, and Pell-eligible students who were assigned to me for advising. Each day, I went to the office and created retention success plans with students, strategized ways to help students make tuition payments, and listened to the frustrations of undocumented students who wanted nothing more than to drive a car or volunteer for a Habitat for Humanity trip without the fear of deportation. It was in these moments with students that I knew exactly what I was meant to do in life. More than a decade later, I still am working to disrupt oppressive policies and to uncover and apply best practices for creating inclusive and diverse college and university campuses. For me, diversity and inclusion work is personal; it excites, empowers, and motivates me. Hence, my experiences are woven through each page of this dissertation, shared to provide additional context and examples, and inform the methods, data analysis, and writing of this study. The methods used in this study are detailed in the following sections, beginning with the identification and collection of higher education mission statements and the process used to analyze those data.

Institutional Mission Statements Analyzed

As discussed in Chapter 2, institutional mission statements provide goals, rationales, and strategies that are implemented to support initiatives within institutions of higher education (see, e.g., Gallagher & Trower, 2009; Worthington, Stanley, & Lewis, 2014). The language of institutional mission statements serves as a public expression of institutional positions and priorities. In conducting an analysis of institutional mission statements, I, thus, sought to identify and document how institutions portray their priorities and talk about the value of institutional diversity.

To accomplish that goal, I employed qualitative content analysis (explained below) of institutional mission statements, which served, in part, to answer both research questions. To understand how CDOs use organizational framings of diversity from their institutions' mission statements meant, first,

determining how diversity and inclusion are portrayed in leading higher educational organizations, and, then, in institutional mission statements of individual colleges and universities. This approach allowed an analysis of national framings of diversity and inclusion that are used in higher educational organizations, as well as localized diversity and inclusion frames of individual institutions.

Ideally, to better understand the situated lived experiences of how CDOs' diversity communicative practices are informed by mission statements' framings of diversity, I would have used the framings from the mission statements of the institutions where the interviewed CDOs work, but that would have resulted in the identification of CDOs who participated in this study. Typically, each campus has only one CDO; consequently, to name the institution would have been to name the CDO participant. To protect CDOs' identities, as described below, I employed a systematic (random) sampling of institutional mission statements from U.S. educational organizations.

Sample selection on institutional mission statements. To begin the process of selecting institutional statements, I decided to sample 50 institutions of higher education in the United States, providing, potentially, the chance for one institution per state to be included in the analysis. Other mission statement research studies have included as few as nine organizations (see, e.g., David, David, & David, 2014). Other mission statement studies, such as research conducted by Williams on Fortune 1000 companies included an analysis of 23 mission statements, as did the mission statement study conducted by Kopaneva and Sias (2015). In their study of higher education mission statements, Wilson, Meyer, and McNeal (2012) included 80 institutional mission statements in their analysis. The number of mission statements included in qualitative research projects varies by access, research questions, and purpose of the study. . Because the purpose of the sample for the present study was to obtain and analyze framing of diversity in mission statements, to then explore whether CDOs use these framings in their diversity and inclusion work, I opted to use 50 institutions, which was almost double the sample of a mission statement study conducted by Gudeman (2000), whose project guided the analysis presented later in this chapter.

To identify the institutions to include, I used the University of Texas at Austin (2015) database of U.S. colleges and universities, which contains more than 2,100 institutions of higher education and is updated monthly. I first downloaded the database into an Excel spreadsheet for a more useable format, and then used a systematic sampling procedure, which is a “sample created by determining the same size needed from a target population and then picking every *n*th” (Wrench, Thomas-Maddox, Richmond, & McCroskey, 2008, p. 515) from the population. To determine the sample for this study, I began with the desired sample size and divided it by the total number of institutions (2,151) to determine the sampling interval (43). Thus, every 43rd institution was selected from the alphabetized database to comprise the sample set.

Although there are several alternative random sampling techniques that could have been employed, such as a simple random sample or a stratified sample, a systematic sample was drawn for several reasons, including the avoidance of clustering, where several institutions with the same first letter (given that the database is alphabetized) could have been overrepresented in a simple random sample, leading, potentially, to all 23 California State University campuses or 50 institutions named for saints from Ambrose to Xavier included in the sample. Another option could have been to conduct a stratified sample, separating institutions by type and then conducting selected from those categories randomly to ensure a broad range of institutions. Given, however, that almost all U.S. institutions of higher education have a mission statement, any of these sampling options could have produced a sample that would have provided insights into how diversity is framed institutionally. In Chapter 6, I provide additional thoughts on the sampling decision in the limitations section, and highlight a research project on which I currently am working on to expand this sample and study.

Once the 50 institutions were selected, I visited the website of the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS), a website that is managed by the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES), which reports educational data for the U.S. Department of Education, and I began to gather

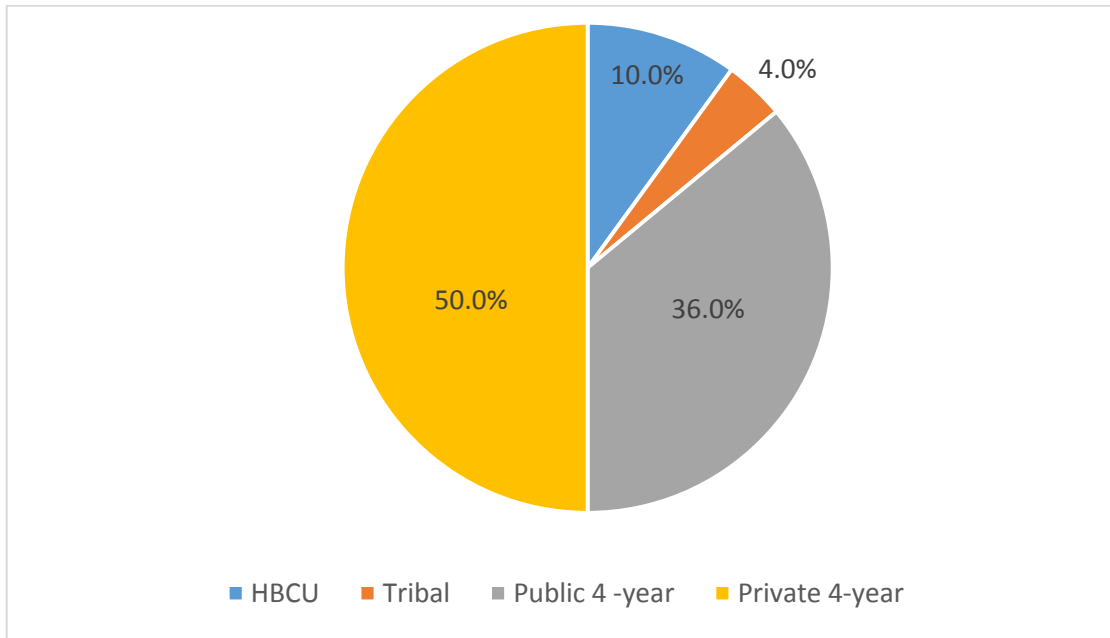
information about each of the 50 institutions included in this analysis. From the IPEDS website, I recorded information about the location, student racial demographics, and type of institution. The institutional information for the sample can be found in Tables 3.1 and 3.2.).

3.1 Student Racial Demographics for Sample Institutions

Institution and State	Amer.	Asian	Black	Latino	White	Multiracial
	Indian					
Amer. Indian College of the Assemblies of God (AZ)	56%	0%	11%	19%	8%	0%
Art Academy of Cincinnati (OH)	1%	2%	6%	4%	85%	1%
Bard College (NY)	1%	4%	6%	3%	61%	0%
Bethune-Cookman University (FL)	0%	0%	89%	3%	2%	2%
Bryan College of Health Sciences (NE)	1%	2%	2%	3%	91%	1%
Cambridge College (MA)	0%	4%	33%	23%	16%	1%
Chadron State College (NE)	1%	1%	3%	6%	75%	2%
College of the Ozarks (MO)	1%	1%	1%	2%	92%	2%
Concordia University–Wisconsin (WI)	1%	2%	17%	3%	68%	3%
Delaware State University (DE)	0%	1%	72%	5%	11%	4%
East Carolina University (NC)	1%	3%	16%	5%	70%	3%
Escuela de Artes Plásticas de Puerto Rico (PR)	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%
Francis Marion University (SC)	0%	1%	49%	1%	46%	0%
Goldey-Beacom College (DE)	1%	4%	23%	5%	51%	3%
Harris-Stowe State University (MO)	0%	0%	83%	1%	8%	3%
Harvey Mudd College (CA)	0%	22%	1%	9%	47%	4%
Huntington University (IN)	0%	0%	2%	3%	88%	1%
Jarvis Christian College (TX)	0%	0%	88%	7%	4%	0%
Kentucky Wesleyan College (KY)	0%	0%	12%	2%	74%	0%
LeMoyne-Owen College (TN)	0%	0%	99%	0%	0%	0%
Louisiana State University–Shreveport (LA)	1%	2%	20%	4%	62%	3%
Mars Hill University (NC)	2%	1%	19%	3%	71%	0%
Mercer University (GA)	0%	5%	33%	4%	47%	2%
Millikin University (IL)	0%	1%	12%	6%	76%	4%
Mount Holyoke College (MA)	0%	9%	6%	8%	47%	3%
New Jersey Institute of Technology (NJ)	0%	19%	8%	19%	31%	2%
Northwest Florida State College (FL)	0%	3%	9%	7%	74%	4%
Oklahoma Baptist University (OK)	5%	1%	5%	5%	69%	7%
Patten University (CA)	not reported	n/r	n/r	n/r	n/r	n/r
Piedmont College (GA)	1%	1%	10%	4%	77%	2%
Rasmussen College (FL)	1%	2%	17%	6%	60%	5%
Rutgers University–Newark (NJ)	0%	22%	18%	23%	25%	3%
Saint Luke's College (IA)	0%	0%	0%	4%	96%	0%
San José State University (CA)	0%	35%	3%	24%	22%	5%

Sitting Bull College (ND)	94%	0%	0%	1%	5%	0%
Southern Vermont College (VT)	0%	1%	9%	9%	63%	1%
SUNY Empire State College	0%	2%	14%	10%	64%	2%
Texas A&M University–Corpus Christi (TX)	0%	2%	5%	46%	40%	2%
Trinity College of Nursing & Health Sciences (IL)	0%	3%	4%	3%	85%	2%
Universidad Interamericana de Puerto Rico (PR)	0%	0%	0%	100%	0%	0%
University of California–Los Angeles (CA)	0%	31%	3%	18%	29%	5%
University of Idaho (ID)	1%	1%	1%	8%	79%	3%
University of Minnesota–Crookston (MN)	1%	1%	4%	2%	63%	1%
Univ. of North Texas Health Science Center (TX)	0%	20%	8%	12%	48%	3%
University of Saint Mary (KS)	1%	2%	10%	7%	61%	2%
University of Texas, Arlington (TX)	0%	12%	15%	25%	40%	3%
VanderCook College of Music (IL)	0%	9%	5%	17%	56%	2%
Western New Mexico University (NM)	4%	1%	4%	51%	24%	0%
Western Oregon University (OR)	2%	3%	3%	10%	69%	0%
Wittenberg University (OH)	0%	1%	7%	3%	81%	4%

Figure 3.2 Systematic Sample of Four Types of U.S. Institutions



Once that information was put into an Excel spreadsheet, I consulted each institution's website to locate and download the institutional mission statement. When available, I also downloaded the institutional vision, purpose, and diversity statement for secondary analysis. My familiarity with institutional webpages, stemming from my work experience at a university office of institutional research, was helpful in navigating pages of websites for each institution, and for knowing where to locate each type of institutional statement. Once all of the institutional data and statements were put into an Excel spreadsheet, as explained next, I content analyzed the data qualitatively.

Qualitative content analysis of institutional mission statements. *Content analysis* is a “research technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying specified characteristics within a text” (Stone, Dunphy, & Ogilvie, 1966, p. 5), and, thereby, “reducing it [the text] to more relevant, manageable bits of data” (Weber, 1990, p. 5). Originally design as a quantitative method for studying the media (e.g., newspaper content) and public messages (e.g., political speeches; see Harwood & Garry, 2003), content analysis has developed into a research technique that is employed in both qualitative and quantitative studies to “analyze data within a specific context in view of the meanings someone—a group or a culture—attributes to them” (Krippendorff, 1980, p. 408). Moreover, content analysis can and has been used with other research methods (e.g., interviewing, as done in this dissertation; as an example in communication research, see Lin, Song, & Ball-Rokeach, 2010) to expand understanding about a communication phenomenon (Krippendorff, 1980).

The vast majority of content analyses employ quantitative procedures to “quantify overt aspects of the text” (Mayring, 2014, p. 8). Quantitative content analysis begins by researchers first identifying the appropriate unit(s) in texts that will be coded, called “unitizing.” Krippendorff (1980) identified five types of units that content analysts often study: physical units (space and time devoted to particular content), syntactical units (discrete language, such as individual words), referential units (events, people, and objects referred or alluded to within content), propositional units (placing content into a consistent structure, such

as arguments about an object), and thematic units (topics contained within messages). Once the appropriate unit has been identified, researchers create categories, which “can represent either explicit communication or inferred communication” (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, p. 1278), into which those units can be classified. Researchers then train observers, called “coders,” to place each unit into its relevant category, making sure that there is sufficient reliability between those codings. Researchers then count the number of units in each category, subjecting those data to various descriptive and inferential statistical analyses to draw conclusions about the text.

Qualitative content analysis is somewhat similar to quantitative content analysis, in that it is “a research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns” (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, p. 1278; see also Elo & Kyngäs, 2008). A qualitative content analysis, however, “goes beyond merely counting words” to focus on “characteristics of language as communication” (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, p. 1278; see also Schreier, 2012, 2014). Mayring (2000) argued that qualitative content analysis provides an approach that analyzes texts “within their context of communication . . . without rash quantification” (p. 2). In understanding text within its context, qualitative content analysis “pays attention to the unique themes that illustrate the range of meanings of the phenomenon rather than the statistical significance of the occurrence of particular texts or concepts” (Zheng & Wildemuth, 2005, p. 2).

By interpreting how codes and themes are invoked in texts, qualitative researchers can uncover “not only what is there but also what is missing, silenced, or absent” (Leavy, 2007, p. 228). Feminist scholars, for example, have content analyzed texts qualitatively to explore how the creation of texts reflects values of those who created them, to unmask oppressive discourses, with Reinharz and Kulick (2007) describing the feminist use of content analysis as involving “not only the content but also the assumptions of the producers and readers” (p. 259). Because this dissertation examines how diversity and

inclusion are talked about and valued in university mission statements, I used qualitative content-analytic procedures.

Specifically, to content analyze the university mission statements sampled, I used a thematic coding template that was created by Gudeman (2000) in her critical study of institutional mission statements and diversity at 28 U.S. liberal arts colleges. Gudeman's (2000) coding template was used for two reasons. First, her project was commissioned jointly by the American Council on Education (ACE) and the American Association of University Professors (AAUP), and Gudeman's (2000) coding template was created with input from the ACE's Consortium on Achieving Inclusion and Equity in Higher Education, a group of faculty and educational leaders working to increase diversity and inclusion in U.S. higher education. As two major educational organizations that lobby on behalf of higher education, and that fund and contribute to research on diversity in higher education, ACE and the AAUP contribute to dominant discourses about what diversity is and how diversity is valued in higher education. As a project that was funded and supported through ACE and AAUP diversity and inclusion initiatives, Gudeman (2000) explained that political debates surrounding affirmative action have "deflected public discourse" regarding the value of diversity in higher education, and that the purpose of her research was to support "the educational value of a diverse learning environment to all students" (pp. 52, 53).

Second, Gudeman's (2000) coding template was used because she crafted the coding scheme by highlighting her interest in the value of diverse learners and with the purpose of creating and supporting diversity and inclusion in higher education. For decades, Gudeman's research has been rooted in feminist and diversity scholarship, with her earlier research studies focusing on, for instance, feminist economics (Gudeman & Gudeman, 1996, 1997), faculty and campus diversity (Gudeman, 2000, 2001), and international education (Gudeman, 2002). In the spirit of collaboration and collective social justice work, I employed Gudeman's (2000) coding template and, thereby, built on the knowledge that she has contributed through her scholarship.

Gudeman's (2000) study of mission statements and diversity offered a glimpse into the discourses that drive the mission of 28 U.S. liberal arts colleges. Specifically, Gudeman (2000) identified nine overarching themes that were present in the institutional mission statements of those colleges, which are discussed in Chapter 4. Because diverse perspectives was one of the nine themes found by Gudeman (2000), she explained that discourse about diversity in institutional mission statements was held in tension with the limited racial diversity that was present in student populations of institutions that she studied. Given the lack of racial diversity present in those liberal arts colleges that Gudeman (2000) studied, there were insufficient opportunities on those campuses for students to engage in the meaningful communication that was needed to challenge stereotypes about, and to enjoy the educational benefits of, diversity. One of the explanations offered for the presence of diversity discourse in the mission statements that were included in Gudeman's (2000) study was the religious roots and age of many of U.S. elite liberal arts colleges, many of which were established for a particular religious sect that was being persecuted or not included by other institutions of higher education. Gudeman (2000) argued that these exclusionary practices led to more inclusive discourse surrounding the purpose and mission of the institutions. Gudeman's (2000) explanation for the inclusion of diversity discourse assumed that the religious sects were promoting love and social justice (at least discursively).

In focusing solely on U.S. liberal arts colleges, Gudeman (2000) did not explore the language of mission statements from the diverse types of U.S. institutions of higher education that exist currently. In addition to liberal arts colleges, there are public, private, religiously affiliated, single-sex, and minority-serving colleges and universities that, potentially, offer different perspectives regarding the language used and communication functions served by their mission statements. Given that 15 years have elapsed since Gudeman (2000) conducted her study, I was interested in exploring how discourses of diversity may have evolved since that time. By including 50 systematically selected institutions of higher education, I provided a broader view, compared to Gudeman (2000), of how diverse types of institutions of higher

education frame diversity in institutional mission statements. I was especially interested in exploring whether there was any divergence from dominant discourses and framings of diversity between the mission statements of primarily White institutions of higher education and minority-serving institutions.

To content analyze qualitatively the selected mission statements, I did several detailed “close readings” of them, to interpret them carefully, noting, critically and reflexively, how meanings, power, and language are used to sustain inequalities (see, e.g., Ashcraft & Allen, 2003; Martin, 2005). I then coded each mission statement, as well as any secondary materials, including diversity and vision statements, using Gudeman’s (2000) coding scheme.

Recognizing that this close reading and coding were influenced by my experiences and researcher positionality, the qualitative content analysis foregrounded race in the understanding and interpretation of diversity. This foregrounding of race in the coding and analysis of the data is supported by the discussions and evidence provided previously in Chapters 1 and 2. Those chapters mentioned the disparate rates of educational attainment in the United States by race, as well as how negative racialized experiences have affected the lives and work of students, scholars, and administrators of color in U.S. institutions of higher education. One of the strengths of employing qualitative content analysis that is informed by applied, social justice, and feminist research is that, in examining the mission statements, I explored “the underlying political message of this content, even if the producers attempt to conceal or are unaware of these aspects” (Reinharz & Kuklick, 2007, p. 271). The importance of identifying and coding the framings of diversity that were present in the collected mission statements was to learn how those framings of diversity inform CDOs’ communicative practices in their diversity and inclusion work on college campuses. As Reinharz and Kuklick (2007) explained, content on websites and other media outlets contains political messages with material consequences, and they are a “primary vehicle for power” (p. 271). To uncover how framings of diversity in mission statements informed CDOs’ communicative

practices, as explained next, upon completion of the content analysis, I conducted in-depth interviews with CDOs from around the United States.

Interviews of Chief Diversity Officers

For decades, marginalized individuals and communities were used by researchers to fuel researchers' promotion, publication, and prestige, without concern or consideration for the communities that facilitated and provided access for the research. As such, in many communities, researchers were seen as "takers," which is where the "nothing from us, without us" movement, particularly in communities of color, took hold. A distrust of researchers and academia, in general, still exists in some communities. Cannon, Higginbotham, and Leung (1988), for instance, discussed challenges of gaining access to middle-class Black women for their research project. Cannon et al. suggested that if researchers seek to work with people of color, they must expect to spend more time and money than in a project about White participants. Issues of free time, accessibility, family commitments, and a general skepticism about research and researchers were some of the issues that Cannon et al. highlighted. The women who agreed to be interviewed in Cannon et al.'s study did not commit to doing so until the researchers' disclosed their educational credentials, research purposes, research funding sources (e.g., whether from a corporation, grant, or higher educational institution), and how research participants' anonymity would be protected. Additionally, those interviewed often required that notes, transcripts, and the final essay be shared with them prior to publication, to ensure accuracy and fair representation.

Cannon et al. (1988) provided pragmatic advice for negotiating access in communities where participants may be skeptical of research and researchers. Informed by this and other research on negotiating access, especially with members of marginalized communities (e.g., De Andrade, 2000; Jones, Hadder, Carvajal, Chapman, & Alexander, 2006; Sixsmith, Boneham, & Goldring, 2003), I utilized convenience and *network*, or "snowball," nonrandom sampling, where "referrals are made among people who share or know of others who possess some characteristic that are of research interest" (Biernacki &

Waldorf, 1981, p. 141). Specifically, to access research participants, I began with contacts from my work as a diversity officer. As a diversity officer, I was involved previously with numerous organizations that were designed for networking, sharing resources, and supporting diversity efforts in higher education. Having conducted research and consulting with and for many institutions on issues related to diversity in higher education, I e-mailed contacts where I had worked previously, volunteered, and/or assisted, asking them for possible participants and for referrals for other potential interviewees. In addition to contacting previous colleagues, I sent out a recruitment e-mail that was approved by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at the University of Colorado Boulder (see Appendix A for IRB approval) to the CDO listserv of the National Association of Diversity Officers in Higher Education (NADOHE), which provided a network of individuals who were engaged in higher education diversity work and who, potentially, possessed a willingness to share their experiences with a researcher who had served previously as a diversity officer.

In negotiating access to interview CDOs, my prior work on diversity, and my experiences as a woman of color in academia, were invaluable. When I e-mailed previous contacts and colleagues, I described briefly my history in diversity work in higher education. Each time that I was invited to call a CDO to discuss the project, the conversation began formally and ended informally, and with a sense of connection through a mutual commitment to promoting inclusive and diverse campuses. For instance, in a telephone call, a contact with whom I had worked for more than decade ago expressed skepticism about the purpose of this project, but during the course of our conversation, that CDO realized that she had used research that I had presented on racial microaggressions on her campus and she was familiar with the bridge program that I had created. As soon as that connection was realized, her warmth and openness increased, and her skepticism dissipated, and she agreed to participate. In almost every interview, I was asked about who I was and why I was doing this research before discussing the possibility of conducting an interview. The IRB information about the scope and purposes of the project was not sufficient for gaining the trust of many of the CDOs. In sharing my personal experiences with oppression as a student,

staff member, and faculty member of color, and explaining why I have committed my professional life to increasing education equity in higher education, CDOs were reassured and all but three of the CDOs participated in the interview.

Description of chief diversity officer participants. The CDOs who participated in this study self-identified as 64% African American or Black, 16% as Latino or Hispanic, 12% as White or Caucasian, 4% as Asian or Pacific Islander, and 4% as biracial. Combining the percentages of African Americans, Latinos, Asians or Pacific Islanders and biracial individuals, both the national higher education CDO racial demographics (D. A. Williams & Wade-Golden, 2013) and the racial demographics of interviewees in this study equated to 89% of CDOs identifying as people of color. Fifteen of the interviewees identified as female and 10 identified as male. Other self-identified characteristics included several CDOs who were gay or lesbian, several who were Christian or Muslim, and several who were immigrants to the United States. More than half of the CDOs had earned a terminal degree, and all but four has spent their careers in U.S. higher education as both higher education administrators and faculty members. The intersectional identities embodied by these CDOs contributed to their diverse experiences in higher education and mediated and informed their communicative practices that are discussed in Chapter 5. The demographics of these CDOs provide context for understanding how their diverse identities and experiences inform their diversity work and practices in higher education.

Interview situation. Once CDOs committed to participating in this project, I began the task of scheduling interviews. Interviews were scheduled anywhere from the next day to 2 months out from the date of contact. Knowing how busy CDOs' schedules can be, I offered to conduct the interview by phone, Skype, or face-to-face, with the latter conducted in CDOs' offices, in coffee shops, and in student union buildings. When picking a location for a face-to-face interview, in line with Sveningsson and Alvesson (2003) suggestion to select an interview location that is either comfortable to the person being interviewed (her or his selection) or a "neutral" (p. 1170) space, I asked CDOs to select a space that was comfortable

and assessable to them. Because this research dealt with CDOs' communicative practices in their campus diversity work, there was a high probability that CDOs would share how their identities and experiences informed their practices. Due to concerns about scheduling, privacy, and raising suspicions about having a researcher in their office, some CDOs preferred to conduct the interviews over the phone or via Skype video chat.

Once the interview location, date, and time were confirmed, the interview preparations continued. A total of 35 interviews were scheduled; however, due to scheduling conflicts, changes to position, and "institutional troubles with the powers that be," a total of 32 interviews were conducted (91.4% response rate). Recognizing and addressing how power operates institutionally and in research interviews were important considerations for this project. Due to the education and experience required to be in campus diversity positions, the power dynamics of the interviews in this study were different than in interview settings where there are divergent degrees of access to information, exposure to academic research techniques, education, and linguistic capital. The participants in this study all were college-educated professionals with years of work experience in higher education. The majority of those interviewed had earned a terminal degree, and had been working in higher education for more than a decade.

Given these CDOs' background and experiences, using a similar interview format to the "elite interviews" that Kezar (2007, 2008) conducted with university presidents, the interviews conducted for this study were semistructured, and, as such, were much closer to friendly professional conversations than to a traditional, formally structured interview. *Semistructured interviewing* "is conducted with a specific interview guide—a list of written questions" used to guide the interview topics and conversation; however, the question order is not as important as the "flow of the interview" (Hesse-Biber, 2014 pp. 186–187). Similar to Kezar's studies of university presidents, CDOs' experiences and reflections were more important to obtain in the interviews than following the interview guide (see Appendix C) rigidly. Aligned with the applied, social justice goals of this project, throughout the interview process, I worked to

understand the CDOs' experiences and to conduct "research that promotes social justice and social change" (Hesse-Biber, 2014, p. 189).

Interview topics and questions. With these goals in mind, at the start of each interview, I reviewed with interviewees the IRB consent documents (see Appendix B), explained that CDO and institutional identities would not be disclosed, and that pseudonyms would be given to both CDOs and their institution, before asking interviewees for permission to record the interview with a digital audio recorder. One CDO did not permit audio recording during the interview but I asked if I could take notes, and upon completing the interview, I reviewed my notes with that interviewee. Once the recorder began, I opened the interview by asking them about their position and how they became a higher education administrator. Each individual interview lasted between 24 and 55 minutes.

I constructed and used an interview guide based on conversations over the last decade with diversity officers around the United States, as well topics and questions raised by the extensive work conducted by D. A. Williams and Wade-Golden (2007, 2008, 2013) on CDOs in higher education. The questions contained in the interview guide were grounded in CDOs' life experiences and communicative practices related to their diversity and inclusion work. That grounding provided insights about how their experiences with oppression and opportunities of empowerment throughout their journey through higher education had informed their communicative practices related to their work. Typically, questions that opened the interview resulted in detailed discussions that often involved familial and personal struggles, which resulted in a desire to help others obtain access to and equity in higher education. The conversation then explored what CDOs do in their position, how they define and talk about their work, what communication struggles they face in their position, and how their identities affected their communicative practices.

Although I used the interview protocol in each interview, I employed intentionally feminist techniques of reflexive interviewing, "active listening," and focusing on experience, "language, narrative,

and discourse” (DeVault & Gross, 2012, p. 209). In focusing on CDOs and experiences that they shared, I maintained a “reflexive awareness” (DeVault & Gross, 2012, p. 215) to create a supportive interview space, and I did not want to violate that space by asking in a robotic manner interview questions in the specific order that was listed on the interview guide. The guide was helpful in framing initial topics and questions, and most questions were addressed through the natural flow of the conversation with CDOs. Throughout the interview process, I kept in mind my applied, social justice, and feminist commitments and practices that work to end oppression and that support diverse and inclusive institutions of higher education.

DeVault and Gross (2012) wrote that what makes an interview feminist are “never matters solely related to collecting, analyzing, or presenting data but instead are modes of thought and action that continually inform these mutually constitutive stages of the research process” (p. 209). Feminist interviewing involves a commitment to the interviewing techniques of active listening, reflexivity, a centering of the experiences and knowledge of the interviewee, and a macrolevel understanding that all experiences are situated “in a particular historical context . . . mediated by power relations” (DeVault & Gross, p. 229; see also DeVault, 1990; Doucet & Mauthner, 2008; Hesse-Bieber, 2014; Langellier & Hall, 1989). A commitment to valuing situated knowledge and experiences is crucial for contributing to a body of work that is dedicated to political, social, discursive, and material action against oppression. In addition to these commitments, the role/identity of the researcher and her or his emotions and experiences are important to consider (see Frey & Castro, in press). Sprague (2005) wrote that researchers’ emotions are “the personal links to the social” (p. 135) and that researcher introspection is an important strategy for social research. Considering my history as a diversity officer, I agree with Sprague that

when one is studying a community in which one has played a role, interactions with other members are not just occasions of collecting information. Rather, these interactions are instances of that

community's practices, shaped by its values. Thus the researcher's feeling about those interactions are primary data about the community. (p. 135)

As a researcher who has participated actively in the diversity officer community for the last 10 years, I am invested emotionally in CDOs' work. This investment in understanding motivations, experiences, emotions, and practices of diversity work led to personal exchanges between the CDOs interviewed and me. DeVault and Gross (2012) pointed out that "strategic disclosure on the part of the interviewer" (p. 215) involves researcher choosing during interviews to share personal experiences and information, as discussed in the next section.

Sharing personal experiences. As a scholar who is committed to promoting social justice, I recognize the importance of sharing experiences about racism, sexism, homophobia, classism, ableism, and intersectional oppression through storytelling (see Fernández, 2002). In conducting interviews with CDOs, we shared a commitment to increasing diversity and inclusion in higher education, as well a larger commitment to promoting social justice. In recognizing these shared commitments and experiences, our diverse identities with regard to age, educational level, and professional experience (as well as, certainly, income) also stirred conversation and shed light on some topics and approaches to diversity work. Our diverse intersectional identities and storytelling, as described by Delgado and Stefanić (2001), provided both CDOs and me with the opportunity to share our experiences with race and racism, and to disrupt dominant narratives about higher education and people of color within higher education. As suggested by Fernández (2002), Spague (2005), and other scholars, interviews can be a place of sharing, healing, and empowerment (some examples of which are shared in Chapter 5). After completing the interviews with CDOs, I began the analysis of the interview data, with the next section describing the data analysis and writing process.

Interview analysis and writing. Once interviews had taken place, and the recorder was turned off, the question of how to transcribe and edit them became my primary objective. Transcription of the

interviews conducted with the CDOs involved typing the hand-written notes that I wrote during and immediately following the interview, as well as 301 single-spaced pages of transcribed interviews from 31 of the 32 interviews conducted.¹ Editing, as described by Warr (2004), oftentimes, is regarded as merely a technical concern of accuracy; however, how fillers, such as “ums” and pauses, are transcribed by researchers affect how readers interpret what is being said and the significance of a statement. Vernacular considerations, colloquialisms, word choice, dialects, and regionalisms all can change the meaning of a statement, and they can have significant effects on what speakers intended to say. In addition to fillers, another consideration was how much to “clean up” the data, such as whether to correct interviewees’ grammar or emulate the cadence of participants’ words. In thinking and reflecting on these and other questions, I decided not change an utterance or word in the transcriptions. For instance, a CDO and I spoke Spanglish throughout the interview, and I did not translate the exchanges but transcribed them as they happened. To change this and other exchanges in the interview transcripts would have decentered the lived experiences, minimized the communication preferences of these CDOs, and violated the trust that was formed between us in the interview space. As demonstrated in Chapter 5, to preserve the context and feeling in CDOs’ voices, whenever possible, I included excerpts of experiences or practices instead of using a line from an exchange.

As with all qualitative research, the analysis of the interview transcripts involved “interpretation and nuance” (Sprague, 2005, p. 119). With interpretation, there always is a risk of misrepresentation. To minimize that risk, I reported back to CDOs whenever possible. Reporting back is not a one-and-done occurrence but a process that some qualitative researchers use to ensure that they are not misrepresenting or misunderstanding participants’ words. Several CDOs who were interviewed invited me to report back and share my analysis with them. Recognizing the importance of reporting back, I took several CDOs up on their offers to talk through my analysis of communicative practices and experiences that they had shared with me during the interviews. Analysis of the interviews conducted with the CDOs involved the

notes that I wrote during and immediately following the interview, as well as 301 single-spaced pages of transcribed interviews from 31 of the 32 interviews conducted.¹

Being aware of the responsibility that I have as a researcher to record, analyze, and write about CDOs' experiences and practices, as expressed during the interviews, I employed a dialogic approach (see, e.g., McDermott, 2004) to ameliorate the power dynamic between myself as the researcher and the CDO interviewees. This approach suggests that power flows back and forth between researchers and participants, and it offers a (co)researcher approach that recognizes hierarchy and power positions of researchers in the analysis and writing up of the data, yet it encourages input from and dialogue with participants throughout the project. Striving for CDOs' voices to be centered in the analysis, I included entire accounts of stories and exchanges, with the hope that CDOs' emotions, experiences, and practices are heard loudly throughout Chapter 5.

In focusing on CDOs' voices in the analysis and writing, I strive for *polyvocality*, "the possibility for allowing many voices, rather than simply that of the researcher" (Sanger, 2003, p. 37), to come through in this work. In working toward polyvocality, I remained thoughtful about including diverse stories and CDO experiences. Choosing which story or experience to highlight when several examples were present in the data, at times, felt like a betrayal to participants who trusted me with their experiences. As Josselson (1993) suggested, after participants grant researchers access to their lives and the privilege of sharing their stories, the question of how researchers balance the needs of individual participants and the larger communities—in this case, other CDOs and those invested in campus diversity work—becomes a concern. Fernández (2002) and Rodríguez (2010) brought up the concern of representing marginalized groups and communities in a positive light, by providing details and context to preserve the experiences and representations of participants. This preservation of preferred representations, along with Geertz's (1994) notion of "thick description," allows for a contextual understanding of participants' experiences and responses.

Given these considerations of preserving the words and experiences of CDOs who were interviewed, protecting the value of CDOs' work, and staying true to the applied, social justice groundings of this project, I began coding the interviews using an emic approach that focused on CDOs' voices and experiences. That coding technique was influenced by grounded coding techniques (Strauss & Corbin, 1998), allowing themes and categories to emerge from the data. In addition to coding interview transcripts, I used my interview notes, which contained my reflections, feelings, emotions, nonverbal communication (when possible), and reactions from the interview session to recreate the interview experience. Before coding a transcript, I began each session by reading that interview transcript and listening to the recording of that CDO's interview at the same time. This multisensory experience allowed a full emersion and a return to the interview space. Hearing and reading CDOs' words reconnected me to their experiences and helped me to identify the communicative practices of diversity work that were discussed during the interviews. More than 20 practices were identified from the 32 interviews; however, some practices were very similar and, consequently, I condensed the coding into selected practices that are discussed in Chapter 5. I then went through the interviews and coded for utterances, stories, and experiences involving emotional labor, intersectional identities, and experiences with oppression, family/history, and motivations for doing diversity work. Through the interviews, I was privileged to learn how CDOs' lived experiences, identities, and histories informed communicative practices that they use in diversity and inclusion work on their college campus.

The findings from the qualitative content analysis of mission statements and from the interviews conducted with CDOs are presented in the following chapters. In Chapters 4, I identify framings of diversity in higher education mission statements, and then, in Chapter 5, explore how those framings of diversity inform the communicative practices of higher education CDOs. In Chapter 6, I discuss the theoretical and applied value of the findings, providing recommendations for improving communicative practices of diversity work in U.S. institutions of higher education. I close that chapter and the dissertation

by identifying limitations of this study, offering suggestions for future research, and calling for applied communication scholars to engage in more race and diversity work on their campuses and in their research.

Chapter 3 Notes

¹Included in this analysis are 25 of the 32 interviews conducted. Of the seven interviews not included, one of the CDOs changed positions after the interview, and, upon my receiving my request to follow up on reporting back, asked to no longer be included in the study. After interviewing several other participants, it emerged that although they were involved in campus diversity work, they were not the appointed CDO.

CHAPTER 4

DIVERSITY FRAMINGS IN MISSION STATEMENTS

This chapter identifies dominant discourses and framings of diversity that were present in a systematic random sample of institutional mission statements from U.S. institutions of higher education. Before highlighting CDOs' experiences and practices in Chapter 5, this chapter offers an understanding of how diversity is written about in the mission statements that were studied. The purpose of documenting and analyzing dominant discourses and framings of diversity contained in institutional mission statements was to gain insight about how institutional leaders frame diversity, and implications of those framings for communicative practices engaged in by CDOs in their work promoting diversity and inclusion. This chapter, thus, addresses the first research question (RQ1) posed for this study about how diversity in higher education is talked about in national and local discourses, as evidenced in college and university mission statements (hereafter, university mission statements).

To answer this research question, I first present a critical reading of national educational organizations' mission statements, then present findings from the qualitative content analysis of university mission and diversity statements, followed by mini-case studies of two higher education institutions whose mission statements were included in the sample to demonstrate how framings of diversity in mission statements can inform institutional admissions practices. The information gathered about framings of diversity informed my understanding of how CDOs use communicative practices in their work, such as how they craft campus messages about diversity; consequently, I close this chapter with several excerpts from the interviews conducted with CDOs to begin to explicate connections between framings of diversity presented in university mission statements and CDOs' communicative practices of diversity work that are examined in Chapter 5.

In this chapter, and in Chapter 5, there, thus, are two analytics in play: understanding framings of diversity in university mission statements and exploring how CDOs employ communicative practices in

their campus diversity work. Similar to Ashcraft and Allen's (2003) critical reading of organizational textbooks to identify "common ways of framing race" (p. 10), I read the statements of the national educational organizations selected to identify common framings of diversity. Following the critical reading of those diversity statements, I looked at the mission and diversity statements employed by the premiere organization for higher education CDOs in the United States: the NADOHE. I included national organizations for higher education, in general, and a national higher education organization that focuses, primarily, on issues of difference and diversity, to document any divergence in the discourses. The critical reading of these organizational statements, subsequently, informed my qualitative content analysis of the sample of university mission statements selected. The decision to document national framings of diversity that were present in the organizational mission statements, thus, was made to explore if and how national framing of diversity inform local framings of diversity in university mission statements.

In this project, I approach the analysis of university mission statements and interviews conducted with CDOs with an understanding that organizational statements and CDOs' experiences are not isolated to the realm of higher education but, rather, are products of surrounding historical, cultural, economic and social conditions, and discourses. Through reading and analyzing university mission statements, I map ways that discourses and framings about diversity inform, and are called on, in CDOs' communicative practices. How institutional leaders define and value diversity through their mission statements create dominant framing of diversity from which CDOs draw as they engage in practices to foster and sustain an inclusive environment that values the importance of diversity.

In selecting national educational organizations to include in this analysis, I chose the American Association of Colleges and Universities, which, frequently, sponsors and supports campus diversity research in higher education; the American Association of University Professors, which represents campus faculty and champions academic freedom, tenure, and higher education; and NADOHE, an organization

that represents the interests and supports the work of CDOs. These educational organizations and their mission statements are discussed below.

American Association of Colleges and Universities

The American Association of Colleges and Universities (AAC&U; 2012), a century-old national education and advocacy organization, states that its mission “is to make liberal education and inclusive excellence the foundation for institutional purpose and educational practice in higher education” (para. 1). The AAC&U has worked with educators and institutions of higher education to support liberal education through training programs, research, public policy advocacy, and media outreach. The AAC&U grounds its widely shared institutional mission in liberal education *and* inclusive excellence (IE). According to the CDOs interviewed in this project (see Chapter 5), the language of IE, as used by the AAC&U, is gaining traction with campus leadership in higher education. The following section, therefore, explores IE in more depth.

Inclusive excellence. IE came into popularity in higher education discourse about diversity in 2005 after the AAC&U commissioned a series of three papers to better prepare educational leaders to foster and support diversity efforts on U.S. campuses. One of the commissioned papers, written by Williams, Berger, and McClendon (2005), focused exclusively on creating “a comprehensive framework for excellence that incorporates diversity at its core” (p. vii). The Center for Multicultural Excellence at the University of Denver (2015) explained that IE is

the recognition that a community or institution’s success is dependent on how well it values, engages and includes the rich diversity of students, staff, faculty, administrators, and alumni constituents. More than a short-term project or single office initiative, this comprehensive approach requires a fundamental transformation of the institution by embedding and practicing IE in every effort, aspect, and level of a college or university. The goal is to make IE a habit that is implemented and practiced consistently throughout an institution. (para. 1)

This definition of IE highlights how organizational success is bound to the diversity of campus communities, and that ongoing commitment to organizational transformation towards inclusion is valued.

As a comprehensive and transformative approach to diversity, IE is the recommended discursive framing for institutions, according to the AAC&U (n.d.-a). In linking liberal education and IE, the AAC&U is portraying an organizational position in the both/and (Collins, 1998) vein, where IE is not assumed to be embedded in liberal education and, simultaneously, is not seen as antithetical but connected to liberal education. This move to highlight IE, thus, marks inclusivity discursively as important in liberal education, but it also maps inclusivity as a vital element to liberal education that is not assumed to be embedded in the discourse of liberal education.

The both/and approach in the AAC&U's mission statement may function as a preemptive move against discourses that treat diversity as a moral or politically motivated initiative that is not tied, necessarily, to, or needed in, liberal education. The both/and approach involves "rejecting binary thinking" (Collins, 2000, p. 169) that would place diversity and educational excellence in opposite realms, with institutions having to choose between being diverse or excellent. In communicating an approach to liberal education and IE in its organizational mission statement, the AAC&U's language marked a silent difference between a liberal education and IE. As Hirschmann (2004) argued, when analyzing discourse, researchers must pay attention to the "invisibility" (p. 324) that functions to oppress. The invisibility or weakening of the inextricability of liberal education, excellence, and inclusion creates an opportunity for oppression through the devaluing of diverse populations and their experiences. The AAC&U did not make a firm declaration in its mission statement that diversity is fundamental to higher education; rather, the organization maintains a connected both/and approach, instead of a singular position, that focuses on the interconnectedness of liberal education, excellence, and inclusion.

IE is a framework that is designed to facilitate dialogue and action, based on the idea that diversity and inclusion are inextricable from, and needed for, institutional excellence. By talking about IE, the

AAC&U changed how educational institutions communicate about diversity and inclusion. Instead of approaching institutional diversity and inclusion as a social justice endeavor or “solely a moral imperative” (D. A. Williams & Wade-Golden, 2013, p. 82) for colleges and universities, the AAC&U argued that without diversity and inclusion, institutions of higher education are not fulfilling a commitment to educational excellence. In centralizing diversity in discussions of educational excellence, the AAC&U provided an argument for diversity initiatives as necessary for the educational enterprise. This argument supporting the need for diversity in education functions to minimize dissenting political, cultural, and social perspectives that view diversity efforts, inclusive language, and outreach programs as things that colleges do for the sake of “political correctness” (Chait, 2015).

Although IE is becoming popular in diversity discourse and in campus diversity work, specifically, there are some potential concerns about it. Several CDOs interviewed for this study discussed their concern for the misrepresentation of diverse groups, standpoints, and knowledge in IE language. For example, if the AAC&U organization is founded on the premise that liberal education is excellent and worth its advocacy efforts, eliminating the word “excellent” in its mission statement would allow the organization to (re)frame liberal education discursively. If excellence is assumed within the normative discourse of liberal education, by moving to eliminate the word “excellence,” the organizational framing would advocate strategically for the connection between inclusion and liberal education. This discursive move could reframe how AAC&U members connect ideas of excellence, education, and inclusion. This call to imbed diversity in educational discourse was advocated by Williams and Wade-Golden (2013) to combat those on campus “who view diversity as ancillary to academic excellence” (p. 287).

To accomplish the AAC&U’s stated goal to give all students access to benefits of liberal education, policies, practices, and discourses about who counts as an excellent or ideal student need to change. By suggesting an inextricable connection between inclusivity and liberal education, the organization can affect how practices of admission, inclusion, and retention are performed. In application,

the AAC&U could rewrite its organizational mission statement to make *inclusive liberal education* the foundation for its institutional purpose. The AAC&U, and other organizations that advocate for greater inclusion in higher education, thus, have an opportunity to disrupt dominant discourses and normative assumptions about which bodies, identities, experiences, and knowledge belong in higher education.

By reframing what counts as liberal education, the AAC&U has the opportunity to interrupt oppressive power relationships within higher education that separate diversity from the educational enterprise of higher education. National educational organizational leaders have the opportunity to frame and embed diversity discursively in all aspects of education, from best practices in faculty recruitment to creating inclusive curricula for general education courses. Although the framing of IE in the AAC&U mission was of some concern to several CDOs who participated in this study, the question of whether any mention of inclusion and diversity is better than no mention is discussed in the next section. In that section, I provide a brief overview of another century-old national organization, and a critical reading of its mission statement, that works to achieve and maintain educational excellence in U.S. higher education: the American Association of University Professors.

American Association of University Professors

For the last 100 years, through public advocacy, training, and research, the mission statement of the American Association of University Professors (AAUP; n.d.-a) has claimed that the organization has “helped to shape American higher education by developing the standards and procedures that maintain quality in education and academic freedom in this country's colleges and universities” (para. 1).

Specifically, the AAUP's (n.d.-a) mission is

to advance academic freedom and shared governance; to define fundamental professional values and standards for higher education; to promote the economic security of faculty, academic professionals, graduate students, post-doctoral fellows, and all those engaged in teaching and

research in higher education; to help the higher education community organize to make our goals a reality; and to ensure higher education's contribution to the common good. (para. 1)

This mission statement makes no mention of diversity or inclusion. Unlike the AAC&U statement, which includes IE in its mission, the AAUP does not engage issues of difference in its mission statement or in the description of the organization's values and promises. Although the AAUP claims to be committed to ensuring academic freedom and high-quality education, its mission statement and homepage do not address the educational benefits of diversity. All topics relating to issues of difference and diversity are absent from the *About AAUP* webpage (AAUP, n.d.-a) that contains the mission, history, conference information, organizations, staff, and committees.

This separation of AAUP's mission, values, and vision from issues of diversity can be read critically as a dominant discourse of higher education that supports Collins's (2000) point that a "pattern of suppression is that of omission" (p. 8). Using language that is "universally applicable," such as that used by the AAUP, which, seemingly, applies to all those involved in higher education, can "upon closer examination appear greatly limited by the White, middle-class, and Western origins of their proponents" (Collins, 2000, p. 8). In deconstructing the AAUP mission statement, the omission of diversity and inclusion can be interpreted as a political action to silence groups that desire to center issues of diversity, equity, and inclusion. Collins (2000) argued that the "pressure to separate thought from action—particularly political activism—that typically accompanies training in standard academic disciplines or participating in allegedly neutral spheres like the 'free' press" (p. 45) further marginalizes and silences discourses of diversity and inclusion. In using inclusive language, such as "our goals," in the AAUP mission statement, AAUP leadership assumes that all participants in higher education share the same experiences and goals. This assumptive language limits and constrains the sharing of diverse experiences and goals throughout the many communities within institutions of higher education.

As one of many communities in higher education, CDOs work to support diversity, with the goal of promoting inclusion and equity in higher education. One tactic for achieving that goal is through “infusing diversity” (Williams & Wade-Golden, 2013, p. 141) into campus publications, with Williams and Wade-Golden (2013) arguing that this infusion was necessary for organizational change. In that light, the AAUP mission statement is not infused with language that supports diversity goals, as all mentions of diversity and inclusion are segregated to separate pages, and they are distanced from the core mission of the organization. Unlike the AAUP, however, as described next, a national educational organization that supports campus diversity and diversity officers is the NADOHE.

National Association of Diversity Officers in Higher Education

The NADOHE (2016) is a national organization of higher education diversity officers, established in 2006, whose mission statement is “to lead higher education toward inclusive excellence through institutional transformation” (para. 1). NADOHE’s organizational mission of is to serve as the preeminent voice for diversity officers in higher education by supporting our collective efforts to lead higher education institutions toward the attainment of the following goals: produce and disseminate empirical evidence through research to inform diversity initiatives, identify and circulate exemplary practices, provide professional development for current and aspiring diversity officers, inform and influence national and local policies, and create and foster networking opportunities. (para. 3)

NADOHE’s mission thus, focuses on research, policies, and practices associated with diversity work, including supporting diversity officers charged with managing campus diversity.

Although NADOHE’s mission statement does not identify IE, IE is part of the organization’s vision, which is listed with the mission statement on NADOHE’s webpage, and IW is referenced more than 20 times throughout the various pages of the NADOHE website; hence, the organization’s leaders are committed to an IE framework. Moreover, unlike the AAUP, which did not mention diversity in its

mission or vision statements, NADOHE has the word “diversity” written three times in the vision, mission, and slogan webpage, although there was no mention of any identity categories or target goals or populations for its diversity efforts. The only population mentioned explicitly in connection with diversity work were “diversity officers in higher education” (para. 3).

As the leading organization for CDOs in higher education, NADOHE provides many diversity officers with language for discussing issues of difference, and it offers a platform for learning about pressing issues in diversity and higher education (Williams & Wade-Golden, 2013). Six CDOs in the present study discussed during their interviews (see Chapter 5) how NADOHE has provided research and resources for their position, as well as a network of CDOs who support one another and campus diversity work. As a national organization that CDOs rely on for emerging information, training, and research related to diversity work in higher education, it is important to note that NADOHE leaders have framed the organization’s vision and many of its discussions about diversity and equity in higher education as IE. The discursive framing of IE as a way of discussing diversity and issues of inclusion and equity, thus, was used by both the AAC&U and NADOHE. The next section summarizes and discusses discourses that were found in the three national education organizations that were included in this section.

Framings of Diversity by National Education Organizations

Upon reviewing the mission statements of the AAC&U, AAUP, and NADOHE, two distinctive framings of diversity emerged. The first framing offers an ancillary treatment of diversity, as seen on the AAUP’s (n.d.-a) website, where the absence of any presence of diversity language on the homepage and the *About Us* webpage signaled a separation between the organizational mission and supplementary projects of the organization. Although the AAUP did not mention the words “diversity,” “difference,” “inclusion,” or “educational equity” anywhere on its homepage or *About Us* webpage, there was a list of issues in higher education on another page of the AAUP (n.d.-b) website where diversity was recognized. On the list of 27 issues in higher education addressed by the AAUP, with the website providing pages of

resources, research, and information on each of these issues, discrimination was listed as issue number 13 (note: the issues listed were not in alphabetical order), diversity and affirmative action was listed as number 14, minority-serving institutions was listed as number 21, sexual diversity and gender identity was listed as issue number 24, and women in the academic profession was listed as issue number 27 (the final one).

Although the attention and resources provided for these 27 issues identified by the AAUP may prove helpful to faculty and administrators, by separating and decentering issues of identity and diversity from the mission of the organization, the AAUP distances diversity from the educational enterprise of the organization and, thereby, contributes to discourse that does not value educational benefits of diversity. Discourses that separate diversity from the mission and focus of higher education marginalize the role of CDOs and minimize the value of their work creating diverse, equitable, and inclusive campuses (Williams & Wade-Golden, 2013). The ancillary framing of diversity, thus, marks concerns and issues related to diversity and difference as being separate from the core organizational mission of educational institutions.

The second framing of diversity in higher education is that IE is used by the AAC&U and NADOHE. According to the majority of CDOs interviewed for this study (see Chapter 5), IE is a preferred discursive frame because it centers diversity in higher education institutions' mission, and it conveys publicly to campus constituencies that for education to be excellent, there must be diverse voices and bodies involved in the educational enterprise. Although many of the CDOs in this study use IE in their campus diversity work, two of those CDOs shared reservations about how IE is becoming a new buzz word for campus leaders who do not grasp fully the concept but who recognize that it is gaining traction in higher education literature and practice.

As this section showed, to understand dominant discourses of diversity that are present in higher education organizations, these three national educational organizations and their mission statements were consulted. The framings of diversity as ancillary to education and diversity as imbedded in education as

IE revealed two distinct approaches for how institutional leaders talk about and value diversity in higher education. Documenting these two frames is helpful for mapping differences between national and local discourses of diversity. Given these two discursive framings of diversity by national educational organizations, below, I analyze the content and framings of institutional mission statements from 50 U.S. colleges and universities.

College and University Mission Statements

This section offers a qualitative content analysis of 50 systematically randomly selected institutions of higher education in the United States. As detailed in Chapter 3, the sample was drawn from the more than 2,100 institutions included in the University of Texas at Austin's (2015) database of U.S. colleges and universities. After collecting institutional information from the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS) of the National Center for Educational Statistics, each institutional website was searched to locate the organizational mission statement. Each of the statements and supporting materials were put into Excel for coding and analysis. When available, I also collected, for secondary analysis, vision statements and institutional goals that were tied to the mission and vision statements.

The institutions in the sample are from 29 states and the U.S. territory of Puerto Rico. Expanding on Gudeman's (2000) study of liberal arts colleges, the sample for this analysis varied in terms of public, private, religiously affiliated, Hispanic-Serving Institutions (HSI), Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU), and Tribal colleges. This sample of colleges and universities offers a snapshot of U.S. institutional statements, although it is important to note that this sample is not a representative picture of all U.S. institutions of higher education. Specifically, based on the number and types of U.S. higher education institutions, there was an overrepresentation in this sample of HBCUs and Tribal Colleges, and an underrepresentation of public and private institutions. The sample used in this study, however, provides a glimpse into diverse discourses of mission statements from U.S. higher education institutions. Using the language of Ashcraft and Allen (2003), I do not offer this analysis as an "exhaustive inventory" but as a

“starting point for dialogue” (p. 10) from which higher education leader can gather information about how to frame their organizational missions and values to support CDOs’ work and practices.

Using the nine core values established by Gudeman (2000), I counted and hand-coded each mission statement to document what leaders of U.S. institutions of higher education have claimed as fundamental and valuable to their institution. I used the results of this analysis to map how institutional mission statements define and value diversity. Using the documentation of what mission statements contain, I revisit the national framings of diversity, and then explore how CDOs are (dis)engaging and (re)constructing the discourses in their communicative practices associated with diversity work. In working to understand dominant discourses surrounding diversity and diversity work, I note points of divergence between dominant constructions and framing of diversity and discourses and communicative practices that CDOs employ in their work. Tables 4.1 and 4.2 present the content analysis of the nine core values as located in the sample mission statements.

Each of the institutional mission statements and supplemental materials contained at least two of the nine core values that were found by Gudeman (2000). The most visible of all of the core values in these mission statements was “intellectual mastery,” which included academic rigor and a desire to learn. The second most frequently noted value was “service to community,” which was indicated by a desire to work for and serve neighborhoods, communities, the world, and others, as well as working for social justice and serving others through scholarship. When additional materials, such as goal statements, vision statements, and mission explanations, were included in the coding, the first two core values of intellectual mastery and service to community were each visible in 98% of the institutional documents. “Personal growth,” which included language about exploration of self, self-improvement, new experiences, growth, and personal development, was the third most common value articulated in these mission statements, but fourth when supplementary materials were included.

Table 4.1 Mission Values of Sampled Institutions of Higher Education

	Intellectual Mastery	Service to Comm- unity	Personal Growth	Diverse Perspect- ives
American Indian College of the Assemblies of God (AZ)	+	+	+	√
Art Academy of Cincinnati (OH)	+	+	√	√
Bard College (NY)	+	√		√
Bethune-Cookman University (FL)	+	+	+	+
Bryan College of Health Sciences (NE)	√	+		
Cambridge College (MA)	+	√	√	+
Chadron State College (NE)	+	+		+
College of the Ozarks (MO)	+	√	√	
Concordia University–Wisconsin (WI)	+	+	+	√
Delaware State University (DE)	+	+	√	+
East Carolina University (NC)	+	+		+
Escuela de Artes Plásticas de Puerto Rico (PR)	+	+	+	√
Francis Marion University (SC)	+	+	+	+
Goldey-Beacom College (DE)	+	+	+	
Harris-Stowe State University (MO)	+	+	+	+
Harvey Mudd College (CA)	+	+	√	√
Huntington University (IN)	+	+	+	√
Jarvis Christian College (TX)	+	√	+	√
Kentucky Wesleyan College (KY)	+	√	+	
LeMoyne-Owen College (TN)	+	+	+	
Louisiana State University–Shreveport (LA)	+	+	+	√
Mars Hill University (NC)	+	+	+	√
Mercer University (GA)	+	+	+	√
Millikin University (IL)	+	+	+	+
Mount Holyoke College (MA)	+	+	+	+
New Jersey Institute of Technology (NJ)	+	+	+	+
Northwest Florida State College (FL)	+	+	+	+
Oklahoma Baptist University (OK)	+	+	+	+
Patten University (CA)	+	+	+	
Piedmont College (GA)	+	+		+
Rasmussen College (FL)	+	+		+
Rutgers University–Newark (NJ)	+	+	+	+
Saint Luke's College (IA)	+	+	+	+
San José State University (CA)	+	+	+	√
Sitting Bull College (ND)	+	+	+	+

	Intellectual Mastery	Service to Comm- unity	Personal Growth	Diverse Perspect -ives
Southern Vermont College (VT)	+	√	+	√
SUNY Empire State College	+	√	+	√
Texas A&M University–Corpus Christi (TX)	+	+	+	+
Trinity College of Nursing & Health Sciences (IL)	+			+
Universidad Interamericana de Puerto Rico (PR)	+	+	+	
University of California–Los Angeles (CA)	+	+	+	+
University of Idaho (ID)	+	+		+
University of Minnesota–Crookston (MN)	+	+		+
University of North Texas Health Science (TX)	+	+		√
University of Saint Mary (KS)	√	+	+	+
University of Texas, Arlington (TX)	+	+	+	+
VanderCook College of Music (IL)	+	+	√	√
Western New Mexico University (NM)	+	+	+	+
Western Oregon University (OR)	+	+		+
Wittenberg University (OH)	+	+	+	+
Totals of mission statements with or without supplemental mission and/or diversity statement				
Key:				
+ = Core mission statement contained value				
√ = Supplemental statement and/or diversity statement contained value				

Table 4.1. Mission Values of Selected Institutions of Higher Education (continued)

	Liberated , Curious	Tolerance, Respect	Moral Ethical	Leadership	Creativity, Imagination
American Indian College of the Assemblies of God (AZ)			+		
Art Academy of Cincinnati (OH)	√		√		+
Bard College (NY)		√			+
Bethune-Cookman University (FL)	√	√	√	+	
Bryan College of Health Sciences (NE)		√			
Cambridge College (MA)		√		√	
Chadron State College (NE)					
College of the Ozarks (MO)			√		
Concordia University–Wisconsin (WI)		√	√	√	
Delaware State University (DE)			√	+	
East Carolina University (NC)			+	+	+
Escuela de Artes Plásticas de P.R.	√	√	√		+
Francis Marion University (SC)	+	+	+		+
Goldey-Beacom College (DE)			√	√	
Harris-Stowe State University (MO)					
Harvey Mudd College (CA)	√		√	+	√
Huntington University (IN)			+		
Jarvis Christian College (TX)		√	√		√
Kentucky Wesleyan College (KY)			√	√	
LeMoyne-Owen College (TN)				+	
Louisiana State University, Shreveport	+		√		√
Mars Hill University (NC)	√	√	√	√	
Mercer University (GA)	√	√	√	√	+
Millikin University (IL)		√	√		√
Mount Holyoke College (MA)	+		+	+	
New Jersey Institute of Technology (NJ)	√			+	+
Northwest Florida State College (FL)	√	√			+
Oklahoma Baptist University (OK)			+	+	
Patten University (CA)	+				+
Piedmont College (GA)		√	+	√	+
Rasmussen College (FL)			+		+
Rutgers University–Newark (NJ)	+		+		
Saint Luke's College (IA)		√	√	+	
San José, California State Univ. (CA)	√		√		√
Sitting Bull College (ND)		√	√	√	

	Liberated Curious	Tolerance, Respect	Moral Ethical	Leadership	Creativity, Imagination
Southern Vermont College (VT)	+	√	√		
SUNY Empire State College		+	+		√
Texas A&M University, Corpus Christi (TX)			+	√	+
Trinity College of Nursing & Health Sciences (IL)		√	√		
Universidad Interamericana de Puerto Rico (PR), Aguadilla	+	+	+		+
University of California, Los Angeles (CA)	√	+	√	+	+
University of Idaho (ID)			√	√	+
University of Minnesota–Crookston (MN)		√	√	√	√
University of North Texas Health Science Center (TX)	√	√	√	+	√
University of Saint Mary (KS)		√	+		
University of Texas, Arlington (TX)	+		+	+	+
VanderCook College of Music (IL)		+	+		
Western New Mexico University (NM)			+		+
Western Oregon University (OR)					
Wittenberg University (OH)	√	√	+	√	+
Totals of mission statements with or without supplemental mission and/or diversity statement					
Key: + = Core mission statement contained value √ = Supplemental statement and/or diversity statement contained value					

The next most commonly articulated value in the mission statements was “learning from diverse perspectives,” which included language about learning from, engaging with, and appreciating diversity perspectives. Interestingly, these four core values also were the same top values found by Gudeman (2000) in her study (more than 15 years ago) of liberal arts college mission statements. Table 4.3 displays the percentage of the sample statements that included each of the nine core values.

Table 4.2 Percentage of Core Values Found in Sample Materials

Values/Goals in Mission Statements	In Mission Statement		In Mission Statement and/or Support Statement	
	Pct.	<i>n</i>	Pct.	<i>n</i>
Intellectual Mastery	94%	47	98%	49
Service to Community	84%	42	98%	49
Personal Growth	66%	33	78%	39
Diverse Perspectives	54%	27	86%	43
Liberated, Curious Mind	16%	8	40%	20
Tolerance, Respect, Concern	10%	5	50%	25
Ethical, Moral Judgement	34%	17	80%	40
Social Leadership	24%	12	48%	24
Creativity, Imagination	36%	18	50%	25

This content analysis of mission statements and supplemental materials for these 50 U.S. institutions of higher education was insightful for several reasons. First, the analysis shows that U.S. colleges and universities portray to the public that they are places for intellectual and personal growth that work toward the betterment of self and society in a world that learns from diverse perspectives. Mirroring this positive view of higher education where colleges improve individuals and society, each of Gudeman's (2000) nine core values provided a hopeful reflection of self and higher education from the college and university educators and administrators who crafted these mission statements.

Second, there was broad, but consistent language in these statements about what diversity is and how diversity should be presented and made available on institutional websites. In discussing CDOs' tactics for organizational change, Williams and Wade-Golden (2013) recommended "developing diversity-targeted websites, brochures, and videos" (p. 141). Overall, this sample's institutional practices followed this recommendation of constructing dedicated websites for diversity, and, moreover, many institutions followed another of Williams and Wade-Golden's (2013) recommendation to imbed diversity in their institutional homepages, mission statement, and vision statement. Where institutions diverged from recommendations made by Williams and Wade-Golden (2013) was in the lack of specifics in these statements about experiences, identities, and groups that count as diverse.

The broad language used to talk about diversity in these mission statements is rooted in education as an abstract concept rather than as a collection of knowledge and experiences gathered from diverse sources. The five words that were used most commonly to talk about diversity in the statements were “educate” (21 times), “diverse” (21), “diversity” (17), “culture” (14), and “excellence” (11). Inclusion, one of the two discursive frames used by the AAC&U and NADOHE in their mission statements, was mentioned in only eight of the mission and diversity statements of the institutions sampled in this study. The use of excellence was presented in two ways throughout the statements: the first framing of excellence was as IE *through* diversity; the second was excellence as ancillary *to* diversity. Framings of diversity as either IE or diversity as ancillary to excellence that were noted in the national educational organizations were mirrored in 8 of the 50 (16%) U.S. university institutional statements.

Specific details about and plans of how IE is practiced by CDOs on these campuses would be valuable information for determining the utility of each framing of diversity, as there is not a universal diversity plan that will work equally well for all institutions of higher education (Williams & Wade-Golden, 2013). How CDOs engage in communicative practices associated with their diversity work, undoubtedly, is based on characteristics associated with their institution; CDOs, themselves; and campus constituents. For CDOs to be successful in supporting a diverse and inclusive campus, in addition to CDOs seeing their values reflected in the institutional mission and practices, campus constituents must also be receptive to, connect with, and understand what diversity is, and why diversity and inclusion matters in education. (Williams & Wade-Golden, 2013). In making diversity matter on university campuses, CDOs and other administrators must employ practices and programs to support diversity and inclusion efforts.

To explore connections between discourses of diversity that are present in institutional mission statements and communicative practices that support diversity work through recruitment, support, inclusion, and retention efforts, I offer two mini-case studies. Each case study provides an applied

example of how discourses of diversity can inform practices and programs that support campus diversity efforts. The two institutions, Southern Vermont College and College of the Ozarks, were selected based on language that they used to discuss diversity in their institutional statements. In the case of Southern Vermont College, the mission statement language included specific identities that demarcated what counted as diversity, which, rarely, was seen in the mission statements. In selecting the College of the Ozarks (2016a), I was interested in its stated focus in the mission statement of intersections of Christianity, age, socioeconomic status, and sex. By limiting the focus and organizational targets for prospective students to young people who are Christian and of “both sexes” (College of the Ozarks, 2016a, para. 1), I was curious to unpack how this mission statement language informs communicative practices associated with recruitment and inclusion at this college. These case studies are presented as potential examples of how discourses of diversity can be connected to institutional diversity practices.

Mini-case Study of Southern Vermont College

The diversity statement from Southern Vermont College (SVC), a private, rural college that is located near the city of Bennington, Vermont, was one of three statements included in the content analysis that named social identities in association with a commitment to diversity. Specifically, SVC’s (n.d.-a) diversity statement reads: “This community has a commitment to diversity, broadly defined to include race, ethnicity, socio-economic status, gender, religion and sexual orientation, seeking to be inclusive of all and their experiences” (para. 3). Of the 50 statements analyzed for this study, SVC is one of only a few that articulated in explicit terms a commitment to diversity as defined by particular social identities. Only 3 of the 50 statements examined in the content analysis defined social identities explicitly, such as race, gender, disability, or sexuality, as descriptors of diversity; the other 47 institutions either made broad claims about valuing diversity and diverse perspectives without specific language related to identity groups or diversity was not mentioned.

Although it is important to understand and acknowledge the complex intersecting and competing nature of identities, institutions of higher education, accreditation organizations, and the U.S. government's funding and regulatory agencies require reporting of individuals' identities, such as race, gender, and nationality. As such, institutions of higher education often have strategic plans (rooted in and stemming from their institutional mission statement) that implement practices to recruit and retain individuals from underrepresented groups (Williams & Wade-Golden, 2013). In seeking to be "inclusive of all, and their experiences" (SVC, n.d.-a, para 3), the statement supports an appreciation of and value for diverse identities and experiences.

In reading SVC's explicit commitment to diverse campus identities and experiences, it is important to note that public displays of a commitment to diversity do not indicate necessarily that a campus population is diverse. According to the IPEDS database of the National Center for Education Statistics (U.S. Department of Education, NCES, 2015a), SVC self-reported that 61% of its student body are female and that 87% of all students are of traditional college age (24 years old or younger). Racially, SVC students self-identified as 9% Hispanic, 9% African American, 1% Asian, and 63% White, with 17% of the student population not reporting race. Upon closer examination of the student population of SVC (n.d.-b), it is notable that 96% of students receive financial aid, which is significant considering that 88% of the student body at the nearby Bennington College (n.d.-a), which also a private institution) receives financial aid. The tuition and fees of SVC (n.d.-b) are \$25,604 per year as compared to the \$46,048 tuition and fees at Bennington College (n.d.-b). Even though annual tuition at SVC is \$20,444 less than that of Bennington College, SVC still provides a greater percentage of its student body with financial aid. These racial and income demographics of SVC are presented to demonstrate a possible connection between how diversity is portrayed publically in that college's diversity statement and how institutional diversity practices mirror the commitment in diversity statements to having a diverse campus community.

Unlike SVC's explicit inclusion of identities as indicators of what diversity means, most of the other institutional statements made abstract references to the importance of diverse perspectives without specifics about what diversity meant or how such diverse perspectives would be attained and represented at the institution. In the 21 instances where the term "diverse" was included in institutional statements, only two additional institutions specified that diverse ethnic backgrounds and cultures were an institutional focus of diversity efforts. Other institutional statements mentioned all things diverse, including diverse perspectives, society, cultural experiences, work environments, lives, residential communities, academic backgrounds, and academic programs, without descriptions of what institutional leaders meant by diverse, or how diverse perspectives were to be achieved.

Broad notions of diversity in university mission and diversity statements indicate a simultaneous ubiquity of diversity and a cacophony of messages related to the meaning of diversity. Without clear definitions of what diversity is at an institution, CDOs are placed in a precarious position of not knowing the directions that a board of trustees, president, provost, and/or chancellor have in motion or want for their campus. Williams and Wade-Golden (2013), consequently, argued that CDOs must push for "a shared understanding on issues of diversity" (p. 82), to provide CDOs with the opportunity to engage in practices that are aligned with their organizations' plans and needs.

In contrast to SVC's detailed list of social identities that contribute to campus diversity, few of the other institutions provided such clarity. Ambiguous language about diversity was seen in the next case study: the College of the Ozarks, which is a Christian liberal arts institution that is located in Point Lookout, Missouri, and where students are not charged tuition (they exchange campus work for the cost of their education). The next section explores the institutional language of this unique institution.

Mini-case Study of College of the Ozarks

One example of ambiguous language used in the university mission statements analyzed was the multiple meanings of "culture." For some campuses, culture was portrayed in mission and diversity

statements as being ethnic or racial culture; for other campuses, such as the College of the Ozarks, culture meant an appreciation of art or music. In the mission statement for the College of the Ozarks (2016a), institution noted that it was committed to “provide the advantages of a Christian education for youth of both sexes, especially those found worthy, but who are without sufficient means to procure such training” (para 1), demonstrating the college’s commitment to Christian beliefs, biological sex, socioeconomic diversity, and traditional college-aged populations (i.e., youth). Reading into the vision and goal statements of the institution, there is continued and consistent communication regarding a Christian-centered education where students work hard for God, country, and self.

The vision of the College of the Ozarks (2016a) is to “develop citizens of Christ-like character who are well-educated, hard-working, and patriotic” (para 2). The mission and vision of this college are explained further through five institutional goal areas: academic, vocational, Christian, patriotic, and cultural. Each of these five goals is explained, along with practices for achieving the goal; for example, the patriotic goal is to “encourage an understanding of American heritage, civic responsibilities, love of country, and willingness to defend it” (College of the Ozarks, 2016b, para 7). The goal is to understand heritage and responsibilities, and practices for achieving this goal include loving and defending the country.

In accordance with the mission, vision, and goals established in the College of the Ozarks’ statements, the student population of the institution is 53% female and 47% male, 98% are 24 years of age or younger, and 100% receive financial aid (U.S. Department of Education, NCES, 2015a), with 97% receiving federal Pell Grants that are awarded to students living below the national poverty line. The Pell Grants, combined with other state, local, and institutional grants, provide students with funds to attend the institution without incurring debt; consequently, less than 3% of students there take out loans to cover additional expenses that are associated with the cost of education. Although the annual tuition is listed at \$18,530, according to the College of the Ozarks (2016b), “No tuition is charged, all students work on

campus, debt is openly discouraged, and no federal, state, or private loans are made” (para. 1). This commitment to cost-free higher education places the College of the Ozarks in limited company with Berea College in Kentucky, Barclay College in Kansas, Macaulay Honors College in New York, and eight other institutions around the United States that are tuition-free for qualified students.

There are two distinct possibilities in analyzing this institution as related to the communication of its mission and applied practices that the institution engages in to fulfill its mission. First, it can be argued that the College of the Ozarks has a concise mission and vision statement that establishes and communicates effectively its institutional values; accordingly, organizational practices of campus leaders in admissions and financial aid are grounded in, and reflect, institutionally established principles. The institutional mission statement clearly identifies men and women who are young, have financial need, and are Christian as the College’s target recruitments. Given the established recruitment goals and institutional vision, this college is successful in actualizing its mission; the institution has established what it wants to be as an organization and who it wants to serve, and it has committed to a path that communicates and actualizes these goals. The college’s target populations, as expressed in its mission statement, do not include any mention of diversity as it relates to race or ethnicity. As a project focused on discourses of diversity and as a scholar committed to promoting inclusion and diversity in higher education, I would be remiss if I did not address this lack of discourse involving diversity in the statements made by this college.

With a self-reported 92% White student population reported in the IPEDS National Center for Educational Statistics data system (U.S. Department of Education, NCES, 2015a), the College of the Ozarks is not signaling a desire to increase racial diversity in its mission, vision, and institutional goals. This lack of racial diversity leads to the second interpretation of the College of the Ozark statements: As an organization, campus leaders have selected gender, age, and socioeconomic status as individual identities where organizational energy and resources should be focused. There are costs and resources needed to implement targeted recruitment plans for any group; for socioeconomic or social class diversity,

financial aid resources in the form of advisors, grants, scholarships, work-study, and unexpected costs (e.g., housing, transportation, food, and clothing) are needed to sustain and maintain institutional social class diversity. In recent years, due to the economic recession and rising costs of higher education, there has been increasing discourse that positions racial diversity against class diversity (Park, 2013; Pope, 2013). In highlighting the resources needed to recruit and retain diverse populations, I recognize that there are sometimes limited funds to support low-income students who often need greater assistance for book purchases, housing, and who may not be able to go home on break and who will need to stay on campus. There are, however, low-income students of all races, and statistically African American and Latino students are amongst the poorest students in the nation, and many Generation X of African American and Latinos identify as Christian (Pew Research Center, n.d.), thus a 92% White student population is unexpected.

In examining other Christian tuition-free institutions around the United States, the College of the Ozarks remains among the least racially diverse institutions. In contrast, at Barclay College, a Christian, tuition-free institution located in Kiowa County, Kansas, the student population is 79% White, 9% Black, 4% Latino, 1% Asian, and 1% biracial, with 4% not identifying themselves racially. A major difference between these two colleges is how their institutional mission statements frame organizational vision and goals. The mission statements from both institutions are Christ- and Bible-centered, and they focus on Christian teachings; Barclay College (n.d.), however, also has a section that focuses on active recruitment and an interest in diverse cultural perspectives, which reads:

Barclay College actively recruits all Christians who desire to prepare for their vocations in a climate that is rigorously academic and committed to serving Jesus Christ. The College believes that spiritual growth is accelerated when one lives and studies in a community that includes a diversity of theological and cultural perspectives. (para. 3)

In signaling a desire to embrace diversity, Barclay College appeals to a broader and more diverse student population than does the College of the Ozarks. The expressed interest in diversity in Barclay College's mission statement stems from a focus on spiritual growth and not on academic excellence, as stated in other institutional mission statements. An interest and desire for institutional diversity, consequently, is portrayed in Barclay College's mission and vision of the institution. This acknowledgment of the value of diversity in higher education creates the opportunity for diversity officers to employ communicative practices to create and sustain inclusive and welcoming learning environments. According to CDOs interviewed in this study, how institutions of higher education frame their commitment to education, diversity, and IE informs how they talk about and do their work. Without a clear message of institutional support and vision for diversity and inclusion, CDOs can be in a precarious position with regard to finding and creating ways to support changes in policies and practices that are embedded within exclusionary, broad, or ambiguous discourse (Williams & Wade-Golden, 2013).

This chapter presented national organizational framings of discourses of diversity as IE *through* diversity and excellence as ancillary *to* diversity. These national organizational framings were evidenced in 16% of the sample mission statements. The qualitative content analysis of this sample of 50 U.S. colleges and universities provided information about what institutions include and value in their campus mission, vision, and diversity statements. These organizational statements, constructed and approved by campus constituencies, constitute goals and boundaries of what the institution wants to be and who it is designed to serve.

To demonstrate how practices associated with recruitment and admissions are informed by organizational mission statements, I presented two mini-case studies. Both SVC and the College of the Ozarks have student diversity that reflects the discourses of diversity that are present in those colleges' mission statements. The discourse of who belongs on campus is materialized through admissions practices, as informed by that discourse. I make the argument that how discourses of diversity are framed

and portrayed in institutional mission statements informs practices that are associated with achieving institutional goals, visions, and purpose. Discourses of diversity present in institutional statements, thus, provide a blueprint for how CDOs design, build, and support their work, using communicative practices, to make their campuses diverse and inclusive.

Given this presentation of how diversity is framed and portrayed discursively in institutional mission statements, the remainder of this chapter and this study center on the communicative practices and experiences of higher education CDOs. In the remaining pages of this chapter, I connect framings of diversity that were found in the sample university mission statements with experiences of CDOs who discussed how they have enacted the mission statements of their institutions. CDOs spoke to the organizational language and framing of diversity, and they talked about what this framing signals about who is valued at their institution. Using mission statements as a springboard for action, CDOs discussed how institutional discourses of diversity are used in their communicative practices to accomplish institutional diversity goals.

Institutional Diversity Statements and Diversity Officers' Communicative Practices

Diversity officers, as organizational actors, are guided in their communicative practices by the available discourses of diversity. The importance of communicating a clear, concrete commitment to diversity in an institutional mission or diversity statement is vital in providing leadership direction to CDOs and in determining where material and discursive resources should and will be spent (Williams & Wade-Golden, 2013). How institutional leaders establish diversity priorities in organizational statements, therefore, sets boundaries for practices related to campus diversity. The impetus for campus discourse about diversity, and for the creation of CDO positions on campus, usually is a campus incident or report that dictates the needed focus of campus diversity efforts (Williams & Wade-Golden, 2013). Regardless of whether the impetus for diversity is a response to a campus hate crime or racial incident, as often occurs

(D. A. Williams, 2008); recent research on the benefits of campus diversity; or pressure from faculty, students, or alumni, this impetus guides campus practices surrounding diversity.

The ways that institutions signal publicly the importance, scope, and value of diversity guide how internal and external communities perceive and support campus diversity efforts. In speaking about the importance of concrete communication in mission statements related to diversity, Jessi, a CDO at a private institution, said in our interview session:

Because there is a mission statement, a very strong, very wonderful mission statement, which is grounded on Catholic social teaching, the belief is that everybody who is here has an understanding of the goodness of diversity and feels that, because that goodness is a part of their teaching mission, their teaching role, and their teaching practice.

Jessi explained that without clear articulation on the part of institutions, there can be a disconnect between well-meaning administrators, faculty, staff, students, and surrounding campus community members about which groups and programs should be given institutional priorities and funds in the name of “campus diversity.”

In terms of other campuses, Jessi, who has mentored many CDOs, warned of the use of “coded language” in diversity and mission statements:

People talk about diversity in coded ways. I think that one of the interesting code words, how can I phrase it, they talk about students are *not ready*, students who don't fit, even what seems to count as underprepared. To me, those are coded words. One of my favorite examples, and this goes back even before I was in this position, we have a wonderful young man who is currently a psychologist who works with our department. If you just look at him from the outside, he's a big Black man. Sam is what, 6'3", maybe 200 or more pounds, big guy. He told me this great story about the English teacher who kept ripping apart all of his essays. He just couldn't seem to get anything

right. Then she [the teacher] finds out he's a presidential scholar and, magically, his essays get to be incredibly good Just a miracle.

The use of *coded language*—the use of an idea or word to signal a socially appropriate response that also (re)inscribes a commonly held thought, belief, and/or prejudice—in diversity statements is a topic that several participants brought up in the interviews. Contrary to Gudeman's (2000) assertion regarding the approval and consensus process where board of trustee members or presidents approve mission statement construction and distribution, a CDO in the present study suggested that communication about diversity should be initiated by campus executive leadership working with the CDO, and should not be written formally or distributed by high-ranking administrators without consulting students, staff, faculty, alumni, and community members. Some colleges, particularly those with shared governance, do employ a community-based model to construct campus messages. In addition to shared authorship of mission statements, it is also important that the statement include clear and focused language about diversity for determining institutional efforts and priorities, and represent common goals and shared vision of what the campus aspires to become in the future.

The use of coded language is not uncommon, with Shuy (1976) arguing that such language is employed for secrecy, security, efficiency, and intimacy. Shuy explained that “codes are designed to isolate information from outsiders in a way that regularly understood words would not” (p. 121). Coded language related to diversity may be used as a shorthand for racist, sexist, homophobic, and classed comments, or as a way to create a sense of belonging or bond between individuals who share privileges and identities. Many of the CDOs interviewed for this study made comments about other administrators and faculty members talking about “those” or “your,” thus marking students of color as intended wards of CDOs and intended beneficiaries of diversity programs and initiatives. Such coded language not only marks marginalized groups as organizational others but it also reifies discourses that negate cognitive,

social, and personal benefits that all students receive when they learn in an inclusive, engaged, and diverse environment.

An interview participant, Josh, discussed the centrality of language in crafting programs and outreach efforts:

I think it is all about the language. This really is about the language we use, and it's about really unpacking the language we use in both overt, as well as the covert, ways that we communicate about difference, and, again, we talked about the racial microaggressions, but it's not just racial. I think that when anybody is seen as outside the norm, that's the way I'm framing it I think coming together with some common language, some common framework, some common ways of understanding the issues and talking about these is one of the biggest challenges.

Josh's frustration with how diversity is communicated is tied to discourse about differences in higher education. How organizations of higher education operate are a consequence of their discourses of education, knowledge, embodiment, power, identity, and privilege. How institutions communicate their missions, purposes, and priorities creates the conditions and constructs the boundaries of diversity work, in general, and the work of CDOs, in particular. As Kuhn and Putnam (2014) wrote, "Organizational actors operate *in* communication and through discourse" (p. 422). As organizational actors, CDOs' communicative practices in their campus diversity work are structured by available discourses surrounding the purpose, value, and exigency of diversity. CDOs' ability to frame their work and to engage in more empowering and inclusive discourses and practices, thus, need to be explored. To better understand how diversity discourses are drawn upon by CDOs in their practices, the next chapter presents and analyzes data obtained from interviews conducted with CDOs, highlighting their communicative practices and ways of talking about and understanding diversity work in higher education.

CHAPTER 5

CHIEF DIVERSITY OFFICERS' COMMUNICATIVE PRACTICES OF DOING DIVERSITY WORK IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Given that mission, vision, and diversity statements establish the institutional position and goals for campus diversity work, this chapter explores how framings of diversity in college and university mission statements, discussed in Chapter 4, manifest in chief diversity officers' (CDOs) everyday communicative practices that are related to their campus diversity work. Those everyday communicative practices were obtained from in-depth interviews that were conducted with more than two dozen CDOs from around the United States about the CDO position, why they work to promote diversity and inclusion in higher education, and how they communicate about diversity.

The following sections, thus, answer the second research question posed about communicative practices employed by CDOs in their higher education diversity work. To answer that question, first, this chapter focuses on understanding CDOs' roles and responsibilities, and then explores how various reporting structures signal varying degrees of institutional support for campus diversity and inclusion efforts. I then discuss how CDOs described their interactions with their campus supervisor and faculty members. In exploring these reporting and faculty relationships, I examine relational tensions in the form of conflict surrounding campus diversity work and CDOs' communication strategies for creating and sustaining equitable campus policies and practices. The second half of this chapter moves from understanding the CDO position and its challenges to exploring formal and informal communicative practices, interpersonal strategies, and micropractices that CDOs use to build allies and support for their work. The chapter closes by highlighting ways that family, history, and collective experiences have influenced CDOs interviewed in this study to engage in diversity work in higher education.

Chief Diversity Officers in U.S. Higher Education

As discussed in Chapter 4, campus diversity initiatives and goals can include programming, policies, and practices that seek to increase climates of inclusion and provide support for a range of underrepresented campus communities. Diversity efforts, typically, are targeted at specific identity groups, based on race, gender, ethnicity, social class, religion, sexuality, ability status, and nationality (Williams & Wade-Golden, 2013), with campuses defining diversity in relation to their mission, vision, region, and purpose. This broad spectrum of potential identities contributes to campus diversity, and it creates opportunities and challenges for CDOs, who are responsible for initiating and sustaining diversity recruitment and retention plans, and for facilitating programs for students, faculty members, administrators, staff members, and community members. One challenge of the CDO position is that, unlike campus chief financial or information officers, whose positions, as discussed in Chapter 2, have been around for decades, the CDO is a relatively new role, and, consequently, responsibilities of that position vary across institutions.

Figure 5.1 highlights the multifarious responsibilities of the CDOs interviewed in this study. Those responsibilities are organized into three main areas: compositional diversity, compliance, and inclusive campus climate. First, *compositional diversity* is comprised of strategies and services that are designed to increase equitable access and support to underrepresented populations on campuses. These responsibilities for increasing access are created to address inequities in the educational pipeline, as well as to ameliorate unjust social structures, such as poverty, underresourced K–12 schools, and institutional racism, which disproportionately have affected students, faculty, and staff of color.

Figure 5.1. Chief diversity officers' responsibilities

Compositional Diversity

- Strategize recruitment of faculty, staff, and students with admissions and human resources
- Work to retain and support underrepresented faculty, staff, and students
- Serve on and support faculty search committees
- Write grants to fund campus recruitment and other diversity needs
- Advise state-funded access programs (i.e., bridge programs)
- Design tutoring programs
- Mentor students, faculty, and staff of color
- Collect and monitor data about campus climate and salary equity
- Administer faculty diversity grants

Compliance

- Serve as ombudsperson and student advocacy
- Work towards compliance of Title VII, Title IX, Americans with Disabilities Act, Affirmative Action, Equal Employment Opportunity nondiscrimination policies (federal, state, and local)

Inclusive Campus Climate

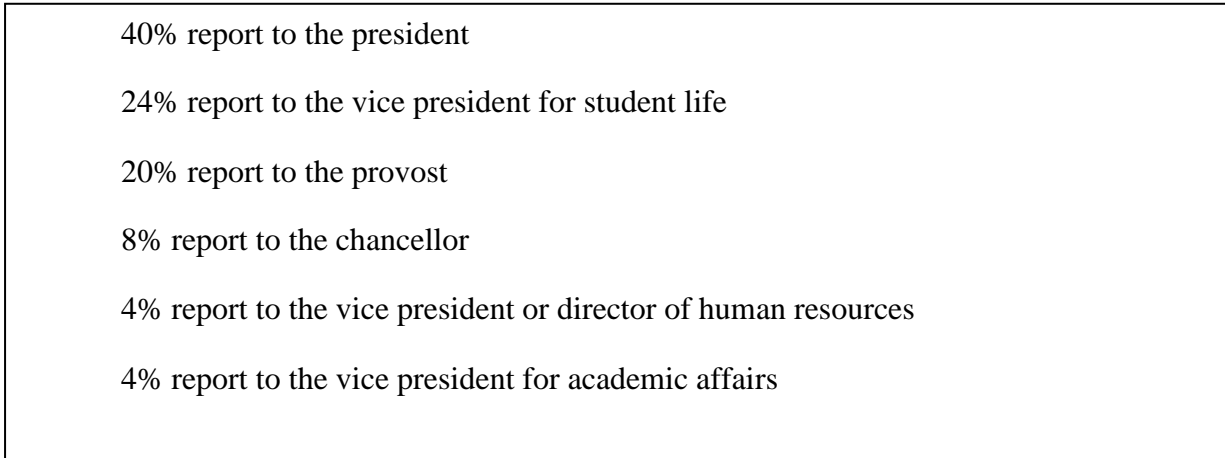
- Intervene to support inclusive classroom communication by faculty
- Train faculty and staff
- Craft and deliver crisis communication responses to hate crimes and campus incidents
- Plan heritage months and cultural events
- Advise student cultural groups
- Design, implement, and assess strategic plans for diversity initiatives
- Advise provost, deans, and president on diversity and inclusion
- Target allies and supporters of campus diversity efforts
- Recruit faculty at conferences
- Offer presentations, class talks, webinars, and workshops about diversity-related issues
- Review policy for inclusionary language and compliance
- Recruit, obtain, and supervise diverse campus vendors
- Create community partnerships and pipeline programs
- Offer faculty book club for recent publications on inclusion
- Review and design curriculum for diversity and inclusion

The second major area of responsibility is that of *institutional compliance*, a primary focus for CDOs who report to, or are placed organizationally within, the division of human resources. All CDOs in this study discussed compliance with federal mandates; however, CDOs with a compliance focus were less involved with daily tasks designed to create an inclusive campus climate. Creating and sustaining a supportive and inclusive campus environment for underrepresented students, faculty, and staff was the focus of most CDOs (75%).

Third, creating an *inclusive campus climate* involves CDOs advising about and intervening in campus policies, procedures, and practices to make diverse campus communities feel safe, comfortable, valued, and supported on campuses. This responsibility of promoting an inclusive campus climate was most relevant to the CDOs in this study. Communicative practices used by them were instrumental in garnering campus support through the construction of effective and persuasive messages about diversity and inclusion; challenging oppressive policies and attitudes, and, simultaneously, maintaining cooperative campus relationships; and persuading people to act to increase campus diversity and inclusion. Through their communicative practices, CDOs informed and persuaded campus communities to support diversity and inclusion efforts.

Each of the three responsibilities of compositional diversity, compliance, and creating an inclusive campus climate requires CDOs to communicate strategically and effectively the needs and goals of diverse campus communities to campus administrators, supervisors, faculty members, staff members, students (current and prospective), alumni, and members of neighboring communities. One key person with whom CDOs communicate regularly is their campus supervisor. Due to the varied responsibilities of CDOs who participated in this study, as well as their organizational placement and reporting structures, CDOs' supervisors had differing levels of investment in and support of diversity and inclusion efforts. For example, CDOs who reported to supervisors in Student Life discussed receiving support for student programs and services more than those who reported to Human Resources based on the purview of the reporting division and supervisor. How supervisors supported or resisted CDOs' efforts influenced how diversity and inclusion were grappled with and facilitated on their campus. Thus, where CDOs are placed organizationally, and to whom they report, inform both the primary focus of that position and communicative practices in which CDOs engage. Figure 5.2 provides a snapshot of people to whom CDOs in this study report at their institutions.

Figure 5.2. Chief diversity officers' supervisors



Because CDOs report to supervisors in various units and divisions, the differing objectives of those units is reflective of the varied responsibilities and practices of the 25 CDOs interviewed in this study. For the 68% of CDOs who report to the university president, provost, or chancellor, the responsibilities of compositional diversity and creating and supporting inclusive campus environments were paramount to the success of their position. These CDOs have an ideal reporting structure, according to Williams and Wade-Golden (2013), because it signals that diversity and inclusion are a vital part of the institution.

When asked, CDOs said unanimously that reporting to a president, provost, or chancellor is ideal. As Sally, an African American woman who works at a small rural liberal arts U.S. college, explained:

The CDO position should report directly to the president. Directly. There's so much political stuff that happens in all the little day-to-day . . . I'm sure it happens at every level, but when the president is not your boss, then a lot of those political situations get really mushy. Sometimes, you can't do what you really want or need to do, because there's all these little political things in the way. I would imagine on any campus there's a lot of cliques in leadership roles. There's people who like someone else, and if that person reports to the president, and that person likes that person, and that person doesn't like what you're doing, then all that stuff gets so messy and ridiculous. I would say that this position would be most ideal if it directly reports to the president.

In line with Sally's comment, all CDOs who reported directly to the president, provost, or chancellor agreed that the highest ranking university official is who a CDO should report to within the organization. This direct reporting structure provided CDOs with much-needed institutional buy-in and organizational power for making changes to institutional practices and policies. As Angie, an African American woman at a Midwest U.S. public institution, said:

You need that power. At my institution, you have the president, and directly under the president, you have the provost. You have the president of the entire university, and the provost oversees the academics. It would be okay for the CDO to report to either person, but to be truly effective, the CDO has to have someone with power behind him or her. CDOs can't stand alone on an island; they have to have the ear of that person, and they have to report directly to that person.

When CDOs report directly to the university president, provost, or chancellor, this reporting structure signals to campus communities that diversity and inclusion are essential, not tangential, to the educational mission of the institution. Similar to CDOs who report to their institutional leader, the 4% of CDOs who report to the vice president for academic affairs stressed that the connection to the educational mission of the institution provides opportunities to make positive changes related to curricula and classroom experiences.

This connection between the institutional mission and diversity and inclusion was not as apparent when CDOs were placed organizationally within the division of student life or student affairs. Of the 24% of CDOs interviewed in this study who report to the vice president or director of student life or student affairs, only two CDOs thought that was a desirable, but not ideal, reporting structure. When asked why reporting to leaders in student life was desirable, those CDOs stressed having close connections with students and being able to spend time mentoring and working directly with students. As the CDOs in student life explained, the focus of their position is on students and not on faculty or staff. Both of the CDOs who found their placement in student life desirable were employed at small colleges, and they had

frequent and easy access to their campus president. Having access to, or the “ear of,” the president was described as critical for creating and sustaining institutional changes for diversity and inclusion.

Along with having access to the president, CDOs who report to human resources (HR) described similar foci in their campus diversity and inclusion work. Unlike CDOs who report to presidents, provosts, and chancellors, CDOs who report to HR were more focused on compositional diversity and compliance than on inclusion practices. The distinction between making sure that the campus represented diverse groups and ensuring that diverse individuals felt included and supported on campus were noted by several CDOs in HR. As José, an interracial man who focused on HR at a large state institution, stated:

The biggest issue is actually on the hiring side, less so retention for our campus. That’s not true at all campuses but on our campus, it’s more on the hiring side. Making sure that we have a good, thorough hiring process is, I guess, the umbrella for this. This starts with good outreach. It starts with a fair process. It includes understanding of what is appropriate and then how to run an inclusive search; how to attract a good set of applicants, how to attract your top applicants, and how to rate your applicants in a way that is fair and equitable.

José argued that not all campuses have the same concern for diversity and inclusion but that hiring and making sure applicant pools reflect the diversity of students was most important for his campus. José stressed that there is no “one size fits all,” and that CDOs need to figure out how best to accomplish the educational mission, vision, and purpose of their institution.

In working to accomplish the educational mission of colleges and universities around the United States, CDOs discussed how communication with supervisors is vital to their work. The following section explains ways that CDOs communicate with their campus supervisors.

Chief Diversity Officers’ Communication with Supervisors

Whether reporting to the administrative head of student life or HR, or to the university president, CDOs were clear that to be successful, effective strategic communication was needed with supervisors

regarding institutional diversity and inclusion. How CDOs communicated with supervisors, however, varied greatly in terms of meeting schedules and reporting practices, with some CDOs meeting weekly with supervisors, whereas others tried unsuccessfully for months to get on their supervisor's calendar.

Having access to supervisors differed by institutional size, organizational culture, and the interpersonal relationship between CDOs and their supervisor. As Mary, an African American female who works at a private U.S. institution, discussed, relationships with supervisors can change quickly in higher education:

The president who I came in under supported diversity initiatives. More recently, I'm not so certain where the new president stands on it. An example would be when he was asked to take a meeting with the diverse staff and employees at the institution, and, months later, he has not taken the meeting.

Mary discussed the challenge of meeting with her campus president, questioning the president's commitment to diversity and inclusion, because "he can't even find the time to meet with me." This frustration with supervisors' availability was shared by six other CDOs, with a CDO addressing how her campus president was "so disinterested in diversity" that he appointed a proxy or delegate to supervise her, which she considered to be disrespectful to her and to those who support diversity and inclusion efforts on that campus. Supervisors' support in the form of creating time to meet with CDOs, providing financial and human resources to accomplish the goals established in the institutional diversity and inclusion plan, and willingness to witness or speak publically in support of diversity and inclusion all were indicators of institutional commitment to CDOs' work. In addition to making time and providing resources, and publicly committing support of CDOs and diversity work on campus, CDOs valued being invited to provide input into institutional planning.

In creating collaborative reporting relationships between CDOs and supervisors, campus leaders who supervise CDOs have an opportunity to infuse campus policies and practices in all areas of

administration with inclusive practices that value the diversity of campus constituencies. Although mutual appreciation and collaboration are ideal, according to these CDOs, this was not the case for all campus CDOs. Being dismissed or minimized by supervisors, being expected to be a spokesperson for all people of color, and not valuing diversity work were sources of tension that CDOs experienced (and they are highlighted and discussed throughout this chapter).

One significant communication problem concerned how and when CDOs were asked to attend or speak at campus meetings, sessions, and events. As Sally explained, knowing when and where to be can be challenging:

I have started to notice some of my colleagues starting to speak up about different things that, normally, everybody would be looking to me to speak up about, and then the flip-side happens, too: There might be a committee that's trying to decide something really important, and then you find out that no person of color was on that committee. Like, "Well, okay, you have me here. You could have invited me." It's a catch-22. You can't be everywhere but, then, you feel like, "If I am here, you should make sure that at least I'm included."

Sally's excerpt speaks to the communication dilemma faced by many CDOs about the challenge of wanting to be an important (if not *the*) voice for diversity and inclusion on campus, and, simultaneously, stepping back and encouraging campus allies to speak on behalf of diversity and inclusion efforts and practices. When asked about this challenge of knowing when to step up and when to step back in speaking about diversity in/during meetings, several CDOs (who were feminist scholars and familiar with Collins's, 2000 work) answered it is "both/and" (p. 152). This both/and response indicated that CDOs recognized the need to be the voice for diversity and inclusion, and, simultaneously, understood that being a spokesperson for all topics and people related to diversity can be exhausting and frustrating. Moreover, CDOs acting as the constant voice speaking up for underrepresented populations is not always the most effective way to persuade skeptical audiences. According to CDOs, and as explicated below, faculty

members are an important campus audience that can be both skeptical of and a champion for diversity and inclusion on campus.

Faculty Interactions with Chief Diversity Officers

Faculty members' interactions with CDOs was an animated topic for interviewees, with CDOs having vastly divergent experiences with faculty on their campuses. CDOs credited faculty members with being "important allies" who can bridge campus divides between CDOs and other faculty members, but they also noted that faculty members can be "difficult to work with" and "challenging." With 18 of the 25 CDOs having been employed as a campus faculty member at some point in their careers, they were vocal in both their frequent frustration with and appreciation of faculty members' support for diversity and inclusion efforts. The following discussion provides examples of CDOs' communication struggles and challenges, as well as positive interactions, with college faculty members.

The first example is from Jessie, an African American CDO at a private religious university, who stated that "gaining legitimacy with faculty" was one of the biggest frustrations in her position. Having spent decades as a tenured university faculty member, Jessie shared her "disappointment" with some of her faculty colleagues:

There is a very real sense that there are faculty members at this institution who feel that having someone working on issues of diversity is just redundant, not important. Having somebody who is actually looking after the mechanics of diversity is not really a legitimate role. . . . It's like the diversity training on campus. Faculty talk about it. . . . I'd liken them [the diversity training sessions] to either your gyno exam or proctology exam, so that you go through it [and] you go, "Okay, I'm good for another year."

In this excerpt, and later in the interview, Jessie spoke to the dismissal that she has experienced from faculty members on her campus who do not respect her role as CDO. According to Jessie, "I mainly find it will be faculty and staff of color who will call me by my title. To everyone else, I'm the person

who does ‘diversity stuff.’” In calling her work “diversity stuff” and ignoring her high-ranking university title (withheld here for confidentiality purposes), faculty members’ dismissive behaviors signaled to Jessie a lack of respect for her and her work on campus. She noted that there has been more student advocacy and protest for increased diversity and inclusion on campus, and that this change in campus culture is jarring to some faculty members. Jessie gave the following example:

I have this faculty member who has been telling the same derogatory women jokes for many years. Now, students are standing up in class saying, “That’s rude!” Now, the faculty member is saying that “the diversity police are after me.”

Changing campus norms and classroom communication surrounding inclusion and diversity, thus, can be uncomfortable for faculty members who may have become accustomed to conducting class sessions in ways that are not informed by inclusive pedagogical practices that value creating safe spaces in the classroom for all identities and voices.

In response to diversity and inclusion practices on campuses, some faculty members claim exemption from needing diversity training because they are “colorblind” or do not see race or differences between people of various skin colors. Jasmine, a CDO at a large research university in the midwestern United States, who is an African American woman, had experienced faculty members using colorblindness to explain their lack of bias. She noted that one of the challenges on her campus is the disconnect between faculty members’ behaviors and practices of exclusion in the classroom or elsewhere on campus, and their self-perceived intercultural or diversity knowledge and competency:

Increasingly, you have those faculty members who still say, “I’m colorblind.” You have those who say, “I feel that it is of no consequence that I’m a woman. I should be evaluated based on my capabilities,” but the reality is people have biases. They bring those biases to bear and those biases can influence your access. Absolutely, I have seen it play itself out with me as a Black woman. As

a Black woman who's not a faculty member, there are ways in which people will try to overlook, marginalize, and isolate me.

Jasmine also described negative assumptions that some faculty members on her campus hold toward campus administrators, including CDOs. The sense that some faculty members do not treat CDOs with the same respect as they do their faculty colleagues was shared by several CDOs. Ella, an Asian American female and who works at a private institution, argued that, to build support for the CDO on campus, the person in that position should have experience as a faculty member and academic credentials to gain favor with faculty members:

Having been a faculty member and having a PhD are both very important here. I think for most CDOs, it's almost a requirement. In my CDO position, you needed a PhD, but you didn't necessarily had to have been a faculty member, which is rare, I think. I think now what people look for in a CDO is they want someone who is if not already in the faculty, at least was a faculty member somewhere else.

I think that's to help relationships, but there was definitely, from what I heard, a group of folks who were very against having a CDO position, because there was a sense that there wasn't really a need for one; that the way they've been doing it could be better, but is good enough as a requirement. The chief, an executive-level position, and that executive money could have been much better used towards [buying or supporting] something else. I think that there are definitely layers. One layer is definitely a big, "Okay, show me that you're worth the money. What are you going to do?" . . . that very skeptical and defensive sense.

Ella shared her frustration with trying to convince faculty members who were skeptical of hiring for the inaugural CDO position that she was worth her salary. However, Ella also was quick to defend faculty members who were key allies in her campus work. Similar to many CDOs, Ella recognized the influential power that faculty members have for shifting the organizational culture and for building buy-in

for diversity and inclusion efforts. Ella provided an example of a conversation that she had with several supportive faculty allies who provided her with insight into the challenges of her new role:

When I started, a few faculty members, like tenured and senior faculty members, met with me. They were just like, “Your job is going to be very, very difficult. You’re going to need assistance. You may just be this thing that was purchased for everybody to see. It’s just dressy; it’s window dressing. They don’t really want you to do anything.”

Ella, thus, was being warned by seasoned faculty members about how her position as CDO may be for show and that she may not be given the resources and institutional access that she needed to make changes to policies and practices.

Having faculty members who are committed to institutional changes to support diversity and inclusion is one of CDOs’ biggest asset. Throughout the interviews, CDOs were quick to point out that although some faculty members are skeptical of diversity efforts, many are “champions,” “the choir,” “supporters,” and “cheerleaders” for diversity. Unlike administrators, such as CDOs, tenured faculty members have the ability to challenge systemic oppression in ways that CDOs, who, in most cases, do not have the protection of tenure, cannot.

To challenge oppressive admissions, hiring, and retention policies, CDOs rely on campus relationships, and they employ a variety of both formal and informal communicative practices. The following section discusses formal communicative practices that CDOs use to change campus members’ beliefs, attitudes, and campus policies.

Chief Diversity Officers’ Formal Communicative Practices for Increasing Diversity and Inclusion

As discussed earlier in this chapter, CDOs have at least three important responsibilities: compositional diversity, compliance, and working to create an inclusive campus climate. Those responsibilities produce a variety of both formal and informal communication settings in which CDOs operate. Given the varied nature of interactions that are needed to be successful, CDOs were asked during

the interviews about their everyday communicative practices with a variety of campus constituents, and how, ultimately, they create change on their campus for increased diversity and inclusion. For several CDOs who had terminal degrees in communication, I defined *practices* using Craig's (2006) definition: a "coherent set of activities that are commonly engaged in, and meaningful in particular ways, among people familiar with a certain culture" (p. 38).

CDOs belong to several cultures, including the culture of higher education; the culture of those doing diversity work; and the gendered, raced, and classed cultures that shape how they see and understand who they are in relation to their work, colleagues, students, families, and the nation (United States). Due to the varied formal and informal communication settings where CDOs are expected to speak and interact with campus and community leaders and members, I identified both formal and informal communicative practices used by CDOs, with the understanding that the same practice can be used in formal and informal communication settings, depending on the audience and the CDO. The following pages, first, discuss the formal practices of audience analysis, personal distancing, persuasive storytelling, reflexive questioning, and framing, followed by the informal micropractices of collaboration and relationship building, identity work, and coping with microaggressions. Both formal practices and informal everyday micropractices are explored using excerpts from interviews conducted with CDOs. In terms of formal communication, CDOs focused on informing and persuading campus leaders and other constituencies about the need, value, and benefits of diversity and inclusion. To accomplish the goal of convincing campus communities to support diversity and inclusion efforts, CDOs used strategically a combination of student narratives, personal experiences, qualitative data acquired from focus groups, and quantitative data acquired from survey methods and from comparative analyses of peer and aspirational peer institutions. Using qualitative and quantitative data, CDOs frame issues, build empathy for marginalized campus groups, and employ communication approaches that are determined by their assessment of their audiences. In speaking with a campus president, provost, vice president of academic

affairs, director of student life, faculty members, student government members, or the board of trustees, CDOs adapted their messages, claims, evidence, interpersonal communication style, and delivery based on the person(s) or group to whom they were speaking, and how they interpreted the level of support, apathy, or contention that audience members had for diversity and inclusion efforts. The following section discusses the first formal communicative practice of audience analysis.

Chief Diversity Officers' Audience Analysis

Analyzing audience members and crafting messages that are received favorably is a desirable goal of any successful communicator; for CDOs, crafting favorable messages means understanding social norms and expectations of their campus culture, as well as the often divergent needs of marginalized campus and neighboring communities. For 89% of CDOs in this study, and nationally, who identify as people of color, they also must think about how a significant number of audience members will respond to them as speakers who do not look like them physically. The vast majority of those CDOs, currently, are working at predominately White institutions, where their campus supervisors and other campus leaders do not share their racial background. Given that situation, and understanding that communication styles are informed by localized, cultural, regional, raced, and classed (and other) communication norms, CDOs are well versed in adapting their communication style to accomplish their diversity and inclusion goals on campus.

In determining successful communication approaches for informing and persuading campus communities, first, CDOs must learn the organizational culture of their institution, including its communication norms and expectations. CDOs explained that they must determine how to approach most efficiently and effectively a campus leader for funds, what types of evidence or rationales are most persuasive for gaining increased support for policy changes, and how to change campus practices that are outdated and exclusionary. CDOs are charged with increasing campus diversity and inclusion, and, thereby, challenging and changing the institutional culture and demographic makeup of their organization.

In working to change their campus's culture, unlike organizational members whose identities align with majority identities, who, typically, reflect the racial identities of those who founded and lead the organization, CDOs of color have to know how to manage both logical and emotional arguments for changing the demographics and climates of campuses.

In analyzing their audiences, CDOs often have to strategize how to change a campus culture that many campus leaders appreciate and find comfortable and safe. Sebastián, a Latino CDO at a midwestern U.S. public institution, described the challenge of analyzing audiences successfully and understanding the dynamics involved in being the only person of color in the physical space:

Part of the process is how you say the same things in different languages, so, depending on the audience you have in front of you, it is something that could be understood and then done If I show up in the room, and I am an accounting professor, obviously, my racial and ethnic identity are also going to show up in the room, but there is a way that folks can engage just with that aspect of me being an accounting professor. In this case, my work is all about everything that I show up with: my skin tone, my accent, my name, all of that.

Sebastián explained how his analysis of the audience goes beyond building and supporting a logical argument based on reason, research, or previous experience, to also consider if audience members will be prejudiced against his message because of his identities and characteristics. Sebastián explained that when he addresses those who do not share his racial identity or immigrant status, these marginalized identities get “magnified” and mediate how his message, rationales, and evidence are evaluated by the audience.

Sebastián's feeling that his marginalized identities get “magnified” were explained by discussing interactions where his expertise is assumed to have been derived solely through personal experience and not through years of study and work experience. He offered the accounting professor example because that person generally is seen by campus leaders as being knowledgeable about accounting because of his or her education and work experience, and not because of personal experience; however, Sebastián is not

privileged with that same assumption. Sebastián argued that his campus peers first see his skin tone, name, and accent, and, consequently, they assume that his knowledge of issues of race and inclusion in education are derived from his personal identities and experiences, and not from his graduate studies, research, and work experience in higher education.

In recognizing that CDOs' racial identities may become magnified in some campus interactions, CDOs must determine how to disrupt this identity magnification and approach such audiences effectively. A practice associated with audience analysis that several CDOs employed was to build connections with audience members by speaking with them, but then to stop talking and listen to the voices and perspectives in the room. Bailey, an African American CDO at a private religious institution, explained the pressure of needing to learn about and analyze the audience, and then adapting her communication style and preferences:

You have to know your audience, especially if it's a small group. If you know the stories and where the people in the room are coming from, you might be able to tailor it [the message] towards a parish that they all attend, or if they all live in the same place, you can tailor it towards the town. If everybody is from outside the state, you can tailor your argument towards that. Drilling down to really know your audience is really important in terms of relating why whatever policy or thing that I'm advocating matters to that person. I do notice that I change. In some situations, I will talk more, and in some situations, I listen more or I sit back and I don't say anything until towards the end. I think that's a way in which my communication style differs depending on the audience.

Bailey's comments revealed the multiple layers involved in her audience analysis process. The first step is learning about the audience, followed by determining what audience members value in their church parish or neighborhood, and then making a connection between the policy for which she is advocating and values associated with audience members' church or neighborhood. Finding commonalities between what audience members value, such as their parish, and the root value of the

policy, whether it is opportunity, safety, or feeling included, is the first stage of Bailey's audience analysis process. The second step is determining whether and how her identities are valued by the audience, and then adapting her communication style to gain support for her proposed policy. Instead of expecting the audience to adapt to her as an invited speaker on a policy, she recognized that her identities may be "magnified," as Sebastián suggested, and that she may have to sit back and listen for a moment to provide space for others to advocate, share, and argue in favor of her recommended policy.

Bailey's audience analysis process was implemented when she assessed audience members and determined that there was a degree of resistance from them concerning a diversity and inclusion policy. Once that resistance was noted, she pulled herself purposely, including her identities and perspectives, away from the policy. The need to persuade resistant audiences about the prevalence of racism, sexism, classism, and homophobia on college campuses necessitates that CDOs support their claims with evidence and design their presentations in a formal presentational style that is rooted in, for instance, financial opportunities or losses with alumni, gaining competitive advantage over peer institutions, and/or published best practices rather than CDOs relying solely on their experiences with oppression on campus.

The documented lack of people of color in senior administration creates a difficult position for CDOs as they often are the only person in senior administration with firsthand experience of racism on campus. The CDOs in this study were fearful of being seen by their peers as claiming racism in situations where other administrators would not recognize the racist implications or consequences of a policy because they are not people of color or aware of their own racial privilege. CDOs, such as Sally and Ana, expressed frustration in needing to document to their peers in administration, time and again, specific experiences with oppression and racism on campus, and still being met with resistance by their peers to the idea that racism exists on campus and that the CDOs were not "playing the race card." Playing the race card or claiming racism as the cause of a campus issue was a concern shared by four CDOs; without

verifying their experiences with racism on campus with incidents that were documented formally, they feared that they would not persuade their peers to support a diversity program or inclusion initiative.

To persuade audiences about the need for improved practices related to diversity and inclusion efforts, CDOs needed to provide evidence to support their policy positions and claims. Evidence used to support CDOs' claims and policies comes in multiple forms. McCroskey (1969) argued that communication that counted as evidence was either "factual statements originating from a source other than the speaker . . . and opinions of persons other than the speaker that are offered in support of the speaker's claims" (p. 17); consequently, to support their claims about what ought to be done on their campus to create and support diversity and inclusion, CDOs used both qualitative (narratives) and quantitative (statistics) evidence. *Quantitative data* refers to "numerical information" (Han & Fink, 2012, p. 39) or statistics about people, places, objects, or ideas that can be used as evidence to support a claim or argument, whereas *qualitative evidence* refers to "anecdotal or personal evidence such as that provided by interviews, exemplars, stories, testimonials, and opinions" (Han & Fink, 2012, p. 39). The decision to use statistical or narrative evidence to support CDOs' attempts to persuade audiences depended largely on the institutional culture surrounding normative evidence preferences, as well as CDOs' comfort in using narrative or statistical evidence.

Communication scholars have studied quite extensively whether narrative or statistical evidence is most effective in persuading audiences, finding that both narrative and statistical evidence can be persuasive depending on the setting and type of argument being made (Han & Fink, 2012; Hoeken & Hustinx, 2009). To explicate that literature within the context of understanding how CDOs use quantitative and qualitative data, the following sections first discuss how quantitative data can be effective for persuading audiences and how CDOs use quantitative data in their campus diversity and inclusion work. Research on the effectiveness of qualitative data and combined qualitative and quantitative data

then is discussed in relation to CDOs' experiences and preferences for evidence in supporting diversity and inclusion efforts.

Use of Quantitative Evidence by Chief Diversity Officers

In using quantitative evidence to support diversity and inclusion efforts, CDOs first must determine whether that is the preferred type of evidence used on their campus to support institutional efforts. As CDO Ana, a Latina working at a private urban institution, explained, her decision about which type of evidence to use to persuade an audience depended, largely, on the institution. She said that at her previous institution, "a lot of anecdotal stories did the job," but that at her current college, it was all about "the numbers"—quantitative data. Communication research by Baesler and Burgoon (1994) on the use of quantitative evidence and persuasion supports Ana's current institutional position of using statistical evidence to support her diversity and inclusion work on campus.

Baesler and Burgoon (1994) conducted an experimental study with undergraduate communication students comparing the persuasive effectiveness of vivid and nonvivid stories supported by different supporting evidence. The setting for the experiment was a controlled classroom environment and the evidence presented was related to arguments about juvenile delinquency. The topic of juvenile delinquency was selected by the researchers for this experiment because the audience was "rated low in knowledgeability" (p. 589) about the topic. The researchers used written messages that all "began with the same basic template of arguments, themes, and details to be included, and then they were modified to present the relevant evidence in a story or statistic form and with or without vivid language" (p. 588). In the experiment, Baesler and Burgoon found that statistical evidence was preferable to stories in persuading audiences, with participants most persuaded by written messages that were both vivid and statistical. Baesler and Burgoon posited that statistical information was more persuasive than stories because, perhaps, the stories were not "sufficiently persuasive" or because the statistical evidence was "presented in

a form that facilitates attention and comprehension” (p. 594). By reinforcing statistics with “emotive, imagistic, and concrete language” (p. 549), Baesler and Burgoon suggested that persuasion was increased.

In line with Baesler and Burgoon’s (1994) findings, several CDOs were vocal in their support of using vivid quantitative evidence to support diversity and inclusion efforts. The vivid quantitative evidence used in the experiment to support positions on juvenile delinquency could prove helpful to CDOs trying to select evidence to persuade senior administrators, who may also have little experience and low knowledgeability, about how institutional racism manifests on campus. In designing presentations for those who may be resistant to diversity and inclusion initiatives, Josh, a White male CDO working at an urban private institution, noted that arguments about diversity and inclusion should be interpreted by target audience members as logical, objective, and in the best interests of the institution, and not as a narrative offered by a single person based on her or his experiences, which can be dismissed as an overly sensitive individual or isolated incidence. Josh explained that having statistical data “is important for beginning conversation because, for a lot of folks, that’s the whack on the side of the head, because they don’t know what they don’t know.” By offering quantitative evidence with vivid detail, Josh highlighted differential experiences on his campus, student attrition, and a lack of faculty of color as an opportunity that was lost, and not as an emotionally charged narrative about how the university engaged in intentional exclusion or structural racism.

To persuade audience members to support diversity and inclusion initiatives, another CDO, Cindy, argued that using quantitative evidence facilitated comparisons of recruitment, retention, and graduation rates with peer institutions, and that such evidence addressed issues of compliance with federal mandates for equal opportunity. In addressing issues of compliance, CDOs pointed out that quantitative evidence was the most efficient way to create policy change. Cindy, a White female CDO who works at a large research university, explained that when a university policy is in violation of compliance, CDOs should let the quantitative evidence make their case:

I will try to gather data so I can prove and show trends. I will try to look for best practices within the field, and I will try to look to compliance. If I'm trying to change something related to a sexual harassment policy on campus, right now, that's pretty easy, because Title IX is changing, and so I can say, "Look, we have until this date and the federal government says if we don't get this sorted out, we're out of compliance." That's a pretty easy argument. No one really argues with students with disabilities and following ADA law.

Reliance on quantitative evidence for informing and persuading an audience, thus, was described by several CDOs as an effective practice for increasing support for campus diversity and inclusion policies. Benefits of using quantitative evidence are that the rationale for the change to policies or institutional practices can be shared easily via meeting minutes and can be displayed visually in graphs and charts. For CDOs' work that is related to campus compliance and compositional diversity, quantitative data could be gathered easily through resources provided from human resources, campus admissions, and institutional research offices. The use of quantitative evidence that has been collected by other units on campus, such as human resources or institutional research, and not by the CDO represents a formal communicative practice used by Bailey and other CDOs to inform and persuade campus constituencies that I call "personal distancing." The following section providing examples from the CDO interviews that describe how CDOs use this communicative practice to accomplish the goals of their position.

Personal distancing. In this communicative practice, CDOs distance themselves and their identities strategically from their arguments in support of diversity and inclusion. This communicative strategy is used primarily when audience members have expressed previous resistance towards approving or supporting programs and policies to increase compositional diversity or retention on campus. Personal distancing is used to combat what three CDOs described as being seen as the "angry Black woman" or "angry Black man." To combat the stereotype threat or fear of confirming a negative stereotype about a marginalized identity or race, such as the "angry" Black woman or man (for more on stereotype threat, see,

e.g., Goff, Steele, & Davies, 2008), CDOs use personal distancing to focus the discussion on external empirical evidence in support of their position on an issue or program as opposed to their personal experiences on campus.

The underlying assumption by the CDOs is that dominant identities and institutional positions held by, mostly, White men are privileged, and that this institutional privileging necessitates that people of color provide supporting evidence for their positions in ways that White administrators are not asked to do. The need for CDOs to use evidence to persuade resistant audience members was described as frustrating by two CDOs. Two CDOs, Sally and Ana, who both identify as women of color, suggested that other executive leaders in their institutions, such as the chief technology officer and chief financial officer, can speak from their personal decades of experience in their position without the need for additional external evidence. CDOs' assumptions about privileging some identities over others is supported by the American Council of Education's report (Cook, 2012), which found that:

While college campuses have diversified the racial and ethnic makeup of their student bodies, the racial and ethnic composition of college and university presidents has changed very little. Between 1990 and 2009, the share of college students that were racial and ethnic minorities increased from 20 percent to 34 percent. Between 1986 and 2011, the racial makeup of college presidents only increased from 8 percent to 13 percent. Moreover, when comparing data from the two most recent president studies, racial diversity declined from 14 percent in 2006 to 13 percent in 2011 (para. 6–7).

The American Council of Education writers argued that a lack of racial diversity among senior campus administrators is one reason for the lack of that diversity among college presidents. In addition to college presidents not reflecting U.S. college students' racial diversity, experiences of people of color in senior administration in U.S. institutions of higher education have not received much research attention, in comparison to the documentation of experiences of students and faculty of color. This lack of research, at

times, forces CDOs to either speak about their experiences and/or experiences of other people of color on campus, which are often personal accounts that were privately shared, but were not officially reported to the institution, or to support their arguments with institutionally documented evidence such as enrollment or financial reports.

In addition to a lack of research and representation of people of color in senior administrative roles, there also is increasing skepticism surrounding diversity work in higher education. For example, in early 2016, a group of Republican lawmakers began an investigation into CDOs and diversity efforts at The University of Tennessee without any allegations of wrongdoing or illegal action. Although the university's diversity office used less than 0.25% of the total annual budget, lawmakers viewed its spending on diversity efforts to be worthy of investigation. As a journalist reporting on the investigation wrote, it was "ideological differences driving the calls for an investigation of public college diversity offices in Tennessee" (Kingkade, 2016, para. 4). Stemming from that investigation, House Bill 2248, which defunded The University of Tennessee's Office of Diversity and Inclusion, was passed, leaving students, faculty, and staff without resources to support diversity and inclusion efforts. Given such scrutiny, critique, and actions against campus diversity and inclusion efforts, CDOs must find effective ways to inform and persuade resistant audiences, including their peers in senior administration.

Several CDOs such as Josh, Cindy, and Bailey discussed the value and utility of quantitative evidence and personal distancing as effective ways of persuading audiences. As vocal as these CDOs were in their advocacy for supporting diversity and inclusion work through the use of quantitative evidence, several CDOs were equally vocal about using qualitative data to persuade people to support diversity and inclusion efforts, arguing that quantitative data do not express emotion, or, as Sally said, the "heartbreak stories" stemming from campus experiences of racism. The following section details CDOs' use of qualitative evidence in diversity and inclusion work.

Use of Qualitative Evidence by Chief Diversity Officers

Many CDOs in this study used qualitative evidence—and, specifically, narratives—to provide details and context to persuade audience members and garner support for their work. The argument that CDOs used most to support qualitative evidence was the belief that narratives can evoke empathy and action from audience members more effectively compared to quantitative data. Sally, an African American female CDO from a large midwestern state institution, critiqued CDOs who used quantitative evidence, arguing that some CDOs “are just robots” whose communication is disconnected from the emotional experiences of oppression. Sally’s claim that some CDOs operate in a disconnected robotic fashion stemmed from her interactions with other CDOs at professional conferences and at national CDO meetings. The use of statistical evidence was judged negatively by Sally and several other CDOs who believe that the most persuasive evidence that CDOs can provide is narratives of “isms” (e.g., racism, sexism, and classism).

Sally’s argument to use qualitative evidence to evoke emotion and empathy is supported by persuasion research about organ donation. Feeley, Marshall, and Reinhart (2006) replicated and expanded a study by Kopfman, Smith, Ah Yun, and Hodges (1998) to determine whether narrative or statistical messages were more effective in evoking undergraduate students’ cognitive reactions about organ donation. Students in introductory communication courses were asked about their “attitudes and intentions toward organ donation” and then proceeded to “read one of three message vignettes: statistical, narrative, or actual” (Feeley et al., p. 93). After reading the vignette, students reported their reactions in the form of “thoughts or emotions they may have while they read the message vignette or after they finished reading” (p. 93). The findings showed that students who read the narrative message about organ donation had more positive thoughts about organ donation than those who read the other vignettes. Those findings support the arguments made by CDOs, such as Jessie, Abe, and Mark, who used qualitative evidence in the form of narratives to evoke audience members’ emotions in support of diversity and inclusion initiatives. The

following section explores how CDOs use persuasive storytelling as a communicative practice to evoke emotion and persuade resistant, but caring, audience members.

Persuasive storytelling. The communicative practice of employing strategic storytelling to persuade was used by CDOs when audience members, as an interviewee described, were “well meaning.” CDOs at Christian colleges and universities found this practice to be particularly helpful, as the stories describing students, faculty members, and staff members feeling excluded on campus stood in direct opposition to biblical—specifically, New Testament—teachings of love and inclusion.

Jessie, a CDO at a private religious institution, pointed out that there are limits to who she, as an African American female administrator, can reach in terms of persuading audiences on her campus. She explained that, sometimes, stories and experiences need to come from other people rather than from herself, and, in particular, that students’ stories and experiences can reach campus leaders in ways that her stories cannot. For instance, in addressing exclusion in student organizations and how student leaders were selected, Jessie described recruiting and bringing students to meetings to share their stories of exclusion on campus:

We imported a couple of people who, essentially, said, “I tried out for this student organization and this organization; it was your racism that didn’t let me in.” You can imagine what happened. There were tears, there were recriminations, and then we got to conversation. People began sharing stories back and forth. It really got to be the kind of thing that made it even clearer to me that . . . I can legislate what I can legislate. I can write a diversity plan, I can make sure that faculty hiring procedures are in place . . . [and] I can even institute a protocol for how to talk to diverse candidates; what I can’t do is legislate minds and hearts.

Jessie, thus, recruited students to tell their stories of exclusion to create an emotional response in audience members. Unlike the practice of personal distancing, where CDOs avoid using “I” language and sharing personal stories, the strategic sharing of personal stories is intended to create empathetic connections

between the speaker and audience members, with the goal of increasing audience members' understanding of diverse perspectives and experiences.

Jessie explained that stories are an effective tool for garnering support for diversity and inclusion work, in particular, because, "at this institution, people care. They really do; they do care. Not how I want them to [care] but they do care." Jessie said that the use of personal stories is very effective for promoting her efforts because, when those who work at Christian institutions have a "higher power" to whom they report than the university president, creating expectations for how people should be treated on campus. By sharing stories of exclusion, she highlighted discrepancies between how marginalized people are being and ought to be treated at her Christian institution.

CDOs at other colleges and universities also used stories to inform and persuade audiences to create more inclusive policies. At public institutions, stories were shared to connect audience members through common experiences and normative expectations for how campus community members ought to be treated. Stories also were used to transition into asking audience members to reflect on their personal experiences and privilege, to gain support for a diversity and inclusion policy. Mark, an African American male CDO working at a rural, predominately White, public institution, explained that stories in combination with the communicative practice of reflexive questioning (explained next) can address misconceptions and gaps in knowledge for campus leaders, who, at his institution, predominately, are White males.

Reflexive questioning. The communicative practice of *strategic reflexive questioning*, which involves having previous knowledge of audience members and posing questions that require them to think back on their personal experiences, to gain empathy and understanding for diverse experiences, was used by Mark and other CDOs in both formal and informal communication settings. This communicative practice involves, first, learning about audience members and then using that knowledge to ask questions that require their answers to confirm experiences or identities that they may not want to reveal, such as

privilege stemming from social class or race. This practice can be risky, as the information needed to pose an effective reflexive question, with the answer supporting CDOs' agendas, may expose the audience members' lack of experience or knowledge, and/or highlight experiences or identities that those members may not realize are privileged. This potentially risky practice of questioning audience members about their privileged experiences of identities is precarious in that these questions may cause cognitive dissonance for those who never have reflected on their privileges or opportunities that they had because of their privileged identities.

Mark provided an example of using reflexive questioning to further diversity and inclusion work, describing a change to campus policy where the college no longer included in tuition notebook computers for incoming students. Mark explained how he employed stories followed by reflexive questioning to show how this policy change would disadvantage lower income students. Mark used reflexive questioning by explaining that prior to engaging campus leaders in the question of whether all first-year students can afford to arrive to campus with computers, he shared his personal struggles of being a college student from a low-income family. By explaining how students from low-income families often have to work and struggle to pay for books and other costs that are not covered by tuition and financial aid loans, grants, and scholarships, Mark asked campus leaders to think about their college experiences and to find the fissures among their experiences, the policy for which they were advocating, and the varied experiences of students who would have to live with the consequences of the new policy. Mark asked the audience:

“Do you honestly believe that your entire freshmen class is going to have a notebook? Do you honestly believe this?” And this questioning helped put things in a different perspective that is not from the dominant culture. That's what I use more than anything. I try to take things out of the dominant culture's point of view and, basically, put it back on the table with someone who is a have-not, and it's worked.

By asking college policy committee members if they “honestly believed,” that all incoming first-year students would have a computer, Mark used his prior experiences with them to question their knowledge of incoming students’ financial conditions and, simultaneously, those committee members’ ability to create an ethical and inclusive policy given their lack of such knowledge and experiences. The question framing conveyed subtly a distrust in committee members by suggesting that they were acting out of ignorance and had no idea about incoming students’ financial status, or, alternatively, that they purposively were writing an exclusionary policy to disenfranchise low-income students. Mark, thus, used strategic reflexive questioning to unearth whether committee members were making a policy out of ignorance or malice, and he then used their responses to his questions to strengthen his argument. To counteract their ignorance, Mark educated them by sharing stories from students, who, similar to himself, were unable to pay for materials that were needed to succeed in college. To address seemingly classist ulterior motives for not wanting to provide assistance to students from lower income families, Mark investigated whether the decision to eliminate computers from tuition stemmed from an institutional reduction in financial aid or from decreased retention rates for lower income students, which the campus leaders shared was affecting negatively the university’s rankings.

Reflexive questioning was used by all but three CDOs in this study in formal communication settings to inform and persuade audiences to support diversity and inclusion work on campus. Although stories as informative and persuasive communicative practices can be beneficial in building empathy and understanding, they run the risk of being dismissed by some audience members because they are not verifiable or vetted in the same ways as published research (e.g., survey findings). Determining how best to approach various organizational audiences, therefore, is vital to CDOs’ success. CDOs shared that, more often than not, ignorance and not malice was at the root of oppressive policies and practices. Through the use of persuasive storytelling and reflexive questioning, CDOs explicated potential hardships

or barriers in narrative form, which may resonate with people more than the personal distancing approach of showing graphs and charts illustrating students' financial struggles.

In deciding the best ways to persuade audience members, CDOs considered who was in the audience, as well as institutional preferences for evidence. CDOs employed the formal communicative practices of personal distancing, persuasive storytelling, and reflexive questioning, and provided examples of using qualitative and quantitative evidence to persuade people who were viewed as not being enthusiastic supporters of diversity and inclusion efforts. The following section provides examples of how several CDOs in this study persuaded audiences to support their campus work through a combined use of both qualitative and quantitative data.

Combined Use of Quantitative and Qualitative Evidence by Chief Diversity Officers

As CDOs persuade audiences to garner support for their diversity and inclusion efforts, they may decide that their policy or plan would best be supported through the use of both quantitative and qualitative evidence. In deciding which parts of a plan would be best supported by each type of evidence, Zebregs, van den Putte, Neijens, and de Graaf (2015) suggested that the determining factor for choosing narrative or statistical evidence should be based on "outcome variables" and, specifically, whether speakers are trying to persuade changes in audience members' "beliefs, attitude" or "intention" (p. 282). In their meta-analysis of 15 experimental articles published between 1997 and 2012 that investigated the effectiveness of narrative and statistical evidence with respect to a wide range of topics in health communication, global warming, and juvenile delinquency, Zebregs et al. found that statistical evidence had a "stronger influence than narrative evidence on beliefs and attitudes, whereas narrative evidence had a stronger influence on intention" (p. 282).

In thinking about the type of evidence needed to support their proposed policy, CDOs determined first whether persuasion needed to affect all three outcome variables, or whether they could focus on just one outcome, such as audience intent, and frame audience members, such as faculty, students, and staff, as

community members wanting to act in the best interests of the institution. In persuading audience members' intent, CDOs could begin their presentation's opening remarks to a resistant audience by acknowledging that audience members may have diverse beliefs and attitudes about diversity and inclusion, but that what unites them is the intent to do what is best for their institution. In focusing on audience members' intent, Zebregs et al.'s (2015) research would support CDOs' use of narrative evidence, because such evidence enables "people to experience affective responses as if the events that triggered them were real. These affective responses have an effect on intention" (p. 287). By focusing on audience members' positive intentions to do what is best for their institution, CDOs, thus, use narratives to gain support for campus diversity and inclusion efforts.

When, however, CDOs challenge audience members' beliefs or attitudes, quantitative evidence is more persuasive to use. Zebregs et al. (2015) explained that statistical evidence had a greater impact on beliefs and attitudes than narrative evidence because statistical evidence "provides information about how common particular outcomes are . . . [and] the probability of outcomes is an importance dimension of beliefs, and consequently of attitude" (p. 287). For example, if CDOs share narrative evidence, as Jessie did about students reporting racial microaggressions taking place in a classroom on campus, the audience may not be persuaded that microaggressions are taking place because this evidence challenges what audience members' believe to be true. Knowing that her audience may not be persuaded by solely hearing narratives about student experiences with microaggressions, Jessie also shared statistical evidence that studies have shown that Black and Latino men experience microaggressions several times a week on predominately White college campuses (Ruiz-Mesa, 2007; Sue et al., 2007). This quantitative evidence about Black and Latino men experiencing racial microaggressions, is more likely to change the beliefs of the audience members about this topic, whereas the narratives about students on campus experiencing racial microaggressions is more likely to enable an affective responses that may impact intention about the topic.

Jessie actually used both quantitative and qualitative data to explicate experiences of students of color in the classrooms on campus. This combination of qualitative and quantitative evidence is supported by M. Allen et al.'s (2000) experiment with 1,270 participants in an undergraduate communication course. Using 15 messages on various topics containing either solely quantitative, solely qualitative, no evidence, or a combination of both qualitative and quantitative evidence students were told to read the messages and then complete two surveys to assess the credibility of each message and their attitudes toward the message. The results of the study demonstrated that "a persuader can maximize attitude change in message receivers using a combination of narrative and statistical evidence" (M. Allen et al., p. 335).

Supporting the conclusions from M. Allen et al.'s (2000) study, Benoit and Holbert (2008) argued in their methodological development research that communication scholars should employ more mixed methods in research. Benoit and Holbert asserted that the use of both quantitative and qualitative methods "can provide further depth and breadth to our understanding of communication behavior (p. 624). By utilizing both qualitative and quantitative methods and gathering both statistical and narrative evidence about experiences of marginalization and oppression on campus, CDOs could present their campus audiences with a "richer understanding" (p. 622) of racism and exclusion on campus.

To help audience members gain a richer understanding of the complex issues associated with diversity and inclusion, such as oppression, privilege, and educational access and equity, several CDOs used both quantitative and qualitative evidence. For some CDOs, the choice to use qualitative or quantitative evidence may be made out of an adherence to institutional norms or expectations for evidence. On one campus, a CDO may be expected to present statistics about how many students experience emotional stress from racial microaggressions; for other CDOs, the vivid details of a student narrative of experiencing depression caused by oppressive policies and practices, and inhospitable campus climates, may be more aligned with institutional values of community growth and connection. How CDOs inform

and persuade their campus audiences includes both the type of qualitative and/or quantitative evidence they present and includes *how* evidence is framed and shared with audiences.

CDOs discussed how their communication approaches were informed by their varied institutional responsibilities that spanned compositional diversity, compliance, and creating inclusive campus cultures. In learning how best to adapt their messages and modes of delivery, CDOs embodied organizational norms and modeled institutional cultural practices to gain optimal support for new policies and programs. CDOs shared how their communication strategies have evolved over the years, and how their strategic communicative practices “toolbox” is comprised of personal stories, reflexive questioning, indirect and direct address, and a variety of framings to explain and justify the need for and importance of diversity and inclusion work. The ways that policy changes and campus programs were framed influenced both CDOs’ formal and informal communicative practices. Before addressing informal communicative practices, the following section discusses how CDOs framed diversity in ways that aligned with framings found in the college/university mission statements, analyzed in Chapter 4, to inform and persuade audiences to support campus diversity and inclusion efforts.

Common Diversity Framings used by Chief Diversity Officers

The view of diversity as inclusive excellence (IE), diversity as social justice, and diversity as a legal requirement, found in the analysis of the college/university mission statements in Chapter 4, were dominant framings that CDOs used when talking about diversity and inclusion on their campus. In the opening minutes of each interview, I asked CDOs how they communicated the importance of diversity on their campus. The framings that emerged mirrored the dominant framings of diversity in the college/university mission statements, with the majority of CDOs using the framing of diversity as IE. CDOs discussed the need for diversity to fulfill the mission of higher education to produce educated, critical thinkers who would become informed and engaged citizens. The framing of diversity as IE also included the need for diverse perspectives and experiences to be considered and included in research

conducted by campus faculty members, students, and administrators. The second framing of diversity was diversity as a morally correct, socially just initiative to change people's beliefs and attitudes regarding the need to promote greater social justice, peace, and unity on campuses. The third framing that CDOs used was diversity as a legal requirement, which involved compliance responsibilities and the fulfillment of legal requirements to create equal opportunities to education and employment, regardless of social identification. The subsections below provide examples from the interviews to highlight how CDOs used these three framings on their campus.

Diversity as inclusive excellence. Echoing the rationale of IE from the Association of American Colleges & Universities (AAC&U) and National Association of Diversity Officers in Higher Education (NADOHE), explicated in Chapter 4, many CDOs spoke about the integral role of diversity in higher education. For instance, Mark, an African American male at a rural institution, discussed how diversity and race often are used interchangeably on his campus, which limits diversity efforts to address racism and ignores other inclusion efforts. To expand the discourse about diversity on his campus to encompass other efforts related to diversifying the population by sexuality, social class, religion, and other identities, in addition to race, Mark stresses inclusion for the benefit of education:

Diversity is not about race at all; diversity is about inclusion, and it's about including everybody in the efforts, and it's about including the underrepresented population, because we do have a dominant population; we do have a majority [population members] that, basically, feels that they are privileged, and they are privileged. So, you have to get people to realize that they were just saying "diversity, diversity, diversity." That's one of the first things I said to the president who hired me.

She asked me to go through the strategic plan and make comments, so I went through the strategic plan, and came back, and I said, "Okay, you used the word 'diversity.' It doesn't mean anything. Are you talking about racial diversity or are you talking about inclusion?" So, we had a

major discussion. Well, you know, people don't want to use the word "race." If we're talking about wanting to improve our racial diversity, then let's say it in the strategic plan. Don't just say we want to improve the diversity on campus. What does that mean? It doesn't mean anything at all.

In coding diversity as race, Mark discussed how this limited interpretation of diversity minimizes other marginalized groups and their experiences. Mark shared that his campus adopted an IE model that promoted increased outreach in admissions and provided additional support for other cultural groups based on ethnicity, religion, being first-generation students, and being undocumented students, as well as the lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) campus organization. Framing diversity as IE, thus, allowed for various identities and experiences to be acknowledged in the discourses, policies, and practices associated with diversity efforts on Mark's campus.

More than 80% of CDOs discussed how diversity on their campus, at one point or another, was code for race. Although inclusion is a significant part of CDOs' position, race often is the featured identity of inclusion efforts. Bailey, a biracial CDO at a private institution, spoke about how diverse identities are read at her institution:

In large part, people equate diversity with race, and they equate it with Black and White. There's a big group on our campus that's gotten a lot of attention in terms of ability awareness, but we really talk about that as different; it's talked about as "ability awareness." We don't really encapsulate it as much across the campus in terms of the confrontation about diversity; it seems to be almost separate conversations. We've got international efforts, and we talk about internationalization as one initiative, we talk about ability as another area, [and] we talk about gender as another area. All of these are different silos of the university, but the word "diversity" is most closely associated with race, and with Black and White racial identities.

Bailey's assessment of inclusion efforts as siloed stands in tension with her institution's commitment to an IE framework, revealing that its implementation easily can become a disjointed operation, with each campus area taking a piece of the diversity puzzle.

There are several ways to interpret the siloed approach that Bailey discussed. First, this approach could be a move toward multiple campus constituencies making a commitment to inclusion, and, thereby, alleviate some of CDOs' pressure and work. Second, the siloed approach can create an image of commitment without the oversight and experience of a CDO who is an expert in diversity and inclusion. In listening to CDOs, it became clear that diversity often is replaced in the vernacular with "inclusion," which, increasingly, is becoming popular among administrators. It could be argued that the language of diversity as inclusion can let institutions off the hook, as marginalized identities may be ignored or efforts can be siloed around campus in a disjointed fashion that does not promote inclusion but, instead, waters down all diversity efforts.

Callie, an African American CDO at a private institution, offered a satirical solution to the ever-growing popularity of using inclusion without a shared understanding of what it is and how it should be accomplished:

There should be some type of "diversity police," if you want to call it. It should be a part of the training . . . because "inclusion" is the new buzzword, not because we just need a new buzzword; it's a new buzzword because there is a decline in our morale, in our social behaviors, that it constitutes us needing real training and holding people accountable. We can train you all day long, but if we don't hold you accountable, what good is it?

Callie brought up an important point when talking about inclusion efforts on college campuses: Just because race or diversity is not being coded as inclusion or as IE does not mean that marginalization and oppression on campus have vanished. Similar to how scholars have talked about the formation and evolution of racism over time, where differential experiences and access because of race are minimized,

and where colorblind ideologies surface (e.g., Bonilla-Silva, 2006; Omi & Winant, 2004), it is vital to consider how inclusion and IE communicate the perception of a postracial status in higher education. Substituting race, gender, social class, sexuality, religion, and diversity for the catch-all of inclusion and IE raises the important question of whether institutions of higher education are evolving in productive ways their recruitment, retention, training, and hiring policies, or whether they are calling merely for the same practices by a new name.

José, a biracial CDO from a state research institution that limits how diversity can be employed in hiring practices, offered a helpful argument for those in higher education looking for a framework for diversity that appeals to a broad audience:

We are a research institution and we can then have better research by being more diverse. The economic and the demographic public service things also come into the argument; those are important, too. As a state research institution, we must serve the needs of our state, which is a rapidly diversifying state. We're a state institution; we have to serve our residents, who are increasingly diverse.

It's important to have faculty who understand diversity and how diverse faculty provide good role models for our diverse students. Those are all important things as well, but the message that most readily gets traction for us is about focusing on our excellence, and how that this diversity helps contribute to our excellence; otherwise, you get stuck in conversations where we want to improve our demographics or we improve the economic sustainability, but it's at the expense of our excellence.

José provided a rationale for diversity that ties IE to promoting better research, which extends the previous common understanding of IE by removing intentionally the focus on identities and replacing it with a focus on research and educational excellence. Although this framing is helpful for navigating institutional and state policies that limit a need-based advocacy approach, it also risks eliminating support for both

domestic and international programs to improve access to, as well as preparation for, higher education. If research is conceptualized as a process that is distanced from the bodies who conduct it, the potential for those privileged with access to better K–12 resources will further limit higher education access for students from underresourced schools and communities. Unequal access to resources in K–12 education is a lingering problem in U.S. education (T. M. Harris, 2012) and an issue that concerns many scholars dedicated to promoting educational equity, diversity, inclusion, and social justice. What was described in the core mission statement values as a moral, ethical judgment, and serving others, discussed in Chapter 4, could be categorized under the umbrella of social justice, which, as explained below, was a frame that CDOs used frequently throughout the interviews.

Diversity as social justice. Frey et al. (1996) defined *social justice* as “the engagement with and advocacy for those in our society who are economically, socially, politically, and/or culturally undersourced” (p. 110). This definition provides grounds for an approach to diversity work that foregrounds access, equity, and inclusion in higher education policies and practices, within the larger purpose of eliminating injustice and inequities. Social justice policies may include outreach work in surrounding campus communities (Patterson, Cronley, West, & Lantz, 2014), service-learning opportunities (Britt, 2012, 2014), learning communities that focus on issues of justice (Nieto, 2015), and bridge and precollege programs to strengthen college applications and academic preparation for college (Kallison & Stader, 2012).

CDOs who adopted a social justice approach to their work framed diversity as essential to fulfilling the moral mission of higher education. Caroline, an experienced CDO at a large public institution who has worked at various universities around the United States, and who is a Black woman, discussed her approach to diversity work in her office:

This is what we do. We do it because it's right and that's just it. We don't do things because it's mandated, because it's a rule, because we'll get kicked out of compliance; we do it because it's the way we treat people.

Caroline was clear that although compliance has been the focus at some institutions, at the core of her work is a commitment to social justice and doing what is right. This framing of diversity can stem from an institutional commitment to social justice, as demonstrated in university mission statements and resource allocation for social justice programs, and/or from CDOs' commitments to social justice. Along with framing diversity work as social justice, CDOs also use social justice discourse strategically at institutions where social justice is core to their mission, values, and practices, such as in the examples from Patten University, Rutgers University, and SUNY Empire State College, from the qualitative content analysis presented in Chapter 4. Social justice discourse was used by CDOs at many types of institutions, but it was stressed as core to the institutional mission at some of the Minority-Serving Institutions that are comprised, predominately, of communities of color, and that provide opportunities for upward mobility for low-income students, as well as at religious institutions, where serving and caring for others are tied to doctrines of faith.

Another example of social justice framing of diversity was offered by Joseph, an African American CDO from the "Deep South" of the United States. He described how doing the "right thing" can be more difficult for some people than others at his institution:

Sometimes, on campuses, because of political affiliation or because of . . . see, both he [his supervisor] and I are not from here, so we don't owe anybody anything; we have the liberty to do what's right. We didn't go to school with anybody around here. Everybody that we know from here, we have known by getting here. That has always been my treat; I always said if it wasn't for my supervisor, I don't know if I would want to be here in this job, because it can be very difficult to do the right thing without the right support.

Joseph, thus, stressed that his upbringing outside of the region where his institution is located and his relationships outside of that institution allow him and his supervisor a freedom from the social pressures to support unjust institutional policies or campus leaders who are not acting in support of social justice. His relationship with his supervisor is a “treat” that allows Joseph to do what he believes to be socially just and right, knowing that his supervisor will support him.

The ability to serve the students who need the most support, financially, academically, and/or socially, sometimes was determined by preestablished campus and community relationships. Joseph, and several other CDOs, described tensions between religious teachings on campus, and in the surrounding area, and serving campus members of the LGBT communities. “Doing the right thing,” as Joseph called it, may mean that he and others at his institution may have to go against personal beliefs to serve the larger institutional goals of equal education.

Another CDO, Ella, who works at a private institution and who identifies as an Asian woman, also spoke about diversity in terms of social justice. In addressing the conflation between diversity and social justice work, Ella said:

I used to distinguish between diversity work and social justice work. Diversity work, to me, is more about multicultural education, learning about different backgrounds and different cultures, and how we can get along, how we can work with each other, deal with unconscious biases, and communicate all of that. For me, social justice is about working towards equalization, working against oppression and discrimination. It’s not so much about “Let’s celebrate our commonalities and our pretty stuff.” That’s why, when you first asked me about what is diversity and all of that, the first thing I said in my mind is, “It’s like an amusement park, the ‘It’s a Small World ride.’” The other part is the really, really hard, difficult, ugly, resistance, resentment, ego, and power, and all of that; I see that more as social justice and not diversity. . . . I try to do more social justice work for people.

Ella, a former professor and now CDO, struggled with how diversity and equity are communicated about on her campus. Seemingly cynical of the shared common ground approach to diversity work in higher education, Ella identified a distinct approach to thinking and talking about difference on campus. Ella also argued that in creating policies to increase equity, some campus CDOs do a disservice to equity work by highlighting cultural practices, food, music, and dance, which can be interpreted by students, faculty, and staff as external to the educational mission of the institution. What Ella called the “pretty stuff,” or what CDO Jessie referred to as “the dinner and dancing,” highlighted the concern that difference can be read by students, faculty, and staff on campus as superficial engagement with diversity, without tending to the larger issue of inequity.

Other CDOs disagreed with Ella’s position, arguing that by engaging and displaying diverse cultural practices on campuses, they were disrupting dominant and normative campus environment practices and ideologies. Displays of diversity on campus through multicultural festivals and movie nights require planning and funding, but unmasking and unraveling normative oppressive assumptions and practices about who belongs on campus, and who the campus is designed to serve, require major, long-term institutional commitment. Hence, in pushing back against campus cultural events and claiming the importance of social justice over diversity events, Ella may be creating additional obstacles for fellow CDOs in higher education. Drawing lines in the proverbial sand about what diversity initiatives matters most may be shortsighted for achieving the larger goals of equity and inclusion in higher education. Institutional commitments to diversity and inclusion look and sound different depending on the campus, especially with regard to how long a campus has engaged in those efforts. The college/university mission and vision statements, analyzed in Chapter 4, provided some examples of diverse ways that campuses project a commitment to diversity. In labeling some forms of diversity work as “trivial,” the long-term goals of social justice and equity may never be realized on campuses.

The labeling of some diversity work on campus as detrimental to larger diversity and inclusion efforts on campus is a precarious argument that can minimize support and funding for future diversity and inclusion work. To increase equity through diversity and inclusion work, CDOs, therefore, need to align their efforts with the institution's mission, values, image, and norms. Hence, in framing diversity as IE and/or as social justice, intricate knowledge of a campus is required for creating persuasive and effective communication. However, in the following framing of diversity as a legal requirement, knowledge of the campus and its communities is secondary to the requirements of compliance with various federal laws.

Diversity as a legal requirement. For four CDOs, diversity as a legal requirement was the primary framing used in their communication about diversity and inclusion on campuses. Although the legal framing for understanding and approaching diversity may seem distant or cold in comparison to the other two approaches discussed, a key feature of this approach that advances equity in higher education is that legal requirements are not negotiable. Regardless of political stance, religious affiliation, racist, gendered, homophobic, and/or classed biases, the legal approach to diversity in higher education is a mandated federal requirement to not discriminate; as such, the distinction between diversity and inclusion is crucial. Steve Robbins (2009), an author, speaker, and consultant who specializes in issues of inclusion, wrote that “diversity has sometimes been about counting people. Inclusion is about making people count” (p. 55). Hence, whereas legal requirements for diversity focus on ensuring that an institution of higher education is not excluding students, faculty, staff, or administrators based on federally protected classes, such as race, age, religion, sex, ability, nationality, and veteran status, there is no federal policy that ensures inclusion.

CDOs were clear that legally mandated nondiscrimination policies are needed to protect against biases in admission, hiring, and promotion practices. The prevalent framings among CDOs of the frames of diversity as social justice and diversity as inclusive excellence, discussed previously, led to an unexpected response from four CDOs that demonstrated a commitment to diversity work that was framed

in legal discourse. Mark, who has been involved in CDO work for more than a decade, described his experience as a Black man at a predominately White rural campus who is responsible for diversity:

If you put all of your eggs in the one basket of diversity, I can honestly say you're going to lose every 3 years. Institutions only get serious about diversity when it comes time for some type of accreditation or evaluation, whether it's an intake evaluation for the education department or whether it's some type of accreditation that one of the departments is going to get. Then, all of a sudden, the academic community becomes very interested in the diversity effort. Then, when the academic community is interested in it, it overflows into the other areas of the campus community.

Mark described diversity as connected intricately to legal compliance with the U.S. Department of Education and with accreditation agencies, such that one important impetus for campus change is an upcoming assessment of campus diversity.

Other CDOs, such as Cindy, a White female CDO, discussed how she makes arguments strategically to obtain the desired outcome for her campus. In speaking about compliance with the changing sexual harassment policy and the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA), she highlighted how policy can be a tool for enacting change:

If I'm trying to change something related to a sexual harassment policy on campus, right now, that's pretty easy, because Title IX is changing, and so I can say, "Look, we have until this date, and the federal government says if we don't get this sorted out, we're out of compliance." That's a pretty easy argument. No one really argues with students with disabilities and following ADA law.

As a scholar-administrator, Cindy was well versed in the legal, communicative, and organizational strategies that were needed to move the campus to compliance and inclusion. In speaking about moving her campus towards a more inclusive and supporting environment for all community members, she said:

I am here to strategically help people think before they speak and act, to think about the repercussions of their actions, and to create an environment where not only all voices are heard but that we notice when voices are absent.

Cindy described compliance and legality as a first step in changing campus culture and demographic composition. Particularly on campuses where institutional leaders are blind to issues of exclusion, and where raced, classed, ableist, and gendered privilege can create obstacles for inclusion, it is helpful to have a legal argument in which to ground diversity efforts. Cindy's ability to read her campus audiences and to shift her communication from diversity as social justice to legal compliance, thus, was an important communication strategy for her success as a CDO.

Throughout the interviews, CDOs shared how these three framings of diversity informed their communicative practices related to campus diversity efforts. From audience analysis, to deciding whether to use personal distancing, persuasive storytelling, and/or reflexive questioning, CDOs used strategically these framings in formal communicative practices.

In addition to using these framings in their communicative practices, interviewees stressed that successful CDOs knew which framing of diversity would be most effective for their audience. Whether it was a formal meeting with the alumni board or an informal meeting with a faculty member over coffee in the student union, CDOs explained that employing optimal communicative practices required talking to diverse campus communities and building relationships with trusted allies who provided feedback about CDOs' communication. CDOs agreed unanimously that having strong campus relationships with faculty, administrators, and other key organizational members was the primary key to their success. Building and sustaining campus relationships was accomplished through interpersonal communication comprised of daily micropractices used to build trust, loyalty, and comradery. The following sections address informal daily interpersonal micropractices that CDOs used to build relationships with allies who support campus diversity and inclusion work.

Informal Chief Diversity Officers' Micropractices for Supporting Campus Collaborations and Ally Building

The informal micropractices of collaboration and relationship building, identity work, and coping with microaggressions emerged from the interviews conducted with CDOs. Each of these informal communicative micropractices was explained as playing an important role in how CDOs garner support for their campus diversity and inclusion efforts.

Interpersonal micropractices of collaboration and relationship building, identity work, and coping with microaggressions all were noted by CDOs as ways they find and support relationships with allies, as well as how they practice self-care to maintain their motivation and positivity in their campus role. In learning about these micropractices, it was helpful to understand how CDOs keep perspective and remain positive when they are faced with difficult exchanges and resistance to diversity and inclusion initiatives. To better understand how CDOs communicate interpersonally with campus allies, the following sections explore each of these interpersonal micropractices, using excerpts from the interviews. This chapter closes with CDOs highlighting their reasons for doing campus diversity work, and why their work matters.

Collaboration and campus relationships. As demonstrated in Figure 5.1, the CDO role involves collaboration across various campus departments, including academic affairs, student life, human resources, and admissions. CDOs' responsibility means fostering new relationships with campus leaders and community members. In working to amend campus policies and practices for increased diversity and inclusion, CDOs work constantly to find solutions to complex diversity concerns, such as equitable admissions policies or hiring practices, which requires collaboration with campus partners. *Collaboration*, as defined by Gray (1989) is "a process through which parties who see different aspects of a problem can constructively explore their differences and search for solutions that go beyond their own limited vision of what is possible" (p. 5). It is important to note, however, that the CDOs in this study, certainly, would not

see diversity and inclusion as “a problem” to be solved but as an opportunity to create more equitable and inclusive policies and practices.

Because collaboration is a key component to success in their position, I asked interviewees what advice they would offer to new CDOs. They were quick to advise that new CDOs need to be open, find mentors, ground diversity work in theory, build coalitions, strengthen relationships, and, in the words of Jessie, “make friends.” As their comments indicated, because CDOs’ responsibilities in higher education are vast and involve many campus departments, to be successful, CDOs must use refined interpersonal communication skills to make connections with campus community members whose everyday work may not involve collaborating outside of their division, department, or college.

As all interviewees noted, although CDOs work across a variety of campus areas, their primary responsibility is to cultivate and support a diverse and inclusive campus culture. To change a campus, first, CDOs must convince campus constituencies that the campus needs to be changed. Changing a campus culture and its practices involves creating collaborations between CDOs and faculty, staff, and community members. CDOs explained that the most productive collaborations are those rooted in respect and trust. For instance, Isabelle, who worked at a large state institution and who is an African American Muslim woman, explained that her gendered, raced, classed, and religious identities can be read with skepticism by potential campus collaborators, which may stall relationship building. Isabelle explained that her intersectional identities are integral to her work as a CDO; because she has experienced multiple forms of oppression, she is attuned to ways that power and privilege operate across and within her institution. This unique insight into multiple ways in which oppression rears its ugly head on her campus is useful to Isabelle in creating policies to disrupt oppression.

Recognizing the sometimes negative treatment that she, as an African American woman in a hijab, received on campus, Isabelle argued that finding campus allies with whom to foster joint projects helped her to gain access to campus leaders and spaces that may be resistant to diversity initiatives. In particular,

Isabelle crafted a space for collaboration by distancing her work strategically from affirmative action and compliance, an arm of diversity work that often is seen as more of the enforcement center of policy. As Isabelle explained, her diversity work:

has been very collaborative. When people think diversity here, they think dialogues and they think collaboration. It's funny, because they think [about] diversity a bit differently than they do affirmative action. In their minds, they've made a real clear distinction. There's an affirmative action function there, and that's where we might get our hands slapped, but there's a faculty recruitment and retention function, and there is a multicultural education function, and those functions are much more collaborative. We benefit from not having that, "Oh, diversity, they're just coming to beat up on us and slap our hands."

Isabelle spoke very passionately about the need for cross-campus collaboration in her current work on improving her campus's climate. Because of her previous experience working in compliance, she recognized tensions that arose when individuals and/or departments were fearful of reprimand for not following admissions, hiring, or promotion protocols. In framing her diversity work of inclusion and improving campus climate as separate and distinct from compliance, she connected with campus constituents and created relationships that influenced campus policies and practices. In collaborating and building allies, Isabelle found common goals with campus partners, and she used those connections as the scaffolding for her diversity plans. In contrast to viewing diversity as a legal requirement, Isabelle used strategically organizational knowledge about the legal and compliance requirements as a resource to build coalitions with people who support inclusion and diversity, but who also were disenchanted by or fearful of forced campus diversity.

In recognizing the importance of collaboration, Isabelle addressed the framing and positioning involved in building relationships, sharing the following experience:

I was speaking at one search committee and one of the gentlemen said, “Well, I don’t know what I can learn from you, because I’ve been researching probably longer than you’ve been alive.” He actually said that in a meeting I was like, “Great, I would love to learn from your wisdom, so let’s get together and let’s collaborate.” He never followed up on it but he also didn’t say anything else in that room. He sat there and was quiet.

Although her visceral response to this ageist comment was not kind, Isabelle said that any other response would reflect negatively on her and her work. She discussed how she, as an African American, Muslim woman with a working-class upbringing and a doctoral degree, gets read in predominately White male environments, where she attends many meetings as the resident expert on diversity and inclusion. Isabelle noted that although her identities were called on in this interpersonal exchange, she suppressed her unkind visceral internal response. She was quick, however, to point out that, sometimes, she lets Isabelle “from the streets” come out in meetings to challenge the status quo and to disrupt dominant discourses of who higher education leaders should be and how leaders should communicate when they are disrespected in the work environment. In such cases, Isabelle’s careful analysis and decision making preserved both the face of the person who was rude and the possibility of future collaboration, but she also demonstrated her acutely tuned sense of self, framing, audience, and space.

CDOs, thus, cited campus relationships as integral to their success. In building those relationships, Ella recommended searching for faculty allies, particularly tenured faculty allies who have knowledge of organizational history, relationships with other faculty members and administrators, and the institutional protection of academic freedom to support unconventional or unpopular ideas and practices that are related to diversity and inclusion. Ella described her process of building faculty ally relationships:

Oftentimes, when you’re working with faculty, it involves identifying faculty members who could be allies in the work; identifying faculty [members] who have research interest in the thing that

you're doing and advancing. It's tapping into resources that you have here and letting them make the convincing story for why we have to do something different.

Ella, thus, acknowledged that, sometimes, faculty members need to hear rationales and support for a new diversity program or initiative from another faculty member, not from the CDO. Although Ella, previously, was a faculty member, similar to Jessie, Brad, Mark, and Cindy, in making the move from faculty member to administrator, some relationships with faculty members were severed or changed due to the change in her position and to a campus office location that was relatively far away from academic buildings and faculty.

Renewing previous relationships and starting new relationships with faculty members was a priority for CDOs. In building those relationships, CDOs think about how best to use the influence and talents of faculty allies in campus diversity work. Expanding on the idea of faculty involvement in diversity work, Nate, an African American male working at a public rural institution, explained that in interpersonal relationships, collaboration, and ally building, CDOs must encourage faculty allies and supporters to become involved, and, sometimes, to take the lead on some diversity and inclusion processes, particularly those involving curriculum changes and hiring for academic positions:

I understood a faculty member's passion and research area, and found a way to connect the [diversity] program to this faculty member. In a nutshell, relationships, particularly around diversity, are absolutely essential because we can't do this by ourselves. We often refer to campuses as "communities" or "community." At its source, at its roots, it is about what we have in common; it's about us sharing an experience, so you can't do that by yourself.

Nate, thus, highlighted the importance of CDOs not operating alone on campuses.

In addition to the support that campus collaborations and allies bring to diversity and inclusion work, there is interpersonal support that is gained by CDOs through campus allies. Ella, an Asian female working at a private rural college, explained that there is great importance in the interpersonal

micropractices that she uses to build allies, and for personal support in her role as CDO. She said that allies play a key role in:

the daily interactions and in that emotional preparation to fight for something, or that you have to explain and argue, and all of the expectations of how you can prove that you are worth being here; that you should be here.

Ella, similar to all of the CDOs, valued personal and professional support from campus allies, especially faculty. She argued that when faculty allies used their institutional power to collaborate on a diversity program or to speak in support of her at a president's council meeting, those actions garnered support for the proposed policy and increased the buy-in from institutional leaders for diversity and inclusion work on her campus.

Although faculty support is essential to CDOs' success, one challenge of collaboration and ally work that was cited by Cindy, a self-identified White CDO from a large midwestern U.S. institution, is that CDOs of color, in comparison to White CDOs, often face additional scrutiny from faculty and administrators in their campus work, especially at primarily White institutions. Ana, a Latina CDO at a private institution, noted that she has experienced negative feedback from some faculty members and administrators when building collaborations on campus to support undocumented students, which she attributed to her nationality, accent, and identities, noting that the previous CDO, who was not Latina, did not experience the same pushback regarding undocumented student programs. Ana explained that although she recognized this tension with some faculty and administrators on campus, she was unwilling to compromise her support of undocumented students because of campus collaborations and ally building efforts. In explaining this position of fighting for undocumented and Latino students, despite negative remarks from potential campus allies, Ana said:

Before this position, I had worked a lot with Latino communities in Spanish-speaking communities, rural communities, U.S. territories, and so the conversation of marginality, about

opening spaces, about how we support resources and really provide services to populations that, sometimes, we don't think about or have not been the primary populations that we have outreached in the past or served, became my entry point.

Ana, similar to many interviewees, was vocal in sharing her experience that diversity work often draws on CDOs' multiple gendered, raced, and classed identities. In building collaborative relationships or when walking into boardrooms to fight for funding diversity and inclusion programs, CDOs do not walk in with just their title and degrees but as embodiments of their identities, including their identity as a CDO. As Sebastián explained earlier in the chapter, diversity work "is all about everything that I show up with; my skin tone, my accent, my name, all of that." This embodied work that draws on CDO identities was a topic that came up in nearly every interview, and, as explained below, demonstrated an acute understanding of the identity management process that is involved in negotiating who CDOs are on and off campus.

Identity work and chief diversity officer embodiment. *Identity work* involves "individuals' efforts to portray a positive and distinctive identity" (Kuhn, 2006, p. 1339). To portray a positive identity to their campus peers, first, CDOs think about how others on campus value and interpret racial and cultural identities and physical identity markers, such as hair texture or body shape and/or size; they then can assess and gauge how their social identities will be interpreted. CDOs in this study spoke about how their identities and physical embodiments affect their interpersonal interactions and performances of self on and off campus. A component of identity work involves racial, cultural, gendered, and classed identities that manifest materially in, on, and through the body. *Embodiment* is an acknowledgment and consideration that "thoughts, feelings, and behaviors are grounded in sensory experiences and bodily states" (Meier, Schnall, Schwarz, & Bargh, 2012, p. 2). As suggested in interview excerpts from Ana and Sebastián, CDOs' bodies are not ahistorical; they are read, interpreted, and judged through raced, classed, gendered, and political lenses by campus administrators, faculty members, and students.

Identity work and embodiment were discussed in detail by 19 CDOs, who spoke about them both in relation to and as separate from the CDO position. Individuals discussed their experiences as academics and administrators who also are people of color on campus. As mentioned previously, 89% of CDOs in U.S. higher education (and in this study) identify as people of color, which is important because interviewees' experiences suggest divergent racialized experiences between White CDOs and CDOs of color. The excerpts highlight how CDOs' identities inform their interpersonal communicative micropractices.

Evette, a Black woman diversity "champion" at a suburban private campus, described how embodiment and her identities inform her communicative practices when discussing a meeting with campus colleagues:

I'm just not a Black woman; I'm a dark-skinned Black woman, so that's very different than being a light-skinned Black woman. I remember when I was in certain spaces. For instance, there was a former colleague and her name was Kai, [and] she was lighter skinned. There was another colleague, and her name was Stef, and she was lighter skinned, too. So, they're in meetings; for instance, we had a meeting with the student services office. They just happened to be talking, and Toby [a male peer] was talking about students, and [said], "Oh, we're really trying to get more students of color over," and my colleague, Kai, says to him, "Well, you need to do a better job."

She had the neck roll. She was the stereotypical angry Black woman. I'm sitting in the room, I'm across from my colleague, and I see her, and I see that Toby is withdrawn. I come out and I'm like, "Hey, you know what, Toby? I remember when you used to send bills for trips. I was like, 'Oh man, Mr. Toby!' and I would not answer them. My mom would get them and my mom was like, 'Go to Toby, talk to him on the phone. He's a great guy.'" He started laughing and he was like, "Thank you."

In this excerpt, Evette talked about interracial discourses of skin color and disrupting negative discourses, and she used humor as a relationship and face-saving strategy. First, Evette addressed different perceptions on her campus regarding light- and dark-skinned Black women, making a clear distinction about her dark skin and the light skin of her female colleagues. There is a body of literature regarding effects of skin color in workplaces, with studies involving African Americans revealing that darker skin is tied to lower wages (e.g., Goldsmith, Hamilton, & Darity, 2007; Kreisman & Rangel, 2015), increased workplace bias (e.g., Harrison, Reynolds-Dobbs, & Thomas, 2008; Marira & Mitra, 2013), and other forms of discrimination (e.g., Monk, 2015; Sims, 2009). Knowing this research, and her experiences at her institution, Evette said that she works “extra” to disrupt negative stereotypes about dark-skinned and “angry” Black women.

Evette discussed how communication about race, sometimes, can be strained because of her skin tone:

I asked one colleague who is light skinned, and she says, “[White] people say what they feel,” and I wonder if that is because of their comfort around her—that she is more to their color than I am.

Instantly, she becomes enraged and goes off. They were like, “Oh yeah, she’s Black.”

In this excerpt, Evette postulated that, perhaps, White individuals are more comfortable speaking with lighter skinned Black individuals because of similarity or comfort. Without the instant connection due to skin color, Evette noted that she must work harder to build campus relationship compared to Black individuals who are of lighter skin. A practice that Evette employed to build those relationships across campus was humor. In the interview excerpt, Evette distracted Toby from an uncomfortable meeting exchange with a colleague by drawing attention to how, when she was a student at the university, Evette’s mother would tell her to go talk to him. The shared funny memory of her as a student avoiding Toby on campus because of unpaid bills juxtaposed to them now working together on student events strengthened Toby and Evette’s connection. The use of humor by Evette was not in the form of jokes but, rather,

through the sharing of a funny exchange that happened years ago. This use of light humor connected Toby and Evette, and it distracted him from a potentially damaging moment that was brought on by Evette's colleague, Kai, who criticized Toby's recruitment of students of color.

In addition to using humor in meetings to build and maintain campus relationships, Evette made sure to use common campus language about community and service, to demonstrate her commitment to and belonging on her campus. Evette's identity work, thus, is based in her identities as a middle-classed, heterosexual Black woman, as well as in her complex understanding of the diverse perceptions of Black women based on differential skin color. As one of only a few African American administrators, Evette, consequently, monitored and adjusted her humor, stories, and interactions in campus meetings to ameliorate tensions surrounding her campus diversity work in diversity. Evette noted in the excerpts above, and expanded upon in other parts of the interview, that she has to be aware of and account for her invisible social identities of socioeconomic status and sexuality, as well as visible markers of her race, including her skin color and hair texture. Evette spoke about how, at times, she is saddened when people on campus view her as an outsider—presumably, because of her race on the mostly White campus—and that this outsider feeling is particularly difficult because she has been on that campus for decades and feels at home there. Evette's interactions where she felt like an outsider demonstrate how perceptions and stereotypes affect CDOs and their work.

Nate, a "Black Christian man" who worked on a rural college campus, also discussed how perceptions and stereotypes affected his identity work. Nate described how his identities inform his communicative practices related to diversity:

From the time when I was in high school, I have regularly been one of a few in my educational experiences, so what happens is, because of the negative representations of what's out there, whether it's via media, personal beliefs, or whatever, I kind of take pride in being a good representative of what, I believe, it means to be a Black man. I don't mind answering those

questions but yes, I do get the question raised: “What is the Black experience around this issue?” which, I think, is crazy, because I always tell them, “I can tell you the Black experience of the people who are living in my house because I’m the only Black person who lives it.” I try to teach folks that no one group is a monolith, and so it’s very hard to capture what one group might be feeling or experiencing.

In this interview excerpt, Nate spoke about how his body as a Black man has been read and interpreted by his teachers and colleagues in U.S. institutions of higher education, and how he has attempted to undo negative stereotypes of Black men by being a “good representative” of his identities. His decision to disrupt negative racialized and gendered discourses of Black men, explicitly, is a source of pride. Along with the disruption of discourses, when asked to be a spokesperson for the Black race, Nate used the opportunity as a teachable moment to reframe the conversation in a nonessentialist manner to account for diverse experiences of being Black.

In addressing diverse experiences of Black men in diversity work, Abe discussed his personal reflections of identity work and embodiment on campus:

I’m at a predominantly White school, and whenever I walk out of this building or out of my own space, I am, number one, always a Black man. It doesn’t matter that I have two degrees, both from the school where I work; it doesn’t matter that I am in school pursuing other stuff; and it doesn’t matter what’s hanging on my wall. As soon as I leave my own space, I’m always going to be a person of color first, because that’s what others see. . . . I always have to be on guard, as well. I shouldn’t have to be. Sometimes, that’s individual oppression. Sometimes, I may cause oppression for myself. . . . The fact [is] that I have to think about walking through campus and how I talk and walk.

There was an incident. My office was being renovated or fixed because something happened. I sent a frustrated e-mail to somebody. It’s funny, because I rewrote the e-mail

probably a good three to five times, because I didn't want to sound like I was frustrated. I *was* frustrated. I rewrote it, and then I sent it out. One of my supervisors sent the e-mail back to me, saying, "I'm glad you sent that e-mail, but I thought probably it was a little unprofessional to do this, this, and the third." I instantly said to myself, "I should e-mail these people back, so they know I wasn't intentionally trying to be unprofessional. I just was frustrated." I didn't want that to be a judgment against me because of my skin color. That's why race heightens everything. It definitely does.

Abe's experiences and observations show how identities provide ways for individuals to understand and negotiate personal experiences. Abe recognized and highlighted that his experiences and encounters around campus were through his embodiment as a Black man on a predominately White campus. The intersection of a privileged (man) and oppressed (Black) identity equate to an experience that, ultimately, leads to new perspectives about the institution of higher education, as well as how performances of race and masculinity are rooted in prior experiences, histories, and knowledges. In framing his experience on campus, Abe acknowledged that being a Black man on a mostly White campus comes with added pressures and opportunities.

Abe's experiences on campus over the years have led to the construction of new knowledge about underrepresented groups on his campus, because Abe used those experiences to establish and inform campus policies, form new campus support groups, and to create new campus practices that work to minimize racial microaggressions and pressures that are experienced on campus by him and other Black men. Abe's story is not unique, as many CDOs shared feelings of being "othered" on their campus because of race. Feeling othered in a person's institution, over time, as explained next, can lead to new perspectives about how to communicate to avoid stressors from continued collisions with "racial microaggressions."

Coping with racial microaggressions. *Racial microaggressions* are “brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioral, or environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults toward people of color” (Sue et al., 2007, p. 271). Racial microaggressions can be observed when people say or do something that is informed by racist (sometimes, subconscious) ideologies. Microaggressions often occur in interpersonal communication and are cumulative over time, with scholars finding that continued exposure to and interactions with microaggressions can lead to depression, social isolation, and lowered confidence in academic and professional settings (see, e.g., Balsam, Molina, Beadnell, Simoni, & Walters, 2011; O’Keefe, Wingate, Cole, Hollingsworth, & Tucker, 2015; Ruiz-Mesa, 2007; W. A. Smith, Hung, & Franklin, 2011; Solórzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000; Yosso, Smith, Ceja, & Solórzano, 2009). The psychological, social, and academic damages that stem from encounters with microaggressions occur, in large part, because targets of microaggressions interpret these verbal offenses initially as being tied to their personality, attitude, or behavior; however, on further reflection, targets may view the assault as based on race and realize that there is nothing that they can do about their race.

These verbal assaults lead to negative physical, social, and professional consequences, due to the inability to adapt or change the targeted identity, such as race (Sue et al., 2007). For example, if someone makes a comment about the quick speed of my speaking voice, I can recognize that this comment is biased regionally and culturally, and, simultaneously, I understand that speed violates normative speaking expectations for a particular place or individual; consequently, I can slow down my speaking pace to ameliorate any discomfort or perceived interpersonal violation, to preserve positive social or professional relations. When someone makes a comment about skin color, hair, or other phenotypical characteristics, however, there is little that individuals can (or want to) do about the reason for the offence, which is race. For instance, working in a diversity office, a student once approached me with a complaint against a professor: In preparing to watch a documentary during class, the professor turned off the lights and then

asked where that student had gone. Class members laughed because the professor was noting that because of the student's dark skin, he no longer was visible when the lights were turned down. The professor did not mention explicitly skin color or race but it was understood by students in that class and by the target of the aggression that the comment was made due to race. When I spoke to the professor about the incident, he attempted to minimize the impact, saying that it was "just a joke" and was not meant to be offensive.

Jokes, coded racial language, and other comments on appearance, communication style, and approaches to diversity work were highlighted when CDOs discussed their encounters with microaggressions on their campus. CDOs spoke of microaggressions targeted at why they do diversity work, and their natural hair, clothing choices, and communication style. When discussing strategies for coping with microaggressions, Callie, an early career, African American woman CDO at a private, predominately White institution, discussed the added pressures of going to campus meetings after her experiences with microaggressions on campus:

I make sure that I'm kind of almost dressed to the nines, I make sure that I'm not slouching, [and] I make sure that my hair is fixed, regardless of I came from a place where I wore natural hair, and it was a part of my evaluation about my hair, and, so, when I see [other people's] natural hair, I'm like, "Good," because I wasn't able to do that in a place I worked at. So, I make sure I'm polished, and I make sure I speak well to be just taken seriously. I make sure I'm not looking frumpy, I make sure my clothes are ironed, I make sure my shoes are not run down, [and] I make sure my jewelry is always appropriate. My makeup is minimal, you know; I don't overdo it, to be taken seriously. That may be a little vain, but I just have to do that, so I sit at a table with different people, just not people from [my division]. I've got to make sure I know what I'm talking about. That's just been how I've handled things; other people may handle it differently.

Callie's desire to be taken seriously in her position meant not only making sure that she was prepared for the topics of a meeting but also that her body reflected an image that is taken seriously at her institution.

This added pressure of expressing a dominantly accepted version of femininity in Callie's clothing and communication style stems from previous microaggression experiences when comments were made about her appearance. Callie spoke of her academic experiences in graduate school, and how her academic preparation never included the need to look a certain way to do her job or warnings of being questioned continuously about her competence in her position.

Scholars have studied the added pressures of raced and gendered expectations of professional dress and appearance in higher education. For instance, to better understand how gendered and raced bodies of female faculty of color are interpreted in the classroom, Ford (2011) interviewed 66 faculty members about their experiences and perceptions of student interactions with female faculty of color at a large midwestern university. Interviews were conducted by a trained team of researchers who asked faculty members questions about six areas:

- (a) racial/ethnic biography, (b) teaching history and academic career path, (c) pedagogical approach to teaching and learning, (d) the relationship between their social identities and their approaches to and experience with students and teaching, (e) raced and gendered experiences with colleagues, departments, and the University structure/culture, and (f) views on general issues of diversity in higher education" (p. 451)

From the analysis of the interviews, Ford found that women of color faculty members were "misrecognized" (p. 457) by White students who made inaccurate assumptions about them based on stereotypes and prejudiced raced and gendered narratives. Hairstyles of Black female faculty and "accent, use of language, tone of voice, and surnames" (Ford, p. 460) for Latina and Asian female faculty members were coded by White students as markers of differences used to inform their communication with female faculty of color. Ford offered the example of how Marisa, a Latina faculty member, was assumed to have "an affectionate teaching and mentoring style" (p. 459) because of her intersecting female and Latina identities which were coded by White students as markers of nurture.

In communication with White students, female faculty of color reported “that their bodies are often politicized in a manner that discounts them from being viewed as proficient teachers and accomplished scholars” (Ford, 2011, p. 452). The politicization of women of color faculty bodies was interpreted as having a particular political agenda to favor people of color, and their arguments were “frequently dismissed as political . . . and thus de-legitimized as a valid area of academic inquiry” (p. 462). This dismissal of women of color’s position as academic experts stemmed from White students’ tendency “to read the subject matter differently depending upon the person responsible for conveying that knowledge” (p. 462). The negative judgment of gendered and raced bodies, and the dismissal by White students of women of color in the classroom, is reminiscent of CDOs’ experiences, such as those experienced by Callie, who shared their frustration of needing to look a certain way to do their job as CDO, and of peers questioning her position and expertise.

In discussing her professional position in the academy, Callie addressed how wearing her “natural hair” instead of treating it through perms and relaxers to appear straight and more aligned with European standards of beauty was a risk, as her hair was mentioned in her evaluation at a previous institution. Callie’s decision to wear her hair in its natural state could be interpreted negatively as a lack of professionalism, according to an experimental study conducted by Opie and Phillips (2015), in which Photoshopped images were used to investigate how 200 online survey participants interpreted how dominant and professional White and Black women in the photographs would be as employees based on whether the women wore “Eurocentric (i.e., straight) or Afrocentric (i.e., curly, kinky hairstyles)” (para. 6). Participants were asked questions about how professional the person in the photograph was and assessed how likely she was to succeed in a U.S. corporate environment. Opie and Phillips found that Black women who wore Afrocentric hairstyles were rated by participants as “less professional and less likely to succeed in Corporate America than employment candidates with Eurocentric hairstyles” (para. 23). Participants expressed negative assumptions and biases about women of color based on hairstyle and

attire. To combat negative assumptions about women of color in higher education, some well-intentioned faculty and administrators may comment on the appearance or dress of a newer colleague of color, to orient or mentor that faculty member for success at the institution (Sue et al., 2007). Although these small comments about hairstyle or dress are meant to be helpful, they may be interpreted by the target of the comment as a racial microaggression that is meant to discipline or control the person. According to Sue et al. (2007), faculty members or administrators who make such comments about hairstyle or attire often will not recognize the hurt or offense that is caused by their words.

In discussing microaggressions and intentionality, it is important to note that aggressors' intentions have little to do with effects of those microaggressions on targets of comments (Nadal et al., 2012). For example, when Abe discussed being reprimanded by his supervisor for a lack of professionalism in his e-mail expressing frustration with the construction of his office, Abe read and interpreted that microaggression through his experience as a Black man, with and through his knowledge of his institution of higher education, and through other encounters with that supervisor. Abe was quick to defend his supervisor, and said later in the interview that he had an overall positive relationship with his supervisor, and that his supervisor knew that he did not mean to be offensive in the e-mail. Recognizing, simultaneously, the hurt and frustration of the e-mail from his supervisor, Abe also defended his supervisor as a good person who would not knowingly make comments that were rooted in racist ideologies.

When I asked Abe why he defended his supervisor, Abe referenced his Christian identity. Abe shared that his role in higher education is not just a job but a vocation; it is a calling to help students and his alma mater to strive for inclusion and social justice. In a follow-up conversation with Abe after the initial interview, he shared how his family and church influenced his understanding of equality and identity. Abe's vision of diversity work on campus, thus, was framed through his experiences as a Black man in his family, higher education, and faith. Because the themes of race, social class, religion, gender,

and family reoccurred throughout CDOs' interviews, the next section explores how family, history, and experiences inform CDOs' communicative practices and approaches to their work.

Chief Diversity Officers' Family, History, and Knowledge

For the CDOs in this study, family and history played integral roles in their decision to be involved in campus diversity work and in their communicative approaches to that work. For some CDOs, it was the struggles of their mothers, grandmothers, and "othermothers" (Collins, 2000, p. 13) for equality that led them to work for social justice; for others, it was the history of oppression for Black women and other groups that resonated with their experiences of oppression. When CDOs were asked how they got into higher education administration and diversity work, in particular, their answers ranged from being asked by presidents and provosts to apply for the position, to research interests in inclusion and diversity, and, most commonly, because they had experienced oppression and wanted to fight for social justice in higher education. Among many CDOs, there was a strong sense of understanding how unjust laws, practices, and policies have worked for decades to create oppression in the United States. This rooting of their work in higher education within larger historical contexts was discussed by several CDOs; Jessie and Amal, for instance, spoke at length about the role that familial history played in their understanding of oppression and in their motivation to work for social justice.

When asked what motivated her to do diversity work, Jessie, an African American woman and CDO of a private, predominately White institution, said:

I stand on the shoulders of so many wonderful people. I think of my grandmothers who, essentially, were cleaning women and chauffeurs to put my mother through college, because they were bound and determined that their daughter was going to have a college education. My mother graduated in 1948 and can't get a job because she's Black. . . . There is a sense that I owe a debt to a lot of people.

I teach a course that's, essentially, Black history through speeches, about African American rhetoric. I think about the sacrifice. To this day, I cannot look at American history and not think about my own course. Give me a date, 1819, 1837, 1857, and I'm thinking how close or far away are you from the Civil War, from the Dred Scott decision. I keep thinking about these things, because I think we are historical people. The great tragedy is that some of us think that history began the day we were born. What that helps me to recognize is that I like that notion of "cultural baggage," of that knapsack that we've got. A lot of us don't recognize that it is there but it very much conditions not only how I interact with people but how other people interact with me.

In talking about the drive and determination of her grandmothers to get their daughter an education, Jessie noted the types of domestic labor that her Black grandmothers did to advance their daughter's formal education. This passion for education, paired with the devastating reality of not being hireable with a college degree because she was a Black woman in the United States in 1948, speaks to knowledge that is gained by historical experience. Jessie, as a scholar specializing in Black rhetoric and communication, unpacked how history sets the stage for experiences that then create knowledge that can be used to develop practices to combat oppression.

In addition to explicating how her familial history motivated her to advance social justice issues, Jessie noted how history and experience affect her interpersonal communicative practices; specifically, how others interact with her as a Black CDO and scholar at a predominately White institution. Her connection to her familial history, as well as to national history, informs how Jessie understands her work and purposes, and her identities as an African American woman, educator, CDO, and social justice advocate. Similar to Jessie's grandmothers, who labored and fought for her mother's education, Jessie embraced and recognized the shared "legacy of struggle" (Collins, 2000, p. 29), and she fights as a CDO to improve educational access and experiences for undocumented, first-generation, Pell-eligible, underrepresented, and underserved students.

In speaking about his motivation and inspiration for doing diversity work, Amal, a Black man who is a CDO at a large community college in the Eastern United States, discussed his commitment to diversity work and inspiration that he received from his grandmothers' social justice work. In discussing how his grandmother shaped his understanding of social justice, Amal, similar to Jessie, spoke about having a strong calling to engage in diversity work and, thereby, contribute positively to college students' educational experiences.

This notion of owing family and ancestors for their work and sacrifices, and honoring their struggle, was a reoccurring theme throughout the interviews conducted with CDOs. Whether tied to race, religion, social class, and/or sexuality, many CDOs discussed how collective experiences of struggle have inspired and motivated their work to promote diversity and inclusion in higher education. In Amal's case, he reflected on collective struggle and motivation for his CDO work:

I do believe it is my calling. I was heavily influenced and mentored by my grandmother, who passed away, and she was a social justice activist. Everything I knew about social movements and fighting for equality and equal rights came from my earliest exposure to her and the work that she was doing at the time. She lived in Queens, New York, and worked for the Parents Association for the public school system. She had already gotten her degree from Columbia in dance and theater, but then got married and had four kids of her own, and then another four kids she adopted with her husband. So, [she was] very connected to the community; very concerned about the welfare of everyone in the community.

Those formative experiences stayed and carried with me. We always talked up until the last couple of years, when her dementia started setting in, but we talked on a regular basis. She was always very interested in what I thought about the world and what I thought that I could do to change the world, so those experiences stayed with me. So, I feel that this is in my DNA. I am my grandmother's child. . . . What can I do in a leadership role that will affect positive social change

and institutional change, so that people can live out better quality of life? It is kind of what keeps me going.

In this excerpt, Amal reflected on his interactions and experiences with his grandmother, and he explained how knowledge that she imparted to him about working for and with communities to promote social justice has affected his work promoting diversity in higher education. Similar to many CDOs, Amal learned from and drew strength from the experiences and group knowledge that had been created and sustained by previous generations.

Conclusion

This chapter provided examples of communicative practices employed by CDOs in their work, answering the second research question posed for this study. To better understand what CDOs do in their position, this chapter discussed multiple responsibilities associated with that position and highlighted how CDOs' communication with supervisors differed across institutions and influenced how CDOs operate on campuses. CDOs valued communication with faculty members, and they discussed successes and struggles that they have experienced them. Four common formal communicative practices that CDOs employed to do their work were identified, with examples of those practices offered: (a) audience analysis, (b) personal distancing, (c) persuasive storytelling, and (d) reflexive questioning. CDOs' formal and informal communicative practices were discussed in tandem with common framings of diversity that they used to inform and persuade campus constituencies to support diversity and inclusion efforts; these common framings of diversity mirrored those found in the college/university mission statements that were analyzed in Chapter 4: diversity as (a) inclusive excellence, (b) social justice, and (c) necessary legally. CDOs used these diversity framings strategically in their communicative practices to promote diversity in higher education.

CDOs also discussed the importance of relationships, allies, and collaborations in being successful. Informal interpersonal communicative micropractices were used to build rapport with allies and to gain

support for diversity and inclusion efforts. These micropractices focused on how CDOs' identities and embodiments are negotiated in interpersonal contexts, with CDOs discussing strategies to maintain their motivation and to promote self-care, including using humor, and seeking support from allies to cope with campus tensions around diversity and their experiencing of racial microaggressions.

CDOs' identities and experiences, thus, inform their interpersonal micropractices regarding diversity work. CDOs explained how their physical embodiments and identities are read and interpreted by others on campuses, and how these identities and experiences influenced how they interact with their campus colleagues and collaborators. Finally, CDOs discussed how their interpersonal communication strategies and motivation for doing diversity work were influenced by their family histories and experiences.

The formal and informal communicative practices and framings highlighted by CDOs shed important light on the theory and practice of communication. In the final chapter, I discuss theoretical and applied implications of these findings for diversity work in higher education, and I offer recommendations for leaders of U.S. institutions of higher education and for CDOs to improve their communicative practices in support of increased educational equity and inclusion.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION

This chapter discusses the conceptual and pragmatic significance of the findings from this applied study about communicative practices of diversity and inclusion used by U.S. higher education chief diversity officers (CDOs). The analysis of university mission statements, paired with information obtained from interviews conducted with CDOs (discussed in chapters 4 and 5, respectively), provide opportunities to expand applied communication scholarship about communicative practices in diversity and inclusion work on college and university campuses. In addition to highlighting those contributions, this chapter identifies limitations of this study and offers directions for future research. Finally, this chapter serves as a call to action for leaders in higher education to examine critically how best to serve the diverse needs of all institutional constituencies, with a focus on providing support and resources for CDOs to create and sustain welcoming and inclusive college campuses.

This study highlighted communicative practices that CDOs employed to promote diversity and inclusion in higher education. CDOs used the identified communicative practices to talk about difficult topics, such as oppression, marginalization, institutional racism, and privilege, to inform and persuade campus constituents to support institutional diversity and inclusion efforts. CDOs employed strategically the communicative practices of personal distancing, persuasive storytelling, and reflexive questioning to build collaborative relationships, garner allies, and to talk about and frame diversity concerns in the most informative and persuasive manner for both supportive and resistant audiences.

As an applied communication project, this research focused on the “study of real-world communication concerns, issues, and problems . . . to develop knowledge that both advances the discipline and, hopefully, improves some aspect of people’s lives” (Cissna & Frey, 2009, p. xxix). Specifically, this applied study sought to advance scholarly knowledge about communicative practices related to diversity and inclusion work in U.S. institutions of higher education, and offer recommendations for improved

communicative practices with the hope of increasing equity in higher education. U.S. colleges and universities have a long history of struggling to reflect the rich diversity that characterizes the United States, and improving communicative practices that facilitate and support college diversity and inclusion efforts will contribute to alleviating this real-world problem.

This chapter first explicates contributions of this study to communication theory. The applied value of the findings then is discussed with regard to recommendations offered to improve how diversity and inclusion are framed, supported, and talked about by CDOs and other institutional leaders in higher education who are charged with creating mission statements, diversity statements, and strategic diversity and inclusion initiatives. The chapter concludes by discussing limitations of the study, suggestions for future research, and asserting that improved communicative practices employed by CDOs can support diversity and inclusion efforts and increase educational access and equity.

Conceptual Contributions of the Study

An important contribution of this project is the identification and theorizing of communicative practices employed by CDOs in U.S. institutions of higher education to support diversity and inclusion work. This study sought to understand how CDOs' communicative practices in their campus work was informed by dominant communication norms and CDOs' experiences as members of underrepresented populations. Framings and evidence used by CDOs to discuss concerns about or proposed policies regarding increased representation and inclusion varied based on the intended audience, as well as CDOs' perceptions of support for, or resistance to, those concerns and policies. How CDOs approached difficult conversational topics associated with this goal, such as racism, classism, and oppression, depended on previous exchanges that they had with campus constituencies, and the institutional culture. CDOs assessed the perceived resistance to diversity and inclusion initiatives, as well audience members' skepticism related to the CDO role. Given that the CDO role is fairly new (as discussed in Chapter 1), institutional histories related to that role are tied to the raced, classed, and gendered individuals who, predominately,

have occupied that administrative position. Nationally, and in this study, 89% of the CDOs in U.S. institutions of higher education are people of color. Being members of racially underrepresented populations influences how CDOs are read by peer audiences in U.S. higher education senior administration, who, predominately, are White.

Communication scholars, such as Orbe (1996), have studied how communication by dominant and marginalized populations is mediated by speakers' and audience members' identities. A communication theory that is particularly relevant to the finding of this study is co-cultural theory, which argues that approaches to communication differ across diverse populations, and that "traditionally marginalized group members . . . come to adopt one or more communication orientations while interacting within dominant organizations" (Orbe, 1998b, p. 230). The following section highlights how the communicative practices and framings found in this study add to co-cultural theory.

Expanding Co-Cultural Theory

Co-cultural theory (Orbe, 1996, 1997, 1998a, 1998b) posits that communicative practices and approaches to communication differ across cultural groups based on members' experiences belonging to traditionally underrepresented populations (or "groups"¹). Co-cultural theory arose from research on (a) muted group theory (e.g., Ardener, 1975), which asserts that because of power differences in society, some groups, such as women and people of color, who have less dominant identities are silenced socially; (b) standpoint theories (e.g., Harding, 1987; Hartsock, 1983; D. Smith, 1987; Wood, 1992), which argues that knowledge is situated socially and, consequently, the social positions of marginalized groups provide access to uncovering knowledge that may not be apparent to members of dominant groups; and (c) Black feminist thought (Collins, 1986), which is a critical social theory that focuses on understanding intersectional experiences of race, social class, and gender, and that recognizes knowledge stemming from oppression can increase empowerment for oppressed groups. According to Orbe and Spellers (2005), co-cultural theory seeks "to speak to the issues of traditionally underrepresented group members as they

function within societal structures governed by cultural groups that have, over time, achieved dominant group status” (p. 174). Co-cultural theory has focused, in particular, on understanding the “different ways that co-cultural group members approach organizational communication” (Orbe, 1998b, p. 242).

Researchers have documented communicative practices used by co-cultural group members with the “inherent purpose of exposing how societal power influences everyday communication” (Orbe, 1998b, p.

3). Co-cultural theory is grounded in the assumptions that:

(1) Although representing a widely diverse array of lived experiences, co-cultural group members share a similar positioning that renders them marginalized within society, and (2) to negotiate oppressive dominant forces and achieve any measure of success, co-cultural group members adopt certain communication orientations in their everyday interactions. (Groscurth & Orbe, 2006, p. 126)

Co-cultural theory recognizes three communication approaches that co-cultural group members, such as people of color, use in “mainstream organizational settings”: “nonassertive, assertive, or aggressive behaviors” (Orbe, 1998b, pp. 230, 246). *Nonassertive communicative practices* “generally include behaviors in which individuals are inhibited and nonconfrontational while putting the needs of others before their own” (Orbe, 1998b, p. 246). A common nonassertive communicative practice that Orbe (1998b) identified is averting controversy and avoiding discussion of controversial topics. *Assertive communicative practices* involve co-cultural group members engaging in “self-enhancing, expressive behaviors that take into account both one’s own and others’ needs” (Orbe, 1998b, p. 247); an example that Orbe (1998b) offered was educating others about cultural differences. *Aggressive communicative practices* include “behaviors described as hurtfully expressive, self-promoting, and assuming control over the choices of others” (Orbe, 1998b, p. 247), such as a person sabotaging another’s work.

In addition to the three communication approaches of nonassertive, assertive, and aggressive behaviors, Orbe (1998a) found that, generally, co-cultural group members have three preferred outcomes

or communication objectives for employing a given communicative practice: assimilation, accommodation, or separation from dominant group members. Orbe (1998b) stressed that no single communication approach is “inherently correct; an individual’s preference for one outcome over the others is navigated through a complex process of interrelated factors” (p. 248). The four primary interrelated factors considered by co-cultural members in selecting communicative practices are “(a) perceived costs and rewards, (b) field of experience, (c) abilities, and (d) situational context” (Orbe, 1998b, p. 261). Orbe (1998a), summarizing these factors, stated:

Situated within a particular *field of experience* that governs their perceptions of the *costs and rewards* associated with, as well as their *capability* to engage in, various communicative practices, co-cultural group members will adopt certain communication orientations—based on their *preferred outcomes* and *communication approaches*—to fit the circumstances of a specific *situation*. (p. 13)

Hence, people of color; people with disabilities; lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (and/or questioning; LGBTQ) community members; and other underrepresented group members consider these factors and “assume one or more communicative approaches” (Orbe, 1998b, p. 230) to achieve their personal and professional objectives.

In the 20 years since Orbe (1996) first advanced co-cultural theory and identified dozens of communicative practices used by underrepresented group members, especially in organizational settings, communication scholars have continued to identify new co-cultural communicative practices, which, in part, have emerged from shifts in U.S. racial demographics (as discussed in Chapter 1) and increasing “twenty-first-century communication challenges with White dominant group members” (Castle Bell, Weathers, & Ross, 2015, p. 2). Those contemporary communication challenges may be a consequence of those demographic and cultural shifts; changing laws (e.g., Obergefell v. Hodges, which led to marriage equality); national leadership (e.g., Barak Obama, the first biracial U.S. president); and, increasingly,

reported violence against communities of color, which have brought about new social movements (e.g., Black Lives Matter).

Castle Bell et al. (2015) conducted a qualitative study to investigate how “Black participants described communication challenges with White community members in twenty-first-century United States” (p. 9). The researchers conducted 30 semistructured interviews with self-identified Black and African American U.S. adults from 19 states, asking them to talk about their communication experiences and challenges with White community members. Through thematic analysis of the interview transcripts, the Castle Bell et al. noted that 20 of the 30 transcripts contained discussions about *rationalization*, defined as “instances where co-cultural members provide an alternative explanations or justification, which downplays or diminishes the serious nature of various forms of verbal or nonverbal communicative injustices committed by dominant group members” (p. 222). Rather than calling practices, such as being watched in a store or being mistreated at work, “racist” or “classist,” participants suggested other reasons why they were the only ones who were watched as they shopped, such as the assumption that they were being watched in case they needed help finding merchandise, and, thereby, employing rationalization “to process intercultural tensions” (Castle Bell et al., p. 1) and injustices. Rationalization, consequently, was added to Orbe’s (1998b) original list of practices to better understand contemporary communicative practices employed by underrepresented group members.

In line with the goal to change and improve U.S. race relations, and, specifically, to improve higher education access, equity, and experiences for underrepresented populations in U.S. institutions of higher education by identifying CDOs’ communicative practices, the finding of the present research study contribute several communicative practices to Orbe’s (1998b) list. In particular, CDOs discussed a variety of communicative practices that they use in their campus diversity work, including personal distancing, reflexive questioning, persuasive storytelling, and interpersonal micropractices, to create organizational change that would result in increased diversity and inclusion. The documented communicative practices

of CDOs in this study, similar to practices identified by Orbe (1998b) and by Castle Bell et al. (2015), were informed by CDOs' knowledge of their organization, as well as their "field of experience" (Orbe, 1998b, p. 263) as members of underrepresented populations.

The findings of this research project confirm the communicative practices that were identified by Orbe (1998b) and contribute three additional practices to the list of practices employed by underrepresented group members in organizational settings. As underrepresented group members, CDOs' communicative practices reflected, most specifically, an assertive accommodation communication orientation that focuses on creating "a cooperative balance between consideration for both those within and on the margins of the organization" (Orbe, 1998b, p. 255). Examples of communicative practices associated with assertive accommodation that have been identified previously include "communicative self, intragroup networking, using liaisons, and educating others . . . [to] change existing organizational policy and culture (Orbe, 1998b, p. 255). In the present study, CDOs employed an assertive accommodation orientation to support their efforts to change institutional policies and programs to increase diversity and inclusion in U.S. colleges and universities.

CDOs' varied responsibilities of compliance, compositional diversity, and supporting an inclusive campus climate (for a full list of responsibilities, see Figure 5.1) require them to work with other senior administrators, faculty, staff, and students to transform colleges/universities into welcoming and inclusive environments that support diverse constituencies. These responsibilities, paired with CDOs' interview data that described their campus work, suggest that the preferred communication outcome of higher education CDOs is accommodation. Examples from CDOs' interviews in Chapter 5 highlighted how they attempted to educate others about the experiences of underrepresented students, faculty members, and staff members. One such example was when CDO Mark educated a policy committee, comprised of all White senior administrators, about Black males' campus experiences. In addition to educating others, interview excerpts discussed in Chapter 5 also highlighted the communicative practice of "using liaisons" (Orbe,

1998b, p. 255) when CDOs engaged in campus collaborations, found allies, and built campus relationships.

In arguing that CDOs' communication serves, primarily, to create organizational change to support and accommodate diverse constituencies, CDOs' communication approaches and practices were strategic and incorporated both assertive and nonassertive practices. Personal distancing and reflexive questioning (detailed in Chapter 5) are nonassertive practices in that they are "nonconfrontational" and put "needs of others before their own" (Orbe, 1998b, p. 246). In the examples of *personal distancing*, where CDOs separated their experiences and identities from proposed policies, and *reflexive questioning*, where CDOs used knowledge about audience members to ask pointed questions related to those members' privilege and identities, to demonstrate those members' lack of empathy or understanding (detailed in Chapter 5), CDOs used nonconfrontational behaviors to help audience members understand CDOs' desired position on issues without CDOs making overt and confrontational statements about their positions.

The third communicative practice that emerged from the interview data that has not been included in research on co-cultural practices is *persuasive storytelling*, an assertive accommodation practice that is designed to move the target audience to action that promotes diversity and inclusion, through the use of narrative examples from the institution and from personal experiences, to evoke audience members' empathy. An example of using persuasive storytelling (detailed in Chapter 5) was when CDO Jessie brought students to a meeting of trustees to describe how students of color were excluded from participating in a popular student organization. In communicating with board members, Jessie used students' personal stories to create empathetic connections between the student speakers and board members, with the goal of increasing board members' understanding of diverse perspectives and experiences. In this example, Jessie used persuasive storytelling as a nonassertive accommodation practice to challenge dominant beliefs about student inclusion in campus organizations and, in the process, educate the audience about underrepresented students' experiences.

Persuasive storytelling, personal distancing, and reflexive questioning, thus, expand the list of communicative practices employed by members of underrepresented populations that Orbe (1998b) identified. Through persuasive storytelling, CDOs discussed their experiences with racism, sexism, homophobia, and oppression, and, thereby, communicated about themselves (another assertive communicative practice identified by Orbe, 1998b), their identities, and their struggles, and, simultaneously, educated their peers, supervisors, and organizational leaders about the need for increased diversity and inclusion programs, policies, and practices.

In addition to selecting an optimal communicative practice to garner support for their diversity and inclusion efforts, CDOs pair their communicative practices with a frame that maximizes allies' support and action. The following section discusses how framings identified in the college and university mission statements, and discussed in the interviews, were used by CDOs in their communicative practices related to higher education diversity and inclusion work.

Framing Diversity and Inclusion Efforts

How university leaders, including CDOs, talk about campus diversity and inclusion in speeches, admissions materials, on webpages, and in mission statements informs how prospective and current students, employees, and donors think about diverse campus populations and programs. Institutional leaders' communication about diversity and inclusion, especially frames that are used, in part, creates the landscape for how individuals and groups on campus talk about university community members. In a similar way, arguments about why diversity is needed in higher education, and how it should be achieved, inform job descriptions, mission and vision statements, and strategic plans that guide CDOs' work.

As discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, organizational messages about diversity and inclusion get drawn on and, in part, inform CDOs' communicative practices. How institutional leaders frame campus diversity and inclusion provide CDOs with the "situational context" (Orbe, 1998b, p. 267) that guides how they align their communicative practices with organizational norms to garner the most support for their work.

Drawing on their education and personal and professional experiences, and on normative campus discourses and framings, CDOs spoke about how institutional factors, such as whether they report to the university president or head of student life, establish expectations for how CDOs talk about and defend campus diversity efforts. CDOs revealed that when crafting messages about diversity with those who may be tentative in supporting diversity efforts, they draw on their previous experiences and experiences shared with them by others, organizational culture, and dominant campus framings of diversity and inclusion. Framings that were used most commonly, both in the mission statements and in CDOs' interview discourse, were diversity as inclusive excellence (IE), social justice, and as required legally. These framings led CDOs to particular ways of communicating about diversity and inclusion. For example, in framing diversity as social justice, CDO Mark employed reflexive questioning with audiences to punctuate that, for the campus to align with its social justice mission, leaders should not enact classed or raced policies that conflict with justice and educational equity goals.

In addition to connecting CDOs' communicative practices with dominant institutional framings of diversity and inclusion, CDOs drew on their personal experiences through persuasive storytelling to bridge gaps in understanding or empathy between them and their audiences. For instance, when gaps existed in people's (e.g., administrators and faculty members) understanding of what students or faculty of color experience on campus, CDOs drew on their personal experiences to make tangible and understandable complex and often abstract constructions of race or social class. These gaps in understanding and empathy for experiences and embodied identities that are different from one's own were experienced by both White CDOs and CDOs of color, as affected by intersecting identities of race, sexuality, social class, religion, and gender. For example, when Evette drew on her experiences of being a darker skinned African American woman, she used herself, her body, and her campus experiences to explain to her African American colleague that not all Black women or people of color experience campus similarly. Differences in skin color, hair texture, phenotypical features, accents, body type, and communication styles all were noted by

CDOs as potential markers of difference on campuses and as factors that they consider in crafting messages in support of diversity and inclusion efforts.

When communicating with supervisors and other campus leaders about diversity, CDOs valued framings and organizational policies that (a) supported the campus mission statement, (b) outlined what constituted diversity on campus, (c) highlighted how and why diversity is valued, and (d) explained how educational benefits of classroom and campus diversity are important to all faculty members and students. Embedding diversity into the educational purpose of the institution, such that all identities and experiences are valued, creates a campus climate that is receptive to diversity and inclusion work. To create campus climates that are receptive to diversity efforts, CDOs must address how communication about issues of diversity and difference on campus can cause tensions between CDOs and their supervisors, and between CDOs and campus faculty members. With supervisors, CDOs had varied reporting structures, relationships, and framings for diversity and inclusion to discuss campus diversity needs and efforts. As discussed in Chapter 5, the quality of the relationship between CDOs and their supervisors rested on aligning diversity and inclusion efforts with the campus mission statement and using frames that resonated with their supervisors. A practice that CDOs used to persuade supervisors and faculty members to support diversity and inclusion efforts was personal distancing, which involved CDOs removing consciously all language that could tie proposed policies to their personal experiences and, instead, arguing for policies without drawing on their personal experiences. Some CDOs, such as Bailey, a biracial woman, explained that her preference to distance her experiences from arguments for diversity and inclusion was grounded in her belief that the logic of the argument would prevail without having to share her story, and that she should not have to share her experiences for audiences to “get” that diversity and inclusion are important.

The idea of people “getting” diversity was brought up in every interview. This abstract construct of understanding others’ experiences enough to challenge dominant cultural norms and change campus policies to increase diversity and inclusion is at the core of CDOs’ work. The greatest challenge that

emerged for CDOs was the struggle of getting supervisors, faculty members, students, and other campus constituencies to understand that *equal* (or same) treatment of campus communities is not the same as *equitable* (or fair) treatment. Differentiating between equal and equitable treatment, and educating campus peers in senior administration about the differential experiences of people of color and other underrepresented populations, lead CDOs to employ a variety of communicative practices, including personal distancing, persuasive storytelling, and reflexive questioning.

In addition to identifying three formal communicative practices that CDOs use in their campus diversity work, the interview data identified interpersonal micropractices (daily individual communication choices in interaction, as detailed in Chapter 5) that CDOs used in their everyday campus conversations to educate, inform, and persuade campus community members to take action to support diversity and inclusion policies and practices. The informal micropractices of collaboration and relationship building, identity work, and coping with microaggressions (subtle racist statements and jokes that, over time, cause psychological, mental, and emotional stressors; see, e.g., O’Keefe et al., 2015; W. A. Smith et al., 2011; detailed in Chapter 5) all were used to garner support and to gain allies for CDOs’ campus diversity and inclusion efforts. These micropractices suggest an opportunity for scholars to expand Orbe’s (1998b) communicative practices to micropractices of interpersonal relationships within and between members of underrepresented groups of differing intersecting identities. As discussed in Chapter 1, as the United States continues to diversify, employing communication approaches and micropractices to achieve optimal outcomes with diverse audiences will continue to be an important communication competency. Given the documented increase in the reports of campus racial microaggressions (see, e.g., Caplan & Ford, 2014; Sue, et al., 2007), it is of utmost importance that college leaders and community members communicate in empathic and just ways to ensure safe and inclusive campuses.

To support organizational diversity and inclusion efforts, I offer two concepts to bridge gaps in experiences and to facilitate often difficult discussions surrounding diverse identities, inclusion, and

oppression. By facilitating conversations about issues of difference, experience, and oppression among and between individuals who differ in race and ethnicity, social class, sexuality, religion, gender, ability, citizenship status, and other identity markers, stereotypes, prejudices, and fears can be dismantled (see, e.g., Chesler, & Cytron-Walker, 2007; Gurin, Nagda, & Zúñiga, 2013; Zúñiga, Nagda, Chesler, & Cytron-Walker, 2007). To assist in the understanding of, and communication about, diverse experiences and organizational diversity and inclusion, the next section explores the concepts and utility of the “latent trigger” and the “experience empathy gap.”

Facilitating Communication about Difference and Latent Triggers

Dialogue about complex, controversial, and sometimes uncomfortable topics, such as race or sexuality, carry what I call a *latent trigger*, which refers to topics that catalyze divisive communication in interpersonal interactions. For the purposes of this project, a *latent marginalization trigger* refers to topics that catalyze divisive communication between people because of histories of oppression, lack of opportunities, and unearned social privileges. These topics, when brought up in conversation, make some individuals want to exit the conversation. Even diversity experts, such as CDO Jessie, who had more than 30 years of experience in diversity and inclusion research and activism, said that when having difficult conversations about racism or oppression, she must

work everything that I’ve got, including recognizing what I don’t know, recognizing what is uncomfortable to me, and figuring out how to talk about it . . . , because we think so often that, “Oh, you’re a person of color, then you must relate to everybody.” No. That’s why I said I really love doing dialogue work, because it’s through dialogue work that you can check yourself.

Another CDO, Brad, a White, gay male, explained the importance of having communication skills to have those difficult conversations about diversity:

Communication skills, just in general, are a huge part of this work It takes a certain person to be patient and just sit with what my colleagues call that “raggedness,” or the uncomfortableness.

How do I help others unravel their privilege, unravel their discrimination, their bias? That's a lot of communication work in that. That can be pretty complicated to do.

When asked how they learned and honed their interpersonal and group communication skills about difficult issues, such as racism and privilege, in their work, CDOs were honest in saying that no one is perfect and that one learns to have these conversations by making mistakes, apologizing, and engaging in dialogue and other communicative practices to ease discomfort and to facilitate conversation. Brad explained his communication skills for difficult dialogues:

I don't know if that's the skill set that I gained through my work professionally or if I naturally had it, or maybe I don't even have it enough but I think that's a huge part of this work, too. How we're able to communicate with others to ensure that I'm not being off-putting to them so that I can create a welcoming space to talk about these issues, but I'm also then pushing a little bit as well, to move people past their running edge, to gain a different perspective or just see things differently. That's a delicate balance to figure that out. I don't want to piss someone off and then suddenly they're [sic] not open to these issues. I also don't want to just coddle someone to the point where they're [sic] not making any growth.

This balance of maintaining a safe space for conversation about difficult issues and, simultaneously, disrupting oppressive language and ideologies is where the latent marginalization trigger and experience empathy gap can be used to facilitate conversations.

A latent marginalization trigger is more than a loaded or coded term that is understood colloquially to have a concealed meaning or poses multiple meanings and implications; it refers to meanings that are tied to discourses, experiences, and material resources that, historically and socially in the United States, are connected with privilege, power and whiteness, and that lay in a dormant state waiting for a catalyst to engage. As suggested by Brad, to not "piss someone off" and ruin a campus ally or professional relationship, CDOs must negotiate carefully communication related to topics that carry a latent

marginalization trigger. Determining what latent marginalization triggers someone has relates back to CDOs' analysis of audience members' views of campus diversity and inclusion. By determining audience members' latent marginalization triggers, CDOs can make communication choices to achieve their desired outcome.

In conversations, communicators must evaluate “perceived costs and rewards” (Orbe, 1998b, p. 261) associated with “selecting, enacting, and evaluating the use of different communicative practices” (Orbe, 1998b, p. 261). Engaging in conversation about topics that carry latent marginalization triggers is a choice that CDOs weigh carefully. In communicating about racism, sexism, homophobia, ableism, classism, privilege, and whiteness, among other associated topics, CDOs must decide whether it is advantageous to engage in a conversation about identity, diversity, and inclusion with supervisors, peers, staff members, students, and campus leaders. As Allen (1996) noted, engaging institutional leaders about issues of diversity, workload, and resources must be done thoughtfully and with an understanding of potential consequences. As a communication professor teaching a course on diversity once told me, “If you fight every battle, you will be too exhausted to win the war.” That advice holds true for a variety of diverse college populations, including faculty, staff, administrators, and students, facing psychological stressors of encountering racial microaggressions, and of being called to be spokespeople for their race and for racial issues. Engaging in racial dialogues on campus at every opportunity can have important psychological consequences (see, e.g., Minikel-Lacocque, 2013; W. A. Smith et al., 2011) and interpersonal and relational implications.

CDOs, scholars, and practitioners with experience in identity and equity research have recognized that words, such as “diversity” or “race,” can halt immediately an otherwise productive conversation (see, e.g., Bowen & Blackmon, 2003; Williams & Wade-Golden, 2013). Dominant group members may remain silent on issues of race and diversity for fear of isolation (Bowen & Blackmon, 2003) or of being seen as a racist (Bonilla-Silva, 2010; Goff et al., 2008). The fear of halting conversations and/or being seen as a

racist may prevent scholars from pursuing research about race despite the need for more research (Bowen & Blackmon, 2003). With regard to communication research, in particular, as Nicotera et al. (2009) argued, although “problems associated with race are ripe for analysis by applied communication scholars,” race, diversity, identity, and discrimination remain “problematic issues,” with communication scholars not understanding race “as a meaning system that is humanly produced, interactively created and woven into the social fabric, along with gender and class, constructed and reconstructed interactively . . . and constructed relationally among racial groups” (p. 208).

Heeding Nicotera et al.’s (2009) call, this study worked to uncover how CDOs engage in difficult conversations on their campuses about diversity and inclusion, and insights gained from this research are used to make recommendations later in this chapter regarding institutional leaders’ and CDOs’ practices. CDOs made clear during interviews that to be effective requires that they recognize and manage their latent marginalization triggers in campus conversations, and that they determine how to best approach latent marginalization trigger topics with other campus members. An approach used by several CDOs, including Caroline and José, was pairing the practice of personal distancing with the institutional mission to engage in a conversation with a person or persons who they knew had a latent marginalization trigger related to the topic.

For example, assume that a CDO is meeting with the campus’s chief financial officer (CFO), who manages student financial aid, and that the CFO’s personal experiences and ideologies are rooted in the idea that the U.S. system of higher education operates as a meritocracy, which leads that person to view as unfair any CDO-recommended program or policy for additional scholarships that give preferential treatment to students living below the poverty line. The CFO may have been raised by parents who immigrated to the United States, with each parent working two jobs, to allow her or him to attend a public college, resulting in minimal loans for that person; consequently, she or he may view hard work as the way

to succeed and that any additional funding for low-income students is an unnecessary handout. For that CFO, the latent marginalization trigger is social class.

Knowing that the CFO has a latent marginalization trigger related to issues of social class that influences her or his view of providing certain student populations with additional financial support, the CDO at that campus would consider this “situational context” (Orbe, 1998, p. 267) and not use certain communicative practices, such as persuasive storytelling, even if the CFO and CDO shared similarities in their upbringing or experiences, because the CFO’s experiences and beliefs about fairness and unnecessary handouts would lead him or her to not be persuaded by a story that mirrored his or her personal struggles and upbringing. Instead, the CDO would communicate with the CFO about topics of social class from a position that circumvents that person’s latent marginalization trigger, by focusing, for instance, on organizational values and mission, and how the CFO’s office can support those values and mission through policies and programs that provide all students, regardless of income, with educational opportunities. Although sharing emotional student stories would compel some campus leaders to support diversity and inclusion efforts, for other campus leaders, such as this CFO, the CDO’s emotive communication would seem unsubstantiated and would not be persuasive. In persuading campus members to support a program or policy, therefore, successful CDOs maintain a professional and positive outlook by knowing those members’ latent marginalization triggers and how to avoid them in their work.

For most CDOs interviewed in this study, race is the identity that is foregrounded personally and called on institutionally in their diversity work. Other identities, such as religion and gender, surfaced in conversations related to motivation for their work and ways of handling conflict, but not as primary personal identifiers. Identifying and reflecting on their personal identities and experiences, or what Orbe (1998) called “field of experience” (p. 263), CDOs assess how campus constituencies relate to them in their professional role. For some CDOs, their primary identities are not visible, and these invisible identifiers provide experiences to draw on in their diversity work that may be unexpected by campus peers.

Cindy and Brad, for instance, spoke about how being White and gay creates connections with campus peers that have proven to be, simultaneously, helpful and harmful in their work, depending on the circumstance and audience. Their experience of being members of a dominant racial group and having the choice of sharing their marginalized sexuality provides Cindy and Brad with a communication advantage that José, a multiracial gay man with dark skin, does not have when approaching campus leaders because of his visible racial markers. Identities and experiences, thus, inform CDOs' choice of how to communicate to achieve their objectives.

In determining objectives for campus policies and programs, CDOs discussed how they identify and prioritize the needs of diverse campus populations. A frustration discussed by all but four CDOs was not being able to meet immediately the needs of all diverse campus populations. For example, some diversity programs, such as precollege bridge programs, take months or years to plan and fund, and they can be delayed or cancelled because of budget cuts or financial reallocations. Moreover, questions about which campus communities to serve when additional monies become available is a decision that CDOs often must make quickly. Understanding the unique needs of diverse campus populations lead CDOs to empathize and work for policies that address an array of financial, employment, social, and academic needs. In considering the various needs and vast diversity among regions, campuses, students, faculty members, administrators, and staff members in U.S. institutions of higher education, it is important for CDOs to know which communication approaches, framings, and practices can best promote equity. A primary way that CDOs knew which populations to serve and how best to serve diverse ones, as discussed below, was through empathetic understanding and by listening to campus constituencies' needs.

Empathetic Understanding and Overcoming Experience Empathy Gaps

As discussed earlier, throughout the interviews conducted, CDOs discussed how some administrators, campus leaders, and community members “just don't get” the importance or purpose of diversity work on college campuses. In response, some CDOs used persuasive storytelling of personal

narratives to foster explain how some people do not feel included on campus, or in U.S. higher education, in general, and, thereby, foster colleagues' empathy toward them. Administrators who lacked empathy for those who felt marginalized on campus struggled to understand why there needed to be additional support programs and initiatives for underrepresented campus populations. Five CDOs highlighted the added responsibility and pressures of educating peers on the diverse needs of students, and about the need to justify continually their work to other campus leaders.

In hearing CDOs discuss their frustration with needing continually to justify their work, there also, at times, appeared to be a blurring by colleagues between areas of expertise and personal experiences related to CDOs' identities. Several CDOs spoke about how their role was viewed as an extension of their "diverse" selves, and not as expertise that they had earned through education and experience. Collins (2000) addressed this concern by explaining how Black women's experiences in the labor market often have been seen by White workers and managers as an extension of the bodies that perform the work. Collins (2000) highlighted a study completed by anthropologist John Langston Gwaltney (1980) that asked African Americans across the northeastern United States about their culture, work, and life. An interviewee described how White workers viewed her and her work: "White people think you *are* your work" (Gwaltney, p. 174). Gwaltney and Collins (2000) both discussed how this quote blurs work and workers of color. For U.S. higher education CDOs, 89% of whom are people of color, this high occurrence of CDO work by people of color may continue this blurring between CDOs as working *for diversity* and CDOs *as being diverse*.

The blurring of the lines between work being accomplished and bodies who do the work was discussed by CDOs with respect to how their administrative peers often ask about their personal identities and experiences. To clarify this statement, it is doubtful that college administrators would ask their CFO about his or her student loan debt or experiences with bankruptcy, yet CDOs are asked routinely to speak about their personal identities and experiences with racism, sexism, classism, and homophobia. Unlike

CDOs who decide agentially to use persuasive storytelling to achieve a preferred outcome, being asked directly or pressured by a campus leader or peer to share personal experiences can be problematic.

The blurring between doing diversity work and being emblematic of diversity work was discussed by six CDOs. When asked how they communicate their discomfort or disapproval of this blurring, the consensus was that these moments can be turned into academic discussions that are rooted in theoretical work and that are used as teachable moments to create empathy and ally networks among colleagues. A technique that CDOs used to accomplish these goals involved guiding conversations with peers away from uncomfortable personal questions and toward data that CDOs had prepared for the conversation. Unlike other campus leadership positions, the ties to social identities for both CDOs' work and role create a unique positioning in terms of the call to speak to and about personal and professional identities. In working to understand the identities and experiences of others on campus, all but four CDOs discussed the need to empathize with campus members who view diversity, inclusion, issues of difference, and campus change in ways that may not align with the campus diversity plan or institutional mission. In empathizing with those who have differing experiences and opinions, CDOs can construct policies and programs to better serve all campus communities.

In constructing and implementing campus diversity policies, sometimes, CDOs encounter individuals who are unsure about how to support diversity and inclusion, or who are frustrated by the lack of change related to diversity and inclusion on campus. As Cindy explained during the interview:

There are a lot of very well-intentioned people who really want to do something but have no idea what to do. Helping people understand their role and what they can do, there are many people who kind of have thrown their hands up in the air and said, "I can't solve these problems. These problems have been around before me and will be around after me."

This excerpt spotlights how campus administrators, faculty, and students want people to feel included and welcomed on campus, but, sometimes, they are unsure about how best to enact and support change to

accomplish that goal. In part, then, the CDO position requires not only framing diversity and inclusion in favorable ways for diverse audiences but also understanding and empathizing with positions that diverge from CDOs' understanding and positions on issues of difference within higher education.

The knowledge gained from one's "field of experience" (Orbe, 1998, p. 263) helps CDOs to craft empathetic messages about diversity and inclusion that resonate with audience members' experiences. In serving the entire campus community and creating a learning environment where all participants benefit from diversity and inclusion, CDOs serve everyone—even individuals and groups who are not allies of diversity work. Serving both those who champion and contest diversifying campuses can challenge CDOs, both personally and professionally. As demonstrated in several interview excerpts included in Chapter 5, CDOs' work is analytical and reflexive, requiring a critical, yet empathetic, eye toward covert attempts to undermine or adulterate diversity efforts. In working with those who "don't get" diversity work, CDOs' identified building empathy in "clueless" peers as the key to bringing about understanding.

Josh, a White male who has worked in a variety of positions related to diversity in higher education for 3 decades, explicated how empathy was at the core of all diversity work:

The empathy piece is really just being curious about better understanding where other folks are coming from. We can talk [about] that in the context of where diversity is the biggest challenge in our workplaces, where we make a lot of assumptions and misassumptions about our coworkers—for example, in terms of their motivations or why they're doing what they're doing. . . . At the core of all this work is an interest in wanting to develop a relationship, a meaningful relationship with whoever from wherever they [sic] come. Again, that's easier for some folks rather than others.

In our conversation about how understanding diverse positions was easier for some campus members than for others, Josh offered thoughts from one of his mentees, Rick, a young African American man who is committed to attending college and becoming a teacher. Rick attends a high school in a predominately Black neighborhood in a major northeast U.S. city, details that provide context for his

frustration with local and national policies regarding the funding of higher education. Unlike a lot of federal policy makers, Rick is not a wealthy child born to parents with legacy status at an Ivy League institution. Rick works hard in school, gets good grades, and searches for pathways to attend and fund college.

When speaking with Josh about educational and federal policy makers, Rick said, “It’s just a gap in their empathy; they just don’t get how hard this is!” Rick’s words demonstrated knowledge that emerged from his “field of experiences” (Orbe, 1998, p. 263) as a young African American male. Rick noted a disconnect between dominant (and often privileged) conceptions of college pathways and the lived challenges and triumphs of getting to, paying for, and graduating from college. Rick’s observation highlights how educational policy makers and administrators create procedures, programs, and practices that are informed by their experiences, given the information that they have on the topic and what they believe to be accurate accounts of the nature of things.

Given that 79.8% of the U.S. House of Representatives and 94% of U.S. Senators are White, that both the House and Senate are 80% male and 92% Christian, and that 100% of Senators have at least a bachelor’s degree (see, e.g., Bump, 2015; Manning, 2015), it is logical for Rick to think that policy makers “don’t get” his experience. The “field of experience” for most lawmakers deciding educational policies are not the same “sum of life experiences” (Orbe, 1998b, p. 263) for Rick as a young Black man in the United States. Both dominant and underrepresented group members “are products of their life experiences” and their “behaviors are situated within a specific field of experience” (Orbe, 1998b, p. 264). As detailed by Collins (2000), those in governmental control who create policies “typically prevail in establishing their viewpoint as superior to others. An oppressed group’s experiences may put its members in a position to see things differently” (p. 39). Similarly, Orbe (1998b) argued that because communication is normed by dominant groups, marginalized populations must “function within societal structures governed by cultural groups that have, over time, achieved dominant group status” (p. 233);

consequently, underrepresented group members must participate in “a dynamic process of contemplating/choosing/implementing/evaluating their communication” (p. 264) within dominant communication norms. One problem with normative assumptions rooted in dominant ideals of value, wealth, education, and meritocracy is that experiences of what is normative are relative to the experiences of those making laws. When policy makers and programs are not meeting the needs of those they are designed to serve, it often is not because of a lack of empathy but a gap in the empathy that is needed for a given situation or experience.

Inspired by Rick’s words, the *experience empathy gap* is defined as the current inability to see, connect with, or understand the complexity of another person’s perspective, identity, or experience. This gap in empathy may stem from a lack of exposure to experiences of marginalization and/or insufficient critical reflection on issues of diversity, inclusion, opportunity, struggle, and privilege. An empathy gap is a reflection of a lack of information regarding a part or parts of a person’s identity, perspective, and/or experience. For example, a White female professor may empathize with the struggles of a Black female student being the only woman in a class comprised, predominately, of males; however, the experience empathy gap may exist for the professor if she has never considered how being the only Black student in a class affects the student’s class experience. The experience empathy gap is related to studies of aversive racism (Dovidio & Gaertner, 2000, 2004; Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986), where individuals hold egalitarian beliefs but do not understand or believe that structural racism affects policies and practices. Those who have the experience empathy gap know, to some degree, that diversity in higher education is beneficial; however, because of their experiences, they cannot grasp how marginalization and oppression can occur or is possible as a result of a proposed policy or (in)action. I argue that having the experience empathy gap often is tied to a lack of experiences, unacknowledged privilege, and/or a lack of critical thought and reflection on an identity, difference, and/or inclusion issue.

The experience empathy gap contributes to applied communication scholarship by explaining communication challenges and tensions between diverse groups or populations that are related to experiences with marginalization or oppression, which lead to suggested practices that are best suited for overcoming a gap. As Nicotera et al. (2009) argued, communication constructs and gives meaning to race and diversity. In addressing a lack of understanding from the perspective of the experience empathy gap, researchers and practitioners can address inexperience and low empathy through communication in ways that prove empowering for both parties involved, and that maintain relationships needed to create and support change. As U.S. organizations, including colleges and universities, and the entire nation become more diverse, increasingly, it is important for applied communication scholars to address experience empathy gaps in their studies of and recommendations that emerge from that research of effective communication approaches, orientations, and practices for increasing educational access, opportunity, and equity.

As discussed in Chapter 1, racial diversity in the United States is increasing both at work and at home. Given that U.S. interracial familial experiences are becoming more prevalent, with a “record-high 12% of newlyweds married to someone of a different race” (Wang, 2015, para. 2), “1 in 10 babies” born in the United States being multiracial (Livingston, 2015, para. 4), and 25% of married same-sex couples being “nearly 10 times more likely than married different-sex couples to have adopted children” (Gates & Brown, 2015, p. 4), with many of those children being adopted transracially (Farr & Paterson, 2009), increased empathy and intergroup communication skills are needed. The experience empathy gap can be employed by CDOs and other diversity and inclusion advocates to engage in communication to bridge understanding and better serve the needs of increasingly diverse and, arguably, complex communities. The following example of the experience empathy gap explains how this concept can be used to improve communication with and understanding of diverse needs and populations.

An example of an empathy gap is when a business school dean decides that all business majors need to travel abroad as a degree requirement, as the dean of the University of Minnesota's Carlson School of Management did in 2007 (Reddin, 2012). Although this idea may seem exciting and beneficial for students to learn about global markets and intercultural communication practices, this degree requirement also carries significant risks, challenges, and consequences for low-income and undocumented students. In creating this degree requirement, the dean may have focused on potential benefits and might not even have considered how this requirement would affect low-income students who need to work during the academic year to buy books and/or undocumented students, who, very often, do not have updated visas or passports that permit international travel.

A CDO on that business school campus could approach the dean and call him or her "privileged," "racist," and/or "classist" for making this policy without considering repercussions for members of marginalized populations. Such direct communication by the CDO to bring attention to this flawed policy, potentially, could create a hostile exchange between the dean and CDO, and ruin their professional relationship. Instead, as a way to enter into the discussion, the CDO could say to the dean that the experience empathy gap exists. Experiences and empathy are familiar concepts to most people and they are most likely not latent triggers that cause a defensive or angry response. Individuals have experiences and feel empathy for other populations based on their exposure to them in person and through media portrayals. For a university dean who has experience working with various student populations, the experience empathy gap may exist because undocumented students have never shared their immigration information with the institution for fear of deportation. Once the conversation has begun with the suggestion that the experience empathy gap exists, the CDO then can employ the communicative practice of reflexive questioning or persuasive storytelling to help the dean understand experiences of low-income and/or undocumented students. Reflexive questions could include whether the dean has ever feared being separated from family members because of deportation, or if she or he has ever thought about skipping

meals to buy books for courses. Through these questions, and without the additional communication hurdle of having to deescalate the situation because of an angry dean, the CDO could share concerns about the policy without addressing directly the dean's lack of consideration or thought towards marginalized groups.

As quoted earlier by CDO Cindy, most U.S. higher education administrators have good intentions and they recognize that marginalized students, in comparison to others, often experience more hurdles related to access, funding, retention, and graduation rates ("The Racial Gap in College," 2014), and that not all students require the *same* programs or support on campus but, rather, need equitable treatment. For example, during the economic downturn of 2008, the Carlson School of Management offered an international studies course on campus to fulfill the international study requirement; unfortunately, however, the institution has since eliminated that option but kept the requirement (Reddin, 2012). An equitable option in the case of undocumented students who want to study business and fulfill the requirement, but who are unable because of their immigration status to leave the United States, could have been taking an on-campus international studies course or participating in an internship, volunteering with an international nonprofit organization or completing a practicum. A local option for fulfilling the college requirement also would help students who cannot leave the United States because they are primary caregivers for children, parents, or others. Hence, in creating equitable options and more inclusive programs, the empathy gap is a useful concept to employ in conversations, as it identifies a missing link or experience that could lead to negative unintended consequences in policy making.

Understanding the needs of diverse campus populations requires empathy that has been developed over time through critical reflection, connections with diverse populations, and meaningful relationships between individuals with diverse identities and experiences in which honest sharing of feedback occurs. Similar to what the research discussed in Chapters 1 and 2 has demonstrated about educational benefits of diversity, benefits of diverse learning environments are achieved only when participants understand

diverse perspectives through communication with peers whose identities and experience are different than theirs (Gurin et al., 2003). Policy makers and campus leaders will have the experience empathy gap until time and energy is invested by them to learn about, appreciate, and value the diverse experiences of those they serve. The language of the experience empathy gap, thus, can create among people a shared understanding that a practice or policy does not meet the needs of a population.

The experience empathy gap can facilitate understanding between CDOs and other campus leaders when working to amend ineffective practices or when designing a new policy. In creating university policies to serve diverse campus populations, as explained, CDOs are responsible for a variety of duties related to compositional diversity, compliance, and creating and supporting inclusive climates. The broad nature of the work requires CDOs to be informed about a variety of philosophies and theories related to communication, identity, pedagogy, student development, organizational change, diversity, inclusion, and finance. As discussed previously, CDOs know that although it will not always be possible for a single policy to address the needs of all populations, to the extent possible, the needs of every population should be accounted for in institutional diversity planning. By addressing experience empathy gaps and building cross-campus alliances, CDOs can serve the increasingly diverse needs of college populations. To help CDOs and other campus leaders address the changing needs of diversifying campus communities, the next section offers applied communication recommendations stemming from the findings discussed in Chapters 4 and 5.

Applied Recommendations to Support Diversity and Inclusion Efforts

The findings of this study suggest several communication approaches, practices, and programming for promoting diversity and inclusion in U.S. higher education. As explained in the sections below, the recommendations include institutional changes regarding organizational structure related to CDOs' positioning and reporting, diversity and inclusion framing in institutional mission statements and diversity plans, and CDO candidates demonstrating effective communication skills during the hiring process. For

CDOs, the recommendations are related to interpersonal micropractices and strategies for building and maintaining professional relationships, ameliorating emotion labor practices, and finding support for them and their work.

Institutional Recommendations for Supporting Diversity and Chief Diversity Officers

As discussed in Chapter 1, with more than 4,000 U.S. institutions of higher education in the United States (U.S. Department of Education, NCES, 2016), and more being added each year, knowing how to serve diverse campus constituencies is a pressing concern for institutional leaders across higher education. In this section, three recommendations are offered to improve institutional support of diversity and inclusion efforts. The first recommendation, drawn from the findings of the mission statements (Chapter 4) and interviews conducted with CDOs (Chapter 5), is that diversity and inclusion work should expand the increasingly popular IE frame.

Institutional recommendation 1: Expanding beyond the frame of inclusive excellence. As detailed in Chapters 4 and 5, leading higher education organizations, such as the Association of American Colleges and Universities (AAC&U), have designed a model of IE to frame and guide educators' diversity and inclusion efforts. That framing is described as a call "for higher education to address diversity, inclusion, and equity as critical to the wellbeing of democratic culture" (AAC&U, n.d.-b., para. 2). At the crux of that IE framing is an assumption that "the action of making excellence inclusive requires that we uncover inequities in student success, identify effective educational practices, and build such practices organically for sustained institutional change" (AAC&U, n.d. – b., para. 3). Identification of inequities within colleges and universities, and use of best practices to increase equity, was noted as important by many CDOs. Where CDOs' practices diverged from IE prescriptions is in everyday framings of diversity and inclusion work for varied campus constituencies.

A one-size-fits-all framing of IE was used by CDOs who were familiar with the AAC&U and who communicated about diversity and inclusion efforts more with faculty than with students and other campus

leaders. In particular, CDOs did not find the IE framing to be appealing to campus leaders who are resistant to any language with an air of “political correctness.” The archetype of a curmudgeonly university administrator who believes in the myth of meritocracy and despises diversity efforts because, supposedly, they weaken institutional reputation was referenced when CDOs talked about why IE is not always the ideal framing of campus diversity and inclusion efforts. In interacting with campus members who do not “get” diversity and inclusion work, CDOs had to determine how to talk about diversity and inclusion in ways that were agreeable, or at least understandable, to those members and that fit with institutional communication norms.

In framing diversity and inclusion as IE, the AAC&U and other organizations have posited that for organizations to be excellent, they must be inclusive. Although CDOs agreed with this position, potentially, that framing incites defensive reactions from those who are skeptical of diversity and inclusion initiatives. The IE framing, thus, may cause division among campus community members, and, consequently, it may work against diversity and inclusion efforts, as any framing that can isolate a sector of a campus community based on experience is antithetical to diversity and inclusion efforts.

The underlying purpose of diversity and inclusion efforts (as discussed in Chapters 1 and 2) is to create and support campuses where all experiences and positions are recognized, heard, and valued, and not just to chastise past exclusionary practices and critique previous institutional framings of diversity and inclusion. The IE frame, made popular by the support of the AAC&U, is being used as a new buzzword for diversity and inclusion because it provides a way to talk about educational inequities without addressing pressing structural concerns that lead and continue to cause educational inequities in access, retention, and campus support. When using the IE framing, there is no direct challenge to oppression. Unlike calling a policy “racist,” “sexist,” or “homophobic,” where there is little ambiguity about why a policy is being framed as problematic, to say that a campus policy is “not being inclusive” is abstract and

does not address the specific concern at the root of exclusion. Without naming directly the problem or offense, there is little ground on which to build when CDOs design diversity and inclusion efforts.

To support diversity and inclusion efforts, campus presidents, provosts, and other higher education leaders can create an amended framing that may include IE but expands it by connecting diversity and inclusion goals with the institutional mission, and by addressing specific challenges that are caused by racism, classism, sexism, homophobia, islamophobia, and other “isms.” Based on this study’s findings, I recommend an individualized (institution-by-institution) framing that stems from the institutional culture and views inclusion and diversity as a pathway for achieving the institutional mission and vision. For example, at institutions where research or discovery is a focus of the mission statement, and on campuses where the culture is one of strong academics, with little attention paid to campus student affairs and social elements, the framing that can be used to build support for diversity and inclusion looks to benefits of having diverse perspectives, ideas, and experiences in research. Such a framing could be posed as “Great Research are Built on Diversity and Inclusion” or “Discovery Necessitates Diverse Perspectives and Ideas.” Both messages employ the institutional mission of research and discovery to promote diversity and inclusion. Approaching diversity and inclusion through institutions’ mission, therefore, can align with but bypass the IE framing by grounding excellence in diverse and inclusive campuses, without using an IE framing that may cause some campus administrators who are resistant to diversity and inclusion efforts to roll their eyes at the newest buzzword.

By expanding the IE idea and framing to an institutionally specific frame that includes elements that are important to campus communities, CDOs and other leaders may gain support from constituents who do not yet “get” diversity and inclusion but who want to be good community members and support the institutional mission and vision. To maximize support of campus diversity and inclusion efforts, CDOs in this study argued that all diversity and inclusion frames used in campus communication and by campus representatives are most effective when CDOs report directly to the president or provost, and when the

CDO position comes with power to speak on behalf of the institution when advancing campus diversity and inclusion initiatives, which leads to the second recommendation.

Institutional recommendation 2: Chief diversity officers should report to the university president. Interviewees were almost unanimous in their belief that CDOs should report directly to the university president or provost, with only two CDOs preferring to report to student life or student affairs, to be closer to and focus on students' rather than institutional or faculty members' needs. Having a direct reporting line to the president provides CDOs with the potential for increased institutional buy-in and the institutional power necessary to make significant changes to institutional structures, practices, and policies, to promote increased diversity and inclusion. Some CDOs, however, experience conflict with their campus supervisors because of a lack of institutional buy-in and support for diversity and inclusion efforts, with CDOs experiencing disrespect from campus members who minimize the value of diversity and inclusion work, and from supervisors who did not make time to even meet with CDOs to discuss pressing issues.

CDOs' reported frustration resulting from ineffective reporting structures, where diversity and inclusion work was viewed as tangential to the unit's goals, whether it be human resources or student life, spoke to the need for a reporting structure where CDOs feel valued and their diversity and inclusion work is tied to the institutional power that stems from the university's president. The need for CDOs to report directly to university presidents also is a pragmatic move, in that if and when there is a campus crisis related to a hate crime or attack, the institution is protected by arguing that diversity is a campus priority, as demonstrated by the close reporting relationship between the CDO and president. By attaching diversity and inclusion efforts to the president, CDOs and institutions are better protected from scrutiny arising from resistant campus constituencies and they are better able to make institutional changes to increase diversity and inclusion.

In addition to increased institutional buy-in and support for diversity and inclusion efforts, a direct reporting line between campus presidents and CDOs provides campus leaders with a comprehensive view of CDOs' varied responsibilities, as well as access to resources needed to increase campus diversity and inclusion. One way to ameliorate CDOs' frustration about campus leaders not "getting" why campus diversity and inclusion work matters is by having CDOs work closely with the president, who then sees firsthand the efforts and resources that are involved in CDOs' work. CDOs' desire for campus presidents to understand their work and resources that they need lead to the third institutional recommendation for increasing support for campus diversity and inclusion efforts: providing sufficient resources for CDOs to create and support institutional change.

Institutional recommendation 3: Provide staff and funding to support chief diversity officers and their work. Having the resources to do a given job may seem commonsense, yet more than 50% of CDOs interviewed did not have staff to assist them, and they did not believe that they had adequate resources to support their position. The top two resources desired by CDOs were support staff and additional funding. As Ana, a Latina CDO at a private urban institution, argued, inadequate support and funding creates major stress for CDOs and forces them to depend on others to inform them of issues and concerns arising on campus:

The pressure . . . it's a lot, so I have really no time to be policing anybody. I tell my students, "Look, the only way that I am efficient and that I can truly represent you is if you tell me things, because if you don't tell me what's going on, there's no way I'll know. I won't be looking at your Facebook; I don't have the time. So, if something is going on, stop by and tell me."

Ana went on to discuss how she is responsible for managing two major campus diversity initiatives without any campus support or staff. After nearly quitting her position because of the intensive workload, Ana complained to her supervisor and received a staff comprised of three undergraduate student workers to help her between their classes for a few hours each per week.

Ana's CDO experience of being responsible solely for all campus diversity and inclusion efforts is not unique. Across the interviews, CDOs were stressed from and frustrated about their workload and lack of resources and support. CDOs responsible for student diversity efforts (namely, recruitment and retention efforts) spoke about the need to connect with students to build rapport and foster feelings of belonging on campus. The argument that student retention necessitates that students feel connected to their campus and can go home and tell their family and friends that the campus is safe and inclusive may seem logical, but students' connection to their campus does not happen by accident or magic; it happens when campus staff members make an effort to get to know students and make sure that students can connect with a point person on campus they trust. According to CDOs, a person who marginalized students trust and connect with on campus is the CDO.

The need and desire for students to connect with someone on campus is a responsibility that most CDOs love, but it also is a time-consuming endeavor. Building trust with students requires CDOs to divide their time between meeting students' needs and institutional needs. As CDO Evette discussed, when students' needs arise, there has to be someone on campus who is there for them: "When student walk in the door, there needs to be someone there they're familiar with; someone there they feel comfortable with; someone there who is consistent; [and] someone there that is going to care about them." Serving the immediate emotional and reporting needs of a student experiencing racial harassment in the classroom, for example, certainly, can be argued to be more pressing than an upcoming campus climate survey; however, for a CDO who does not have sufficient staff to support both students' needs and institutional needs, this may be a difficult decision to make. Similarly, if an undocumented university student has been outed (his or her citizenship status disclosed) by a campus peer and pressure is building on campus from alumni and other campus constituencies to not support undocumented students, the CDO must prioritize and address this issue instead of attending to whatever was scheduled.

Such situations can be minimized when CDOs have an office or center with trained support staff members to address students' immediate needs. CDOs, for instance, can recommend students to a staff member who is a trained retention specialist and who is familiar with the needs of high-attrition groups, such as low-income, first-generation, African American, Native American, and/or Latino/a students. Additionally, CDOs should have a support staff person who can manage budgets associated with programs, handle risk management concerns related to outreach efforts, and prepare presentation and research materials. By providing even minimal support and funding to CDOs, institutions can alleviate CDOs' stress and minimize tensions between CDOs and other chief-level officers in finance, operations, and information, who often have large staffs and budgets to accomplish their institutional charges. Differences in staff and resources between CDOs and other campus leaders, consequently, signal to CDOs (and others) that their work and position are not being valued equally to other institutional areas.

Another way to ameliorate difficult campus relationships and minimize tension between CDOs and other campus leaders is by crafting a realistic and measurable diversity plan that assesses annually improvements to campus diversity and inclusion. By creating that plan in collaboration with the CDO and other campus leaders, assessment measures can be agreed upon and addressed through institutional programming and policies. Communicating about diversity plans and the work involved in actualizing these plans, however, takes skillful communicators who frame and communicate about diversity and inclusion in ways that are likely to be supported by campus leaders and communities. CDOs' communication also must align with the institutional culture and common ways of dealing with conflict. The findings from the CDOs' interviews about conflict, communication with supervisors and faculty members, and framings of diversity lead to the fourth and final institutional recommendation for supporting campus diversity and inclusion work: assessing CDOs' communication competence during job interviews via a presentation.

Institutional recommendation 4: Chief diversity officer candidates' communication

competence should be assessed during job interviews via a presentation. Because informing and persuading campus constituencies about the value of diversity and inclusion efforts is such an important role for CDOs, one way for campus leaders to gauge the organizational fit for prospective CDOs is by having them give, during the job interview process, a presentation that argues for a new diversity program or policy on the campus. Unlike faculty positions, where selected applicants are invited to campus and give a research and/or teaching presentation, most administrative positions in higher education involve many one-on-one and group interviews, but not a formal presentation. In light of conflicts and tensions that CDOs experience, I propose the inclusion of a policy or program proposal presentation in the CDO job interview and selection process. In that process, a campus president or head of the CDO search committee would talk to prospective CDOs several days before the on-campus interview and discuss the diversity and inclusion challenges that confront the new CDO at that university or college. Interviewees then prepare a 25–30-minute presentation in which they detail a proposed policy or program that addresses a diversity and inclusion need at that institution. After the presentation, search committee members, faculty members, students, and administrators in attendance raise concerns and questions about interviewees' proposals.

This institutional recommendation, unlike the other three suggested, offers campus leaders and prospective CDOs the opportunity to dialogue about diversity and inclusion, to better understand how CDOs talk about and, potentially, defend why diversity and inclusion matter, and how communication about diversity and inclusion can be framed in the most effective way for a campus. As addressed in Chapter 4, approaches to diversity and inclusion that inform institutional mission statements vary, and there are divergent needs for diversity and inclusion based on type of institution, religious affiliation, size, and geographic region, among other things. Campuses also have unique climates where communication norms and expectations inform how diversity and inclusion work is accomplished. By asking CDO

applicants to present a proposal for a new program or policy, campus leaders can assess whether candidates' perspectives are aligned with the needs of campus communities, and whether applicants' framings of diversity and inclusion resonates with other campus leaders. Simultaneously, this proposal presentation would allow CDO applicants to assess whether the climate for diversity and inclusion work on a campus is favorable, and how best to approach campus constituencies, if they are offered and accept the position. This upfront approach to assessing the fit between prospective CDOs and universities could alleviate future tensions, conflicts, and issues for both CDOs and other campus leaders.

In addition to offering institutional recommendations for increasing diversity and inclusion in U.S. institutions of higher education, the findings of this research study also lead to recommendations for CDOs. In line with the explicit goal of offering support to CDOs in their institutional role and to increase retention of CDOs, the following section offers an additional recommendation and tool for CDOs.

Recommendations for Chief Diversity Officers

The discussion of interpersonal micropractices in Chapter 5 addressed how CDOs inform and persuade reluctant and supportive campus communities about the value and need for diversity and inclusion work. In addition to micropractices that emerged from the interviews, CDOs' social identities, such as ethnicity, allowed some CDOs to use micropractices that likely are not useful, generally, for all CDOs. An example of an identity-informed micropractice emerged from the interview with Ana, a Latina CDO at an urban private university. A native Spanish speaker, Ana often peppered her everyday conversations (in English) with Spanish words as a communication strategy to build community among and support feelings of comradery with Spanish-speaking students, faculty, and staff. This communication approach to building campus alliances and relationships proved useful for Ana.

In addition to speaking Spanish, Ana used cultural knowledge and translated colloquialisms as teaching tools for students and peers. For example, Ana discussed her role in issues of immigration and educational rights for undocumented youth, with the conversation shifting to experiences that her and I

shared as Latina administrators in higher education, and our choice to keep our maiden Spanish last names as a marker of our Latin American heritage in a predominately White space of U.S. higher education. As Ana explained:

My challenge is how we change the culture when we're going against the grain and we're already struggling even when we pass We're seen as the exception, so it's that constant exceptionalism; more like, "Oh, you know, President Obama is biracial, so any biracial student, any Black student can do it." It is the idea of the exception instead of the rule, right? How do we reinforce or invalidate stereotypes while still validating organizational culture?

In this exchange, Ana used exclusively "we" language that connected her and my experiences, and that highlighted how our Spanish surnames indicate our heritage, and, simultaneously, signal to students, faculty members, and staff members that we may have some shared experiences of marginalization on college campuses. Ana shared that she did not take on her spouse's last name because, "If I change my name to [a non-Spanish name], they're going to think who's going to come through the door? Is she blond, White, either a German or Russian individual?" Ana, thus, was concerned that others might not understand her marginalized racial position. In addition to keeping her Spanish last name to indicate her ethnic heritage, she and two other CDOs, Mariella and Kara, used cultural knowledge, including a language other than English, as well as common sayings and myths, in their everyday communication to connect with various campus communities. For those Latina CDOs, employing Spanish language and common cultural norms to create and support interpersonal relationships was useful in their campus and outreach work.

CDOs who are monolingual in English also use micropractices of local culture to build and support interpersonal relationships. An example of local culture informing CDOs' micropractices was Jasmine, an African American female working in a public midwestern U.S. institution, who discussed how she

communicates with colleagues, negotiating meetings and campus spaces differently depending on audience members' racial makeup:

I was raised by Black women in the south. The only time they interrupted somebody is within family. Maybe that's how you all do it, but that's not how I do it. The expectation is that I have to adjust to you. You don't have to make any adjustments for me It's essential, especially in the context of the work we do as chief diversity officers to be that advocate. You also have to be political.

Jasmine explained how her normative passive communication of not interrupting others is adjusted when there is a group of colleagues who are "mostly a bunch of White men," violating what she views as polite normative communication. In her informal communication, Jasmine found that she was more willing to adapt her communication norms when she was the only person in the room whose norms were different from the majority of her colleagues. When another African American with similar communication norms to Jasmine was present, she advocated for changing the dominant communication norms. This micropractice of "looking out" was described by CDO Evette, an African American female working at a private suburban institution, as being synonymous with the saying "I scratch your back and you scratch mine," in that when informal communication occurs between two or more individuals with shared histories and/or identities, they take care of one another. As Evette said, "You tread lightly and, then, when you go for the hit, it doesn't hurt as much because it's like, 'You know what? She's looking out for me.' For me, that's the diversity work that we have to do." This communication approach protects relationships for the sake of future collaborations, with the "hurt" of corrective action mediated by personal, friendly exchanges.

Being able to lessen the "hurt" in communication is a valuable resources for CDOs. A communicative practice that CDOs can use in difficult conversations about privilege, equity, and

discrimination is the experience empathy gap (discussed earlier), with the following section expanding the applied uses of that gap.

Chief Diversity Officers' Use of the Experience Empathy Gap

Given that CDOs work with diverse constituencies on and off campus, it is important that they communicate effectively with people who have different social and political positions and experiences. Earlier in this chapter, an example was offered of how a CDO could employ the experience empathy gap to communicate with a business dean about the burden that an international study requirement would place on low-income and undocumented students. Additionally, the experience empathy gap can be used in conjunction with CDOs' campus briefings and policy sessions to increase the awareness of administrators, faculty members, and staff members about emerging and reoccurring challenges that marginalized people experience on campus.

An example from the interviews where the experience empathy gap could have been a useful communicative practice was in a scenario that was described by CDO Jessie, an African American female who works at a private institution in the northeastern United States:

I've had the opportunity to intervene in some incredible events. The very first one involved a young lady who was asked to step out of the classroom because her class was reading Cornel West, *Race Matters*. The instructor thought she, as an African American student, would be uncomfortable.

In this situation, the White male faculty member was attempting to protect the student from feeling uncomfortable, as she was the only student of color in a class where the reading involved race. To protect the student from potential stress, the faculty member offered the student the solution of not attending that class session. After speaking with the student, faculty member, and department chair, Jessie "subsequently learned that that young faculty member had received that advice from a senior faculty member."

This practice of inviting students of color to miss class when the subject involves race had been occurring in that department for some time. When Jessie approached the professor and department chair to discuss this issue, she was told by the professor that she “just didn’t hear it right.” Since that exchange with the professor and department chair, Jessie has had several meetings with department faculty members to explain, time and again, divergent understandings of what is being said by faculty members to students when they enact this policy, and how students interpret and internalize that message. Again, as discussed earlier, the faculty member and department chair were not “getting” why this practice of inviting students of color to leave class was problematic.

Jessie could have used the experience empathy gap to explain to the professor and department chair the problem with this practice, and the subsequent shared understanding among Jessie, the professor, and the department chair could provide the foundation for a productive dialogue on best practices for classroom inclusion. In using the experience empathy gap, a CDO in Jessie’s position could avoid the direct communication approach of calling this pedagogical practice “racist” and, thereby, avoid the risk of the placing the professor and department chair in a defensive mode. Unlike charged labels, such as “racist,” “sexist,” “homophobic,” or “classist,” the experience empathy gap, as explained previously, does not carry the communication burden of being a latent marginalization trigger that someone should avoid. More specifically, Jessie could have approached the meeting with the professor and department chair, first, from a place of wanting to understand their pedagogical practice and, second, to deconstruct the practice and unveil its problematic assumption that a Black student would not want to participate in a class discussion about race because of potential uncomfortable exchanges with peers or the assumption that the student would feel compelled to be a spokesperson for all people of color.

An approach to using the experience empathy gap in that situation would be to compliment the professor for his or her selection of *Race Matters* as a complex text that discussed the salience of race in the United States, and then ask specifics about the practice of how students are invited to leave class, how

missed class discussion are made up, and how other class members respond to that practice. The CDO then would ask if the professor had ever left a class as a student because of the topic of a class reading. If the professor had not, the CDO would suggest that the experience empathy gap exists and may be a result of the professor never having the experience of being the only student of color in a class. If the professor said that he had left a class as a student because of a sensitive reading topic, the CDO still could suggest that the experience empathy gap exists and that the invitation to leave the class was predicated on the professor's experiences as a White male student and his assumption that a Black female student would have the same response to the invitation to leave class.

The experience empathy gap, thus, provides a useful practice for diversity practitioners to employ in their communication. Although the examples provided in this chapter apply to CDOs in U.S. higher education, that gap may prove helpful in a variety of fields for having difficult discussions of privilege and discrimination. Unlike the communicative practices of personal distancing, persuasive storytelling, and reflexive questioning (discussed in Chapter 5), the experience empathy gap provides a way of deconstructing prejudiced and oppressive communication by talking about a person's lack of experience with a marginalized identity. By highlighting differences between dominant and marginalized social positions, CDOs and other diversity allies can use the experience empathy gap to draw attention to privileged experiences and, ideally, inspire critical reflection and increased empathy by dominant members for marginalized groups' experiences.

The experience empathy gap addresses the need for CDOs to deconstruct and combat privileged ideologies communicatively that silence and marginalize people of color, individuals living in poverty, members of LGBTQ communities, and people with disabilities, among others. On U.S. college campuses, students, faculty, staff, and administrators continue to experience marginalization because of institutional policies and practices that do not consider marginalized social positions. More research focused on the experiences of marginalization in U.S. higher education could lead to communication interventions that are

designed to increase equity, and higher retention and satisfaction rates for both students and campus employees. With a commitment to supporting future communication scholarship on diversity, inclusion, and equity in higher education, the penultimate section of this chapter discusses limitations of this study and explores how future research may serve to change people toward more inclusive and socially just decision making about policies and practices.

Limitations and Future Research

Although this study of diversity and inclusion communicative practices in U.S. higher education revealed important findings, those findings need to be understood in light of some limitations that characterized this study. These limitations include limiting CDOs to U.S. institutions of higher education, use of systematic random sampling in the selection of institutional mission statements, use of a single coder to analyze institutional mission statements, not interviewing CDOs' supervisors or peers, and not observing CDOs in their campus work environments.

The first limitation was restricting the same of CDO surveyed to those employed in institutions of higher education. As discussed in Chapter 1, CDOs work in a range of for-profit, nonprofit, and educational organizations, but this project focused only on U.S. higher education CDOs. That decision, as discussed previously, was due to continuing disparities in educational access, retention, graduation, and experience across U.S. higher education. Future research should interview CDOs from various occupations to understand how their communicative practices in corporate settings are similar to and different from CDOs in educational institutions. Additionally, by expanding understanding of CDOs' communicative practices in various organizational settings, applied communication scholars can document and recommend additional best practices and strategies for improving organizational diversity and inclusion efforts and effects.

The second limitation of this study involved the selection of the institutional mission statements that were analyzed in Chapter 4. The systematic random sample procedure employed, although useful for

documenting framings across a variety of U.S. colleges and universities, was not the best sampling method for identifying institutions because it was not representative of the diverse types of U.S. higher education institutions. The random sample used in this study overrepresented private religious institutions and contained a disproportionate number of minority-serving institutions. Future research should employ a stratified sampling procedure to ensure that various types of institutions (in proportion to their representation in the United States) are included in the analysis. Using the University of Texas database of U.S. colleges and universities, researchers could employ that stratified sampling method to identify and select a representative sample of institutions to study.

A third limitation was the use of a single coder for the content analysis conducted of the institutional mission statements. Using multiple coders would have allowed for intercoder reliability to be assessed, which would strengthen claims made from the findings. Future studies could involve an interdisciplinary team of researchers from communication, education, and ethnic studies to explore how diversity and inclusion are interpreted through various disciplinary lenses. Additionally, researchers could analyze current and past institutional statements to document whether and how communication about diversity and inclusion has changed over time, and whether any changes are reflected in campus diversity and inclusion practices.

The fourth limitation of this study was the decision to interview only CDOs and not their supervisors, students of color, or peers in senior administration. By expanding the interview pool to include others in senior administration, peers, and students there could have been additional examples, challenges to and/or validation of CDO experiences and perspectives that may have emerged. Moreover, researchers should interview several senior administrators to explore if the dominant institutional framings of diversity that were found in this study are similar across campus divisions. Additionally, focus groups of senior administrators talking about current issues of diversity and inclusion on campus could reveal new practices, opportunities, and perspectives for increasing educational access and equity.

The fifth limitation of this study was the decision to not observe CDOs in their campus work environments. CDO observation was conducted at the national CDOs of Higher Education conference. The conference observations resulted in confirming the frustrations and challenges expressed by CDOs in this study, and also served to verify similar experiences from other CDOs. Additional observation of CDOs in work environments interacting with other senior administrators and giving presentations could result in confirming the identified communicative practices and examples of how diversity and inclusion work is accomplished. Additionally, observing CDOs could illuminate struggles and opportunities for improvement that were not highlighted by CDOs in the interviews. An observational study could be a productive endeavor for supporting CDOs' work and for clarifying communication challenges related to CDO's practices regarding diversity and inclusion.

Another research project that could contribute to understanding CDOs' communicative practices would involve the administration of the co-cultural scale that was created by Lapinski and Orbe (2007) to measure and predict co-cultural members' preferred outcomes and communication approaches. The scale could be given to CDOs in a variety of work environments, to provide quantitative evidence to understand more fully CDOs' communication approaches, as well as to assist campus leaders in creating CDO job descriptions based on how CDO's interact with others and communicate about diversity and inclusion in their position. Researchers also could use the scale in conjunction with interviews of CDOs to gain both quantitative and qualitative data about their diversity and inclusion communicative practices.

Conclusion

This study identified dominant framings of diversity and inclusion in U.S. college and university mission statements and educational chief diversity officers' communicative practices to understand how communication shapes, and is shaped by, diversity and inclusion work. The framings of diversity as inclusive excellence, social justice, and as a legal requirement found in the sample of institutional mission statements revealed how diversity and inclusion are positioned by campus leaders and how chief diversity

officers employ those framings in their communicative practices. Interviews revealed how chief diversity officers' communicative practices accomplish the three main responsibilities of campus compliance with nondiscrimination policies; increased compositional diversity to ensure that students, faculty, staff, and administrators represent a racially diverse campus; and establishing and maintaining an inclusive campus climate where all campus constituents feel welcomed, safe, and valued.

Chief diversity officers' responsibilities were accomplished through communicative practices of audience analysis, persuasive storytelling, reflexive questioning, and personal distancing. The need to identify and communicate interpersonally with campus faculty members, supervisors, allies, and challengers to diversity led chief diversity officers to employ informal communicative micropractices to engage in collaboration, relationship building, and identity work, and to cope with microaggressions. Chief diversity officers employed those communicative practices to build and sustain relationships in a variety of campus settings, to inform and persuade audiences about the importance of campus diversity and inclusion efforts.

The findings from this study contribute to applied communication research by answering the call to action posed by Nicotera et al. (2009) for applied communication scholars to push research projects beyond cursory treatment of race, identity, and diversity, to unearth how these complex issues inform and reflect social inequities. More specifically, the findings from this study expand the co-cultural practices that Orbe (1998b) identified. To ameliorate social inequities by deconstructing dominant communication norms and highlighting marginalized experiences, the concept of an "experience empathy gap" was proposed and shown to offer chief diversity officers a way to engage in difficult dialogues involving unacknowledged privilege that functions to construct oppressive policies and practices. This concept allows chief diversity officers, and other diversity advocates, opportunities to approach uncomfortable issues of privilege and prejudice with others in ways that preserve the relationship and minimize the potential for defensiveness from fear of being labeled as "racist," "classist," "sexist," or "homophobic."

Dismantling oppression and addressing educational injustices in U.S. higher education to create and sustain diverse and inclusive institutions of higher education is difficult work. Chief diversity officers are driven by a sense of social justice and their belief that higher education can make the difference for students and for the world. I share this belief, and this project has reinforced my commitment to working for educational equity and inclusion. As a researcher and teacher, and as someone who has benefited greatly from the access and mobility that higher education can provide, I am inspired, guided, and driven by the words of Cuban writer José Martí that all people “have a right to be educated; and then in return, they have the obligation to educate others” (cited in González Corona, 2009, p. 131). Through understanding and improving chief diversity officers’ communicative practices, their diversity and inclusion efforts can ameliorate educational inequities and work to create a more just world where all people can exercise their right to education.

Chapter 6 Notes

¹In co-cultural theory, the term “groups” is used to describe members of a culture. The usage of groups in this context is not the same as in the interpersonal communication context of interactions between individuals in small groups.

References

- Adams, M. (2014, June 27). *Our new chief diversity officer*. Retrieved from Townhall website:
<http://townhall.com/columnists/mikeadams/2014/06/27/our-new-chief-diversity-officer-n1856213/page/full>
- Allen, B. J. (1995). "Diversity" and organizational communication. *Journal of Applied Communication Research*, 23, 143–155. doi:10.1080/00909889509365420
- Allen, B. J. (1996). Feminist standpoint theory: A Black woman's (re)view of organizational socialization. *Communication Studies*, 47, 257–271. doi:10.1080/10510979609368482
- Allen, B. J. (1998). Black womanhood and feminist standpoints. *Management Communication Quarterly*, 11, 575–586. doi:10.1177/0893318998114004
- Allen, B. J., Orbe, M. P., & Oliva, M. R. (1999). The complexity of our tears: Dis/enchantment and (in)difference in the academy. *Communication Theory*, 9, 402–429.
doi:10.1111/j.14682885.1999.tb00206.x
- Allen, K., Quinn, J., Hollingsworth, S., & Rose, A. (2013). Becoming employable students and "ideal" creative workers: Exclusion and inequality in higher education work placements. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 34, 431–452. doi:10.1080/01425692.2012.714249
- Allen, M., Bruflat, R., Fucilla, R., Kramer, M., McKellips, S., Ryan, D. J., & Spiegelhoff, M. (2000). Testing the persuasiveness of evidence: Combining narrative and statistical forms. *Communication Research Reports*, 17, 331–336. doi.org/10.1080/08824090009388781
- American Association of University Professors. (n.d.-a). *About the AAUP*. Retrieved from
<http://www.aaup.org/about-aaup>
- American Association of University Professors. (n.d.-b). *Issues in higher education*. Retrieved from
<http://www.aaup.org/issues-higher-education>

- Andrevski, G., Richard, O. C., Ferrier, W. J., & Shaw, J. D. (2010). Managerial racial diversity, competitive aggressiveness and firm performance: A moderated mediation model. *Academy of Management Proceedings*, *1*, 1–6. doi:10.5465/AMBPP.2010.54484306
- Ardener, S. (Ed.). (1975). *Perceiving women*. New York, NY: Wiley.
- Ashcraft, K. L., & Allen, B. J. (2003). The racial foundation of organizational communication. *Communication Theory*, *13*, 5–38. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2885.2003.tb00280.x
- Association of American Colleges & Universities. (2012). *Mission statement*. Retrieved from <https://www.aacu.org/about/mission>
- Association of American Colleges & Universities. (n.d.-a). *Diversity, equity, & inclusive excellence*. Retrieved from <https://www.aacu.org/resources/diversity-equity-and-inclusive-excellence>
- Association of American Colleges and Universities. (n.d.-b). *Making excellence inclusive*. Retrieved from <https://www.aacu.org/making-excellence-inclusive>
- Bailey, M. J., & Dynarski, S. M. (2011, December). *Gains and gaps: Changing inequality in US college entry and completion* (Report No. 17633). Retrieved from National Bureau of Economic Research website: <http://www.nber.org/papers/w17633>
- Balsam, K. F., Molina, Y., Beadnell, B., Simoni, J., & Walters, K. (2011). Measuring multiple minority stress: The LGBT people of color microaggressions scale. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *17*, 163–174. doi:10.1037/a0023244
- Banerji, S. (2005, November 17). *Diversity officers—Coming to a campus near you?* Retrieved from Diverse Issues in Higher Education website: <http://diverseeducation.com/article/5086>
- Barclay College. (n.d.). *Mission statement*. Retrieved from <http://www.barclaycollege.edu/about/mission>
- Bennington College. (n.d.-a). *Financial aid*. Retrieved from <http://www.bennington.edu/Admissions/financialaid.aspx>

- Bennington College. (n.d.-b). *Tuition, fees, costs*. Retrieved from <http://www.bennington.edu/Admissions/financialaid/TuitionFeesCosts>
- Bezrukova, K., Jehn, K. A., & Spell, C. S. (2012). Reviewing diversity training: Where we have been and where we should go. *Academy of Management Learning & Education, 11*, 207–227.
doi:10.5465/amle.2008.0090
- Biernacki, P., & Waldorf, D. (1981). Snowball sampling: Problems and techniques of chain referral sampling. *Sociological Methods & Research, 10*, 141–163. doi:10.1177/004912418101000205
- Blackmon, D. A. (2008). *Slavery by another name: The re-enslavement of Black Americans from the Civil War to World War II*. New York, NY: Anchor Books.
- Bonilla-Silva, E. (2010). *Racism without racists: Color-blind racism and racial inequality in contemporary America* (3rd. ed.). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Bowen, F., & Blackmon, K. (2003). Spirals of silence: The dynamic effects of diversity on organizational voice. *Journal of Management Studies, 40*, 1393–1417. doi:10.1111/1467-6486.00385
- Britt, L. L. (2012). Why we use service-learning: A report outlining a typology of three approaches to this form of communication pedagogy. *Communication Education, 61*, 80–88.
doi:10.1080/03634523.2011.632017
- Britt, L. L. (2014). Service-learning in the service of social justice: Situating communication activism pedagogy within a typology of service-learning approaches. In L. R. Frey & D. L. Palmer (Eds.), *Teaching communication activism: Communication education for social justice* (pp. 139–166). New York, NY: Hampton Press.
- Bump, P. (2015, January 5). The new Congress is 80 percent White, 80 percent male and 92 percent Christian. *The Washington Post*. Retrieved from <https://www.washingtonpost.com>

- Calafell, B. M. (2010a). Notes from an “angry woman of color”: Academic policing and disciplining women of color in a post (fill in the blank) era. *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, 34, 240–245. doi:10.1177/0196859910371375
- Calafell, B. M. (2010b). When will we all matter? Exploring race, pedagogy, and sustained hope for the academy. In D. L. Fassett & J. T. Warren (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of communication and instruction* (pp. 343–359). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Calafell, B. M. (2012). Monstrous femininity: Constructions of women of color in the academy. *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, 36, 111–130. doi:10.1177/0196859912443382
- Cannon, L. W., Higginbotham, E., & Leung, M. L. A. (1988). Race and class bias in qualitative research on women. *Gender & Society*, 2, 449–462. doi:10.1177/089124388002004003
- Caplan, P. J., & Ford, J. C. (2014). The voices of diversity: What students of diverse races/ethnicities and both sexes tell us about their college experiences and their perceptions about their institutions' progress toward diversity. *Aporia*, 6(4), 30–69. Retrieved from <http://www.oa.uottawa.ca/journals/aporia>
- Carrell, L. J. (1997). Diversity in the communication curriculum: Impact on student empathy. *Communication Education*, 46, 234–244. doi:10.1080/03634529709379098
- Castle Bell, G., Hopson, M. C., Weathers, M. R., & Ross, K. A. (2015). From “laying the foundations” to building the house: Extending Orbe’s (1998) co-cultural theory to include “rationalization” as a formal strategy. *Communication Studies*, 66, 1–26. doi:10.1080/10510974.2013.858053
- Chait, J. (2015, January 27). Not a very PC thing to say: How the language police are perverting liberalism. *New York Magazine*. Retrieved from <http://nymag.com>
- Cissna, K. N. (1982). Editor’s note: What is applied communication research? *Journal of Applied Communication Research*, 10, iii–v. doi:10.1080/00909888209365216

- Cissna, K. N., & Frey, L. R. (2009). Introduction. In L. R. Frey & K. N. Cissna (Eds.), *Routledge handbook of applied communication research* (pp. xxix–xl). New York, NY: Routledge.
- College graduation rates: Where Black students do the best and where they fare poorly compared to their White peers. (2009, October 1). Retrieved from Journal of Blacks in Higher Education website: http://www.jbhe.com/features/65_gradrates.html
- College of the Ozarks. (2016a). *Mission, vision, goals*. Retrieved from <https://www.cofo.edu/Page/About-C-of-O/Mission-Vision-Goals.64.html>
- College of the Ozarks. (2016b). *President's welcome*. Retrieved from <https://www.cofo.edu/Page/About-C-of-O/Presidents-Welcome.62.html>
- Collins, P. H. (1986). Learning from the outsider within: The sociological significance of Black feminist thought. *Social Problems*, 33, S14–S32. doi:10.2307/800672
- Collins, P. H. (1998). It's all in the family: Intersections of gender, race, and nation. *Hypathia*, 13(3), 62–82. doi:10.2979/HYP.1998.13.3.62
- Collins, P. H. (2000). *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Convention on Biological Diversity. (n.d.). *Article 2. Use of terms*. Retrieved from <https://www.cbd.int/convention/articles/default.shtml?a=cbd-02>
- Coontz, S. (2003). Diversity and communication values in the family. *Journal of Family Communication*, 3, 187–192. doi:10.1207/S15327698JFC0304_2
- Craig, R. T. (1989). Communication as a practical discipline. In B. Dervin, L. Grossberg, B. J. O'Keefe, & E. Wartella (Eds.), *Rethinking communication: Vol. 1. Paradigm issues* (pp. 97–122). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Craig, R. T. (2006). Communication as a practice. In G. J. Shepherd, J. St. John, & T. Striphos (Eds.), *Communication as . . . : Perspectives on theory* (pp. 38–47). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- Craig, R. T., & Tracy, K. (1995). Grounded practical theory: The case of intellectual discussion. *Communication Theory*, 5, 248–272. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2885.1995.tb00108.x
- David, M. E., David, F. R., & David, F. R. (2014). Mission statement theory and practice: A content analysis and new direction. *International Journal of Business, Marketing & Decision Science*, 7, 95–110.
- Davis, O. I. (2008). A visitation from the foremothers: Black women’s healing through a “performance of care”—From African diaspora to the American academy. *Women’s Studies in Communication*, 31, 175–185. doi:10.1080/07491409.2008.10162530
- De Andrade, L. L. (2000). Negotiating from the inside: Constructing racial and ethnic identity in qualitative research. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 29, 268–290.
doi:10.1177/089124100129023918
- De La Mare, D. M. (2014). Communicating for diversity: Using teacher discussion groups to transform multicultural education. *Social Studies*, 105, 138–144. doi:10.1080/00377996.2013.859118
- Delgado, R., & Stefancic, J. (2001). *Critical race theory: An introduction*. New York: New York University Press.
- Deloria, P. J. (1998). *Playing Indian*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Desmidt, S., Prinzie, A., & Decramer, A. (2011). Looking at the value of mission statements: A meta-analysis of 20 years of research. *Management Decision*, 49, 468–483. doi:10.1108/002517411120806
- DeVault, M. L. (1990). Talking and listening from women’s standpoint: Feminist strategies for interviewing and analysis. *Social Problems*, 37, 96–116. doi:10.2307/800797
- DeVault, M. L., & Gross, G. (2012). Feminist interviewing: Experience, talk, and knowledge. In S. N. Hesse-Biber (Ed.), *Handbook of feminist research: Theory and praxis* (2nd ed., pp. 206–237). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- Doucet, A., & Mauthner, N. (2008). Qualitative interviewing and feminist research. In P. Alasuutari, L. Bickman, & J. Brannen (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of social research methods* (pp. 328–343). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Dovidio, J. F., & Gaertner, S. L. (2000). Aversive racism and selection decisions: 1989 and 1999. *Psychological Science, 11*, 315–319. doi:10.1111/1467-9280.00262
- Dovidio, J. F., & Gaertner, S. L. (2004). Aversive racism. In M. P. Zanna (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology* (pp. 1–51). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- Dovidio, J. F., Gaertner, S. L., & Kawakami, K. (2003). Intergroup contact: The past, present, and the future. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations, 6*, 5–21. doi:10.1177/1368430203006001009
- Elo, S., & Kyngäs, H. (2008). The qualitative content analysis process. *Journal of Advanced Nursing, 62*, 107–115. doi:10.1111/j.1365-2648.2007.04569.x
- Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. (n.d.). *Executive Order 10925*. Retrieved from <http://www.eeoc.gov/eeoc/history/35th/thelaw/eo-10925.html>
- Farr, R. H., & Patterson, C. J. (2009). Transracial adoption by lesbian, gay, and heterosexual couples: Who completes transracial adoptions and with what results? *Adoption Quarterly, 12*, 187–204. doi:10.1080/10926750903313328
- Fernández, L. (2002). Telling stories about school: Using critical race and Latino critical theories to document Latina/Latino education and resistance. *Qualitative Inquiry, 8*, 45–65. doi:10.1177/107780040200800104
- Foner, E. (2000, April). *On diversity in history*. Retrieved from American Historical Association website: <https://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/april-2000/on-diversity-in-history>

- Fontana, A., & Frey, J. H. (2005). The interview: From neutral stance to political involvement. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 695–727). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Ford, K. A. (2011). Race, gender, and bodily (mis)recognitions: Women of color faculty experiences with White students in the college classroom. *Journal of Higher Education*, 82, 444–478.
doi:10.1353/jhe.2011.0026
- Frey, L. R. (Ed.). (1998a). Communication and social justice research [Special issue]. *Journal of Applied Communication Research*, 26(2).
- Frey, L. R. (1998b). Communication and social justice research: Truth, justice, and the applied communication way. *Journal of Applied Communication Research*, 26, 155–164.
doi:10.1080/00909889809365499
- Frey, L. R. (2009). What a difference more difference-making communication scholarship might make: Making a difference from and through communication research. *Journal of Applied Communication*, 37, 205–214. doi:10.1080/00909880902792321
- Frey, L. R., & Carragee, K. M. (Eds.). (2007a). *Communication activism: Vol. 1. Communication for social change*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.
- Frey, L. R., & Carragee, K. M. (Eds.). (2007b). *Communication activism: Vol. 2. Media and performance activism*. Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.
- Frey, L. R., & Carragee, K. M. (2007c). Introduction: Communication activism as engaged scholarship. In L. R. Frey & K. M. Carragee (Eds.), *Communication activism* (2 Vols., pp. 1–64). Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press.
- Frey, L. R., & Carragee, K. M. (Eds.). (2012). *Communication activism: Vol. 3. Struggling for social justice amidst difference*. New York, NY: Hampton Press.

- Frey, L. R., & Castro, N. T. (in press). The inner researcher: Researchers' emotions and identities. In A. Kurylo (Ed.), *Negotiating group identity in the research process: Are you in or are you out?* Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.
- Frey, L. R., Pearce, W. B., Pollock, M. A., Artz, L., & Murphy, B. A. (1996). Looking for justice in all the wrong places: On a communication approach to social justice. *Communication Studies*, 47, 110–127. doi:10.1080/10510979609368467
- Frey, L. R., & SunWolf. (2009). Across applied divides: Great debates of applied communication scholarship. In L. R. Frey & K. N. Cissna (Eds.), *Routledge handbook of applied communication research* (pp. 26–54). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Gaertner, S. L., & Dovidio, J. F. (1986). The aversive form of racism. In J. F. Dovidio & S. L. Gaertner (Eds.), *Prejudice, discrimination, and racism* (pp. 61–89). New York, NY: Academic Press.
- Gallagher, A., & Trower, C. A. (2009, February 4). The demand for diversity. *The Chronicle of Higher Education*. Retrieved from <http://chronicle.com>
- Gallant, L. M., & Krone, K. J. (2014). Tensions in talking diversity. *Communication Reports*, 27, 39–52. doi:10.1080/08934215.2013.837497
- Galinsky, A. D., Todd, A. R., Homan, A. C., Phillips, K. W., Apfelbaum, E. P., Sasaki, S. J., . . . Maddux, W. W. (2015). Maximizing the gains and minimizing the pains of diversity: A policy perspective. *Perspectives on Psychological Sciences*, 10, 742–748. doi:10.1177/1745691615598513
- Garcia, G. A., & Johnston-Guerrero, M. P. (2015). Challenging the utility of a racial microaggressions framework through a systematic review of racially biased incidents on campus. *Journal of Critical Scholarship*, 2(1). Retrieved from <http://ecommons.luc.edu/jcshesa>
- Gareis, J., & Cohn, E. R. (2007). Cultural diversity and public speaking course. In J. Branche, J. W. Mullennix, & E. R. Cohn (Eds.), *Diversity across the curriculum: A guide for faculty in higher education* (pp. 247–252). Bolton, MA: Anker.

- Gasman, M., Kim, J., & Nguyen, T. H. (2011). Effectively recruiting faculty of color at highly selective institutions: A school of education case study. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education, 4*, 212–222. doi:10.1037/a0025130
- Gates, G. J., & Brown, T. N. T. (2015, November). *Marriage and same-sex couples after Obergefell*. Retrieved from Williams Institute webpage: <http://williamsinstitute.law.ucla.edu/wp-content/uploads/Marriage-and-Same-sex-Couples-after-Obergefell-November-2015.pdf>
- Geertz, C. (1994). Thick description: Toward an interpretive theory of culture. In M. Martin & L. C. McIntyre (Eds.), *Readings in the philosophy of social science* (pp. 213–231). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Gilchrist, E. S., & Jackson, R. L. (2012). Articulating the heuristic value of African American communication studies. *Review of Communication, 12*, 237–250. doi:10.1080/15358593.2012.666670
- Goff, P. A., Steele, C. M., & Davies, P. G. (2008). The space between us: Stereotype threat and distance in interracial contexts. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 94*, 91–107. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.94.1.91
- Goldsmith, A. H., Hamilton, D., & Darity, W., Jr. (2007). From dark to light: Skin color and wages among African-Americans. *Journal of Human Resources, 42*, 701–738. doi:10.3368/jhr.XLII.4.701
- González Corona, J. (2009). The municipal university centers: Past, present, and future. *Latin American Perspectives, 36*, 130–132. doi:10.1177/0094582X09331952
- Gray, B. (1989). *Collaborating: Finding common ground for multiparty problems*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Griffin, K. A., & Muñoz, M. M. (2011). The strategies and struggles of graduate diversity officers in the recruitment of doctoral students of color. *Equity & Excellence in Education, 44*, 57–76. doi:10.1080/10665684.2011.540961

- Griffin, R. A. (2012a). I AM an angry Black woman: Black feminist autoethnography, voice, and resistance. *Women's Studies in Communication*, 35, 138–157. doi:10.1080/07491409.2012.724524
- Griffin, R. A. (2012b). Black female faculty “talking back” to the academy. *Women & Language*, 35(2), 75–79.
- Griffin, R. A., & Jackson, N. R. (2011). Privilege monopoly: An opportunity to engage in diversity awareness. *Communication Teacher*, 25, 1–6. doi:10.1080/17404622.2010.514273
- Grimes, D. S. (2002). Challenging the status quo? Whiteness in the diversity management literature. *Management Communication Quarterly*, 15, 381–409. doi:10.1177/0893318902153003
- Groscurth, C. R., & Orbe, M. P. (2006). The oppositional nature of civil rights discourse: Co-cultural communicative practices that speak truth to power. *Atlantic Journal of Communication*, 14, 123–140. doi:10.1207/s15456889ajc1403_2
- Gudeman, R. H. (2000). College missions, faculty teaching, and student outcomes in a context of low diversity. In American Council on Education & American Association of University Professors (Eds.), *Does diversity make a difference? Three research studies on diversity in college classrooms* (pp. 37–61). Washington, DC: Authors. Retrieved from <http://www.aaup.org/NR/rdonlyres/97003B7B-055F-4318-B14A-5336321FB742/0/DIVREP.PDF>
- Gudeman, R. H. (2001). Faculty experience with diversity: A case study of Macalester College. In G. Orfield (Ed.), *Diversity challenged: Evidence on the impact of affirmative action* (pp. 251–276). Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education.
- Gudeman, R. H. (2002). Multiculturalism in Malaysia: Individual harmony, group tension. *Macalester International*, 12, Article 16. Retrieved from <http://digitalcommons.macalester.edu/macintl>
- Gudeman, R. H., & Gudeman, S. (1996). Gender, market and community on Femecon in May and June 1994. *Feminist Economics*, 2, 1–39. doi:10.1080/13545709610001707636

- Gudeman, R. H., & Gudeman, S. (1997). Competition/cooperation: Revisiting the May 1994 Femecon debates. *Feminist Economics*, 3, 131–142. doi:10.1080/135457097338870
- Gullicks, K. A., Pearson, J. C., Child, J. T., & Schwab, C. R. (2005). Diversity and power in public speaking textbooks. *Communication Quarterly*, 53, 247–258. doi:10.1080/01463370500089870
- Gumbercht, J. (2014, April 4). *Georgia school hosts first racially integrated prom*. Retrieved from CNN website: <http://www.cnn.com/2014/04/04/living/integrated-prom-wilcox-county-georgia>
- Gurin, P. (1999). *The compelling need for diversity: Gratz, et al. v. Bollinger, et al.; Grutter, et al. v. Bollinger, et al.* Retrieved from University of Michigan website: <http://www.umich.edu/~urel/admissions/legal/expert/gurintoc.html>
- Gurin, P. Y., Dey, E. L., Gurin, G., & Hurtado, S. (2003). How does racial/ethnic diversity promote education? *Western Journal of Black Studies*, 27, 20–29.
- Gurin, P., Dey, E., Hurtado, S., & Gurin, G. (2002). Diversity and higher education: Theory and impact on educational outcomes. *Harvard Educational Review*, 72, 330–367.
doi:10.17763/haer.72.3.01151786u134n051
- Gurin, P. Y., Nagda, B. R. A., & Zúñiga, X. (2013). *Dialogue across difference: Practice, theory, and research on intergroup dialogue*. New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Gwaltney, J. L. (1980). *Drylongso: A self-portrait of Black America*. New York, NY: Random House.
- Hacker, A., & Dreifus, C. (2010). *Higher education: How colleges are wasting our money and failing our kids—and what we can do about it*. New York, NY: Times Books.
- Han, B., & Fink, E. L. (2012). How do statistical and narrative evidence affect persuasion?: The role of evidentiary features. *Argumentation & Advocacy*, 49, 39–58.
- Hanson, T. (1997). Gender sensitivity and diversity issues in selected basic public speaking texts. *Women & Language*, 22(2), 13–19.
- Harding, S. (Ed.). (1987). *Feminism & methodology*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

- Harris, T. M. (2012). Flying solo: Negotiating the matrix of racism and sexism in higher education. *Women & Language, 35*(2), 103–107.
- Harrison, M. S., Reynolds-Dobbs, W., & Thomas, K. M. (2008). Skin color bias in the workplace: The media's role and implications toward preference. In R. E. Hall (Ed.), *Racism in the 21st century: An empirical analysis of skin color* (pp. 47–62). New York, NY: Springer.
- Hartstock, N. C. M. (1983). The feminist standpoint: Developing the ground for a specifically feminist historical materialism. In S. Harding & M. D. Hintikka (Eds.), *Discovering reality: Feminist perspectives on epistemology, metaphysics, methodology, and philosophy of science* (pp. 283–310). Boston, MA: D. Reidel.
- Harvard University. (2014). *Historical facts*. Retrieved from <http://www.harvard.edu/historical-facts>
- Harwood, T. G., & Garry, T. (2003). An overview of content analysis. *Marketing Review, 3*, 479–498. doi:10.1362/146934703771910080
- Heath, R. G. (2007). Rethinking community collaboration through a dialogic lens creativity, democracy, and diversity in community organizing. *Management Communication Quarterly, 21*, 145–171. doi:10.1177/0893318907306032
- Hendrix, K. G. (1998). Student perceptions of the influence of race on professor credibility. *Journal of Black Studies, 28*, 738–763. doi:10.1177/002193479802800604
- Hendrix, K. G., & Wilson, C. (2014). Virtual invisibility: Race and communication education. *Communication Education, 63*, 405–428, doi:10.1080/03634523.2014.934852
- Herbert, S. S. (2012). What have you done for me lately?: Black female faculty and “talking back” to the tenure process at PWIs. *Women & Language, 35*(2), 99–102.
- Hesse-Biber, S. N. (2014). The practices of feminist in-depth interviewing. In S. N. Hesse-Biber & P. L. Leavy (Eds.), *Feminist research practice: A primer* (2nd ed., pp. 182–231). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- Hirschmann, N. J. (2004). Feminist standpoint as postmodern strategy. In S. Harding (Ed.), *The feminist standpoint theory reader: Intellectual and political controversies* (pp. 317–332). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Hoeken, H., & Hustinz, L. (2009). When is statistical evidence superior to anecdotal evidence in supporting probability claims? The role of argument type. *Human Communication Research*, 35, 491–510. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2958.2009.01360.x
- Hsieh, H. F., & Shannon, S. E. (2005). Three approaches to qualitative content analysis. *Qualitative Health Research*, 15, 1277–1288. doi:10.1177/1049732305276687
- Hunt, J. B., Jr. (2006). *Educational leadership for the 21st century*. Retrieved from The National Center for Public Policy and Higher Education website:
http://www.highereducation.org/reports/hunt_tierney/hunt.shtml
- Irwin, N., Cain Miller, C., & Sanger-Katz, M. (2014, August 19). America's racial divide, charted. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.nytimes.com>
- Irizarry, C., & Gallant, L. (2006). Managing diversity: Interpretation and enactment in a health care setting. *Qualitative Research Reports in Communication*, 7, 43–50. doi:10.1080/17459430600964901
- Jackson, L. D. (2008). Reflections on obstacles and opportunities: Suggestions for improving the retention of female faculty. *Women's Studies in Communication*, 31, 226–232.
doi:10.1080/07491409.2008.10162537
- Jaschik, S. (2013, January 21). *New sheriff in town*. Retrieved from Insider Higher Ed website:
<https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2013/01/21/new-purdue-president-outlines-critiques-higher-education>
- Jaschik, S. (2014, January 31). *Obama vs. art history*. Retrieved from Insider Higher Ed website:
<https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2014/01/31/obama-becomes-latest-politician-criticize-liberal-arts-discipline>

- Jones, R. T., Hadder, J. M., Carvajal, F., Chapman, S. & Alexander, A. (2006). Conducting research in diverse, minority, and marginalized communities. In F. H. Norris, S. Galea, M. J. Friedman, & P. J. Watson (Eds.), *Methods for disaster mental health* (pp. 265–277). New York, NY: Guilford Press.
- Josselson, R. (1993). A narrative introduction. In R. Josselson & A. Leiblich (Eds.), *The narrative study of lives* (pp. ix–xv). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Kalinoski, Z. T., Steele-Johnson, D., Peyton, E. J., Leas, K., Steinke, J., & Bowling, N. A. (2013). A meta-analytic evaluation of diversity training outcomes. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *34*, 1076–1104. doi:10.1002/job.1839
- Kallison, J. M., Jr., & Stader, D. L. (2012). Effectiveness of summer bridge programs in enhancing college readiness. *Community College Journal of Research and Practice*, *36*, 340–357.
doi:10.1080/10668920802708595
- Kampf, J. (2012, June 19). *The next-generation diversity officer*. Retrieved from Profiles in Diversity Journal website: <http://www.diversityjournal.com/9357-the-next-generation-diversity-officer>
- Kelly, E., & Dobbin, F. (1998). How affirmative action became diversity management employer response to antidiscrimination law, 1961 to 1996. *American Behavioral Scientist*, *41*, 960–984.
doi:10.1177/0002764298041007008
- Kezar, A. (2007). Tools for a time and place: Phased leadership strategies for advancing campus diversity. *Review of Higher Education*, *30*, 413–439. Retrieved from https://www.press.jhu.edu/journals/review_of_higher_education
- Kezar, A. (2008). Understanding leadership strategies for addressing the politics of diversity. *Journal of Higher Education*, *79*, 406–441. Retrieved from https://www.press.jhu.edu/journals/review_of_higher_education
- Kilian, C. M., Hukai, D., & McCarty, E. C. (2005). Building diversity in the pipeline to corporate leadership. *Journal of Management Development*, *24*, 155–168. doi:10.1108/02621710510579518

- Kirby, E. L., & Harter, L. M. (2001). Discourses of diversity and the quality of work life: The character and costs of the managerial metaphor. *Management Communication Quarterly*, 15, 121–127.
doi:10.1177/0893318901151008
- Kirby, E. L., & Harter, L. M. (2003). Speaking the language of the bottom-line: The metaphor of “managing diversity.” *Journal of Business Communication*, 40, 28–49.
doi:10.1177/002194360304000103
- Kirton, G., & Greene, A.-m. (2006). The discourse of diversity in unionised contexts: Views from trade union equality officers. *Personnel Review*, 35, 431–448. doi:10.1108/00483480610670599
- Kirton, G., & Greene, A.-m. (2015). *The dynamics of managing diversity: A critical approach* (4th ed.). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Kopaneva, I., & Sias, P. M. (2015). Lost in translation: Employee and organizational constructions of mission and vision. *Management Communication Quarterly*, 28, 1–27.
doi:10.1177/0893318915581648
- Kreisman, D., & Rangel, M. A. (2015). On the blurring of the color line: Wages and employment for Black males of different skin tones. *Review of Economics and Statistics*, 97, 1–13.
doi:10.1162/REST_a_00464
- Krippendorff, K. (1980). *Content analysis: An introduction to its methodology*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Kuhn, T. (2006). A “demented work ethic” and a “lifestyle firm”: Discourse, identity, and workplace time commitments. *Organization Studies*, 27, 1339–1358. doi:10.1177/0170840606067249
- Kuhn, T. R., & Putnam, L. L. (2014). Discourse and communication. In P. S. Adler, P. du Gay, G. Morgan, & M. Reed (Eds.), *Oxford handbook of sociology, social theory and organization studies* (pp. 414–416). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Ladson-Billings, G. (2001). *Crossing over to Canaan: The journey of new teachers in diverse classrooms*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

- Langellier, K. M., & Hall, D. L. (1989). Interviewing women: A phenomenological approach to feminist communication research. In K. Carter & C. Spitzack (Eds.), *Doing research on women's communication: Perspectives on theory and method* (pp. 193–220). Norwood, NJ: Able
- Lapinski, M., & Orbe, M. (2007). Evidence for construct validity and reliability of the co-cultural theory scales. *Communication Methods and Measures, 1*, 137–164. doi:10.1080/19312450701399388
- Leavy, P. L. (2007). The feminist practice of content analysis. In S. N. Hesse-Biber & P. L. Leavy (Eds.), *Feminist research practice: A primer* (pp. 223–248). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Lin, W.-Y., Song, H., & Ball-Rokeach, S. (2010). Localizing the global: Exploring the transnational ties that bind in new immigrant communities. *Journal of Communication, 60*, 205–228.
doi:10/1111/j.1460-2466.2010.01480.x
- Lindlof, T. R., & Taylor, B. C. (2011). *Qualitative communication research methods* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Litvin, D. (2006). Diversity: Making space for a better case. In A. M. Konrad, P. Prasad, & J. K. Pringle (Eds.), *Handbook of workplace diversity* (pp. 75–94). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Livingston, G. (2015, June 24). *Today's multiracial babies reflect America's changing demographics*. Retrieved from Pew Research Center: <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2015/06/24/todays-multiracial-babies-reflect-americas-changing-demographics/>
- Lofquist, D., Lugaila, T., & Feliz, S. (2010, April). *Households and families: 2010*. Retrieved from U.S. Census Bureau: <https://www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/briefs/c2010br-14.pdf>
- Lorbiecki, A., & Jack, G. (2002). Critical turns in the evolution of diversity management. *British Journal of Management, 11*(Suppl.), S17–S34. doi:10.1111/1467-8551.11.s1.3
- Luijters, K., van de Zee, K. I., & Otten, S. (2008). Cultural diversity in organizations: Enhancing identification by valuing differences. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 32*, 154–163.
doi:10.1016/j.ijintrel.2007.09.003

- Manning, J. E. (2015). *Membership of the 114th Congress: A profile* (CRS Report No. R43869). Retrieved from Congressional Research Service website: http://www.senate.gov/CRSReports/crs-publish.cfm?pid=%260BL*RLC2%0A
- Marira, T. D., & Mitra, P. (2013). Colorism: Ubiquitous yet understudied. *Industrial & Organizational Psychology, 6*, 103–107. doi:10.1111/iops.12018
- Martin, R. (2005). Close reading: Functional linguistics as a tool for critical discourse analysis. In L. Unsworth (Ed.), *Researching language in schools and communities: Functional linguistic perspectives* (pp. 275–302). Washington, DC: Cassell.
- Mayring, P. (2000). Qualitative content analysis. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research, 1*(2). Retrieved from <http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs>
- Mayring, P. (2014). *Qualitative content analysis: Theoretical foundation, basic procedures and software solution*. Klagenfurt, Austria: Institute of Psychology and Center for Evaluation and Research. Retrieved from Social Science Open Access Repository: <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0168-ssoar-395173>
- McCuiston, V. E., Ross Wooldridge, B., & Pierce, C. K. (2004). Leading the diverse workforce: Profit, prospects and progress. *Leadership & Organization Development Journal, 25*, 73–92. doi:10.1108/01437730410512787
- McDermott, E. (2004). Telling lesbian stories: Interviewing and the class dynamics of “talk.” *Women’s Studies International Forum, 27*, 177–187. doi:10.1016/j.wsif.2004.04.001
- McGarrity, M. (2010). Communication textbooks. From the publisher to the desk. In D. L. Fassett & J. T. Varren (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of communication and instruction* (pp. 107–128). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- McIntosh, P. (1988). White privilege: Unpacking the invisible knapsack. In P. Rothenberg (Ed.), *Race, class, and gender in the United States: An integrated study* (4th ed., pp. 165–169). New York: St. Martin's Press.
- McMillan, J. J., & Cheney, G. (1996). The student as consumer: The implications and limitations of a metaphor. *Communication Education, 45*, 1–15. doi:10.1080/03634529609379028
- Meacham, J., & Barrett, C. (2003). Commitment to diversity in institutional mission statements. *Diversity & Democracy, 7*(1–2), 6–7, 9. Retrieved from <https://www.aacu.org/diversitydemocracy>
- Mease, J. J. (2012). Reconsidering consultants' strategic use of the business case for diversity. *Journal of Applied Communication Research, 40*, 384–402. doi:10.1080/00909882.2012.720380
- Meier, B. P., Schnall, S., Schwarz, N., & Bargh, J. A. (2012). Embodiment in social psychology. *Topics in Cognitive Science, 4*, 705–716. doi:10.1111/j.1756-8765.2012.01212.x
- Milem, J. F., Chang, M. J., & Antonio, A. L. (2005). *Making diversity work on campus: A research-based perspective*. Washington, DC: Association of American Colleges and Universities. Retrieved from https://www.aacu.org/sites/default/files/files/mei/milem_et_al.pdf
- Minikel-Lacocque, J. (2013). Racism, college, and the power of words racial microaggressions reconsidered. *American Educational Research Journal, 50*, 432–465. doi:10.3102/0002831212468048
- Monk, E. P., Jr. (2015). The cost of color: Sink color, discrimination, and health among African-Americans. *American Journal of Sociology, 121*, 396–444. doi:10.1086/682162
- Muthuswamy, N., Levine, T. R., & Gazel, J. (2006). Interaction-based diversity initiative outcomes: An evaluation of an initiative aimed at bridging the racial divide on a college campus. *Communication Education, 55*, 105–121. doi:10.1080/03634520500489690
- Myerson, M., Crawley, S. L., Anstey, E. H., Kessler, J., & Okopny, C. (2007). Who's zoomin' who? A feminist, queer content analysis of "interdisciplinary" human sexuality textbooks. *Hypatia, 22*, 92–113. doi:10.1111/j.1527-2001.2007.tb01151.x

- Nadal, K. L., Griffin, K. E., Hamit, S., Leon, J., Tobio, M., & Rivera, D. P. (2012). Subtle and overt forms of Islamophobia: Microaggressions toward Muslim Americans. *Journal of Muslim Mental Health*, 6(2), 15–37. doi:10.3998/jmmh.10381607.0006.203
- National Association of Diversity Officers in Higher Education. (2013). *Chief diversity officers: Leading and engaging in campus deliberations on post-Fisher admissions strategies*. Retrieved from <http://www.nadohe.org/news#fisher>
- National Association of Diversity Officers in Higher Education. (2016). *Mission statement*. Retrieved from <http://www.nadohe.org/vision-a-mission-statements>
- National College Access Network. (n.d.). *Common measure of success*. Retrieved from http://www.collegeaccess.org/Common_Measures_for_Success
- Nelson, J. K., Poms, L. W., & Wolf, P. P. (2012). Developing efficacy beliefs for ethics and diversity management. *Academy of Management Learning & Education*, 11, 49–68. doi:10.5465/amle.2009.0115
- Newport, F. (2015, May 21). *Americans greatly overestimate percent gay, lesbian in U.S.* Retrieved from Gallup website: <http://www.gallup.com/poll/183383/americans-greatly-overestimate-percent-gay-lesbian.aspx>
- Nicotera, A. M., Clinkscales, M. J., Dorsey, L. K., & Niles, M. N. (2009). Race as political identity: Problematic issues for applied communication research. In L. R. Frey & K. N. Cissna (Eds.), *Routledge handbook of applied communication research* (pp. 203–232). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Nielsen, B. B., & Nielsen, S. (2013). Top management team nationality diversity and firm performance: A multilevel study. *Strategic Management Journal*, 34, 373–382. doi:10.1002/smj.2021
- Nieto, S. (1992). *Affirming diversity: The sociopolitical context of multicultural education*. White Plains, NY: Longman.

- Nieto, S. (2015). *The light in their eyes: Creating multicultural learning communities*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
- Ogilvy, D. (2014). *The unpublished David Ogilvy*. London, United Kingdom: Profile Books.
- Ogilvy & Mather. (n.d.). *Diversity & inclusion: Philosophy*. Retrieved from <http://www.ogilvy.com/About/Diversity-and-Inclusion/Diversity-and-Inclusion.aspx>
- O’Keefe, V. M., Wingate, L. R., Cole, A. B., Hollingsworth, D. W., & Tucker, R. P. (2015). Seemingly harmless racial communications are not so harmless: Racial microaggressions lead to suicidal ideation by way of depression symptoms. *Suicide and Life-Threatening Behavior, 45*, 567–576.
doi:10.1111/sltb.12150
- Omi, W., & Winant, H. (2004). *Racial formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Opie T. R., & Phillips, K. W. (2015). Hair penalties: The negative influence of Afrocentric hair on ratings of Black women’s dominance and professionalism. *Frontiers in Psychology, 6*, 1–14.
doi:10.3389/fpsyg.2015.01311
- Orbe, M. P. (1996). Laying the foundation for co-cultural communication theory: An inductive approach to studying non-dominant communication strategies and the factors that influence them. *Communication Studies, 47*, 157–176. doi:10.1080/10510979609368473
- Orbe, M. P. (1998a). *Constructing co-cultural theory: An explication of culture, power, and communication*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Orbe, M. P. (1998b). From the standpoint(s) of traditionally muted groups: Explicating a co-cultural communication theoretical model. *Communication Theory, 8*, 1–26. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2885.1998.tb00209.x
- Orbe, M. P., & Harris, T. M. (2015). *Interracial communication: Theory into practice* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

- Oreopoulos, P., & Petronijevic, U. (2013). Making college worth it: A review of the returns to higher education. *Future of Children*, 32, 41–65. Retrieved from ERIC database. (EDEJ1015240)
- Ortman, J. M., & Guarneri, C. E. (2009). *United States population projections: 2000 to 2050*. Retrieved from U.S. Census Bureau website: <https://www.census.gov/population/projections/files/analytical-document09.pdf>
- Østergaard, C. R., Timmermans, B., & Kristinsson, K. (2011). Does a different view create something new? The effect of employee diversity on innovation. *Research Policy*, 40, 500–509. doi:10.1016/j.respol.2010.11.004
- Park, J. J. (2013, July 8). Class diversity in higher education: A complement, but not a replacement, for race. *Huffington Post*. Retrieved from <http://www.huffingtonpost.com>
- Parker, P. S. (2009). Always at risk?: African American women faculty, graduate students, and undergraduates. In D. Cleveland (Ed.), *When minorities are strongly encouraged to apply: Diversity and affirmative action in higher education* (pp. 119–134). New York, NY: Peter Lang.
- Patel, B. S., Booker, L. D., Ramos, H. M., & Bart, C. (2015). Mission statements and performance in non-profit organisations. *Corporate Governance*, 15, 759–774. doi:10.1108/CG-07-2015-0098
- Patterson, D. A., Cronley, C., West, S., & Lantz, J. (2014). Social justice manifest: A university–community partnership to promote the individual right to housing. *Journal of Social Work Education*, 50, 234–246. doi:10.1080/10437797.2014.885244
- Patton, T. O. (2004). Reflections of a Black woman professor: Racism and sexism in academia. *Howard Journal of Communications*, 15, 185–200. doi:10.1080/10646170490483629
- Pearce, W. B. (1998). On putting social justice in the discipline of communication and putting enriched concepts of communication in social justice research and practice. *Journal of Applied Communication Research*, 26, 272–278. doi:10.1080/00909889809365505

- Pew Research Center. (n.d.). *Racial and ethnic composition among Christians*. Retrieved from <http://www.pewforum.org/religious-landscape-study/christians/christian/racial-and-ethnic-composition>
- Pope, J. (2013, June 17). *Affirmative action case sparks debate over race vs. class*. Retrieved from *Diverse Issues in Higher Education* website: <http://diverseeducation.com/article/53966>
- Putnam, L. L., & Fairhurst, G. T. (2001). Discourse analysis in organizations: Issues and concerns. In F. M. Jablin & L. L. Putnam (Eds.), *The new handbook of organizational communication: Advances in theory, research, and methods* (pp. 78–136). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Reddin, E. (2012, June 4). *Four years ago, a business school began requiring its undergraduates to study abroad. How has the policy worked out?* Retrieved from *Inside Higher Ed* website: <https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2012/06/04/how-business-school-requires-all-its-undergraduates-study-abroad>
- Reinharz, S., & Kulick, R. (2007). Reading between the lines: Feminist content analysis into the second millennium. In S. N. Hesse-Biber (Ed.), *Handbook of feminist research: Theory and praxis* (pp. 257–275). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Riedlinger, M. E., Gallois, C., McKay, S., & Pittam, J. (2004). Impact of social group processes and functional diversity on communication in networked organizations. *Journal of Applied Communication Research*, 32, 55–79. doi:10.1080/0090988042000178130
- Robbins, S. (2004, May 17). *Why diversity is an opportunity*. Retrieved from *Harvard Business School Working Knowledge* website: <http://hbswk.hbs.edu/archive/4134.html>
- Roberge, M.-É., & van Dick, R. (2010). Recognizing the benefits of diversity: When and how does diversity increase group performance? *Human Resource Management Review*, 20, 295–308. doi:10.1016/j.hrmr.2009.09.002
- Rodriquez, D. (2010). Storytelling in the field: Race, method, and the empowerment of Latina college students. *Critical Studies↔Cultural Methodologies*, 10, 491–507. doi:10.1177/1532708610365481

- Rudick, C. K. (2014). "If we are afraid to speak out, we have no say in the decisions that affect our lives": Basic communication course textbooks' portrayal of the ideal civically-engaged subject. *Florida Communication Journal*, 42(2), 17–26.
- Ruiz-Mesa, K. (2007). *Diversity retention through micropractices* (Unpublished master's thesis). Villanova University, Villanova, PA.
- Rynes, S., & Rosen, B. (1995). Field survey of factors affecting the adoption and perceived success of diversity training. *Personnel Psychology*, 48, 247–270. doi:10.1111/j.1744-6570.1995.tb01756.x
- Said, E. (1979). *Orientalism*. New York, NY: Vintage Books.
- Sanger, P. C. (2003). Living and writing feminist ethnographies: Threads in a quilt stitched from the heart. In R. P. Clair (Ed.), *Expressions of ethnography: Novel approaches to qualitative methods* (pp. 29–44). Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Scharrer, E., & Ramasubramanian, S. (2015). Intervening in the media's influence on stereotypes of race and ethnicity: The role of media literacy education. *Journal of Social Issues*, 71, 171–185. doi:10.1111/josi.12103
- Schreier, M. (2012). *Qualitative content analysis in practice*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Schreier, M. (2014). Qualitative content analysis. In U. Flick (Ed.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative data analysis* (pp. 170–183). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Shuy, R. W. (1997). Discourse clues to coded language in an impeachment hearing. *Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science Series*, 4, 121–138. doi:10.1075/cilt.128.10shu
- Simonds, B. K., Lippert, L. R., Hunt, S. K., Angell, M. E., & Moore, M. K. (2008). Communication and diversity: Innovations in teacher education. *Communication Teacher*, 22, 56–65. doi:10.1080/17404620802040536

- Sims, C. (2009). The impact of African American skin tone bias in the workplace: Implications for critical human resource development. *Online Journal for Workforce Education and Development*, 3(4), 1–17. Retrieved from <http://opensiuc.lib.siu.edu/ojwed>
- Sixsmith, J., Boneham, M., & Goldring, J. E. (2003). Accessing the community: Gaining insider perspectives from the outside. *Qualitative Health Research*, 13, 578–589. doi:10.1177/1049732302250759
- Smialek, J., & Giroux, G. (2015, June 24). *The majority of American babies are now minorities: New government data show a changing country*. Retrieved from Bloomberg Business website: <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2015-06-25/american-babies-are-no-longer-mostly-non-hispanic-white>
- Smith, D. (1987). *The everyday world as problematic: A feminist sociology*. Boston, MA: Northeastern University Press.
- Smith, D. G. (2009). *Diversity's promise for higher education: Making it work*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Smith, W. A., Hung, M., & Franklin, J. D. (2011). Racial battle fatigue and the miseducation of Black men: Racial microaggressions, societal problems, and environmental stress. *Journal of Negro Education*, 80, 63–82. doi:10.2307/41341106
- Snibbe, K. (2011, February 4). *A window into African-American history*. Retrieved from Harvard Gazette website: <http://news.harvard.edu/gazette/story/2011/02/a-window-into-african-american-history>
- Southern Poverty Law Center. (2004). *Brown v. Board: Timeline of school integration in the U.S.* Retrieved from Teaching Tolerance website: <http://www.tolerance.org/magazine/number-25-spring-2004/feature/brown-v-board-timeline-school-integration-us>
- Southern Vermont College. (n.d.-a). *Diversity at SVC*. Retrieved from <http://www.svc.edu/about/diversity.html>

- Southern Vermont College. (n.d.-b). *Fall 2015–Spring 2016 tuition & fees*. Retrieved from <http://www.svc.edu/admission/tuition.html>
- Sprague, J. (2005) *Feminist methodologies for critical researchers: Bridging differences*. Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press.
- Stahl, G. K., Mäkelä, K., Zander, L., & Maznevski, M. L. (2010). A look at the bright side of multicultural team diversity. *Scandinavian Journal of Management*, 26, 439–447. doi:10.1016/j.camam.2010.09.009
- Stahl, G. K., Maznevski, M., Voight, A., & Jonsen, K. (2010). Unraveling the effects of cultural diversity in teams: A meta-analysis of research on multicultural work groups. *Journal of International Business Studies*, 41, 690–709. doi:10.1057/jibs.2009.85
- Stanley, C. A. (2006). Coloring the academic landscape: Faculty of color breaking the silence in predominantly White colleges and universities. *American Educational Research Journal*, 43, 701–736. doi:10.3102/00028312043004701
- Stone, P. J., Dunphy, D. C., Smith, M. S., & Ogilvie, D. M. (1966). *The general inquirer: A computer approach to content analysis*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1998). Grounded theory methodology: An overview. In N. K. Denzin, & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Strategies of qualitative inquiry* (pp. 158–183). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Sturm, S. P. (2006). The architecture of inclusion: Advancing workplace equity in higher education. *Harvard Journal of Law and Gender*, 29, 247–334. Retrieved from <http://harvardjlg.com>
- Subervi, F., & Cantrell, T. H. (2007). Assessing efforts and policies related to the recruitment and retention of minority faculty at accredited and non-accredited journalism and mass communication programs. *Journalism & Mass Communication Educator*, 62, 27–46. doi:10.1177/107769580706200104
- Sue, D. W., Capodilupo, C. M., Torino, G. C., Bucceri, J. M., Holder, A., Nadal, K. L., & Esquilin, M. (2007). Racial microaggressions in everyday life: Implications for clinical practice. *American Psychologist*, 62, 271–286. doi:10.1037/0003-066X.62.4.271

- Sullivan, S. C., Ludden, A. B., & Singleton, R. A., Jr. (2013). The impact of institutional mission on student volunteering. *Journal of College Student Development, 54*, 511–526.
doi:10.1353/csd.2013.0079
- Sveningsson, S., & Alvesson, M. (2003). Managing managerial identities: Organizational fragmentation, discourse and identity struggle. *Human Relations, 56*, 1163–1193. doi:10.1177/00187267035610001
- Swales, J. M., & Rogers, P. S. (1995). Discourse and the projection of corporate culture: The mission statement. *Discourse & Society, 6*, 223–242. doi:10.1177/0957926595006002005
- Swartz, O. (Ed.). (2006). *Social justice and communication scholarship*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Swenson-Lepper, T. (2012). Teaching communication ethics and diversity: Using technology and community engagement to enhance learning. *Communication Teacher, 26*, 228–235.
doi:10.1080/17404622.2012.700719
- Temin, D. B. (2011, November 8). *How to handle a diversity crisis*. Retrieved from Talent Management website: <http://www.talentmgt.com/articles/how-to-handle-a-diversity-crisis>
- The racial gap in college graduation rates. (2014, January 17). Retrieved from Journal of Blacks in Higher Education website: <https://www.jbhe.com/2014/01/the-racial-gap-in-college-graduation-rates>
- The White House. (2011, August 18). *Executive Order 13583—Establishing a coordinated government-wide initiative to promote diversity and inclusion in the federal workforce*. Retrieved from <https://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2011/08/18/executive-order-13583-establishing-coordinated-government-wide-initiativ>
- Tomlinson, F., & Schwabenland, C. (2010). Reconciling competing discourses of diversity? The UK non-profit sector between social justice and the business case. *Organization, 17*, 101–121.
doi:10.1177/1340408409350237

- Torres, V., Howard-Hamilton, M. F., & Cooper, D. L. (Eds.). (2003). Identity development of diverse populations: Implications for teaching and administration in higher education [Special issue]. *ASHE-ERIC Higher Education Report*, 29(6).
- Tracy, S. J. (2013). *Qualitative research methods: Collecting evidence, crafting analysis, communicating impact*. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.
- Turner, C. S. V., González, J. C., & Wood, J. L. (2008). Faculty of color in academe: What 20 years of literature tells us. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, 1, 139–168. doi:10.1037/a0012837
- Turner, C. S. V., Myers, S. L., & Cresswell, J. W. (1999). Exploring underrepresentation: The case of faculty of color in the Midwest. *Journal of Higher Education*, 70, 27–59. doi:10.2307/2649117
- Turner, L. H., & West, R. (2003). Introduction: Breaking through silence: Increasing voice for diverse families in communication research. *Journal of Family Communication*, 3, 181–186. doi:10.1207/S15327698JFC0304_1
- University of Denver. (2016). *Center for Multicultural Excellence*. Retrieved from <http://www.du.edu/cme>
- University of Texas at Austin. (2015). *U.S. universities*. Retrieved from <https://www.utexas.edu/world/univ/alpha>
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2012, July 25). *Nearly 1 in 5 people have a disability in the U.S.*, *Census Bureau reports*. Retrieved from <https://www.census.gov/newsroom/releases/archives/miscellaneous/cb12-134.html>
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2013, January 7). *Educational attainment in the United States: 2013—Detailed tables* [Tables]. Retrieved from <http://www.census.gov/hhes/socdemo/education/data/cps/2013/tables.html>
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2015, June 25). *Millennials outnumber Baby Boomers and are far more diverse*, *Census Bureau reports*. Retrieved from <http://www.census.gov/newsroom/press-releases/2015/cb15-113.html>

- U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Educational Statistics. (2012a). *Degrees confirmed by sex and race*. Retrieved from <http://nces.ed.gov/fastfacts/display.asp?id=72>
- U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics. (2012b, October). *Percentage of persons age 25 and over with high school completion or higher and a bachelor's or higher degree, by race/ethnicity and sex: Selected years, 1910 through 2012* [Table]. Retrieved from http://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d12/tables/dt12_008.asp
- U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics. (2013, Fall). *Bachelor's, master's, and doctor's degrees conferred by postsecondary institutions, by sex of student and discipline division: 2011–12* [Table]. Retrieved from https://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d13/tables/dt13_318.30.asp
- U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics. (2015a, May 7). *Digest of education statistics, 2013* (NCES 2015-001). Retrieved from <http://nces.ed.gov/fastfacts/display.asp?id=98>
- U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics. (2015b). *Race/ethnicity of college faculty* (NCES Report No. 2015-144). Retrieved from <https://nces.ed.gov/fastfacts/display.asp?id=61>
- U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics. (2016, April 28). *Digest of education statistics, 2014* (NCES 2016-006). Retrieved from <http://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d14>
- U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics. (n.d.). *College navigator*. Retrieved from <http://nces.ed.gov/collegenavigator>
- U.S. Department of the Interior, Office of Civil Rights. (n.d.). *About us*. Retrieved from <https://www.doi.gov/pmb/eo/aboutus>
- van Dijk, H., van Engen, M., & Paauwe, J. (2012). Reframing the business case for diversity: A values and virtues perspective. *Journal of Business Ethics, 111*, 73–84. doi:10.1007/s10551-012-1434-z

- Valenzano, J. M. III, Braden, S. W., & Broeckelman-Post, M. A. (2013). *The speaker's primer* (California State University, Los Angeles edition). Southlake, TX: Fountainhead Press.
- Variotta, L. E. (1997). Invoking a university's mission statement to promote diversity, civility, and free speech. *Journal of Student Affairs Research and Practice*, 34, 123–133. doi:10.2202/1949-6605.1013
- Wang, W. (2015, June 12). *Interracial marriage: Who is "marrying out"?* Retrieved from Pew Research Center website: <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2015/06/12/interracial-marriage-who-is-marrying-out/>
- Warr, D. J. (2004). Stories in the flesh and voices in the head: Reflections on the context and impact of research with disadvantaged populations. *Qualitative Health Research*, 14, 578–587. doi:10.1177/1049732303260449
- Webb, L. M., Bourgerie, A. J., Schaper, M. W., Johnson, K. B., Dubbs, K. L., Mountain, K. N., . . . Walker, A. M. (2004). Gender and diversity in family communication: A content analysis of the four undergraduate textbooks. *Journal of Family Communication*, 4, 35–52. doi:10.1207/s15327698jfc0401_3
- Weber, R. P. (1990). *Basic content analysis*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Weick, K. E. (1987). Organizational culture as a source of high reliability. *California Management Review*, 29, 112–127. doi:10.2307/41165243
- Williams, D. A. (2007). Achieving inclusive excellence: Strategies for creating real and sustainable change in quality and diversity. *About Campus*, 12(1), 8–14. doi:10.1002/abc.198
- Williams, D. A. (2008). Beyond the diversity crisis model: Decentralized diversity planning and implementation. *Planning for Higher Education Journal*, 36(2), 27–41.
- Williams, D. A. (2013). *A matter of excellence: A guide to strategic diversity leadership and accountability in higher education*. Washington, DC: American Council on Education.

- Williams, D. A., Berger, J. B., & McClendon, S. A. (2005). *Toward a model of inclusive excellence and change in postsecondary institutions*. Washington, DC: Association of American Colleges and Universities. Retrieved from https://www.aacu.org/sites/default/files/files/mei/williams_et_al.pdf
- Williams, D. A., & Wade-Golden, K. C. (2007). *The chief diversity officer: A primer for college and university presidents*. Washington, DC: American Council on Education.
- Williams, D. A., & Wade-Golden, K. C. (2008, September 26). The complex mandate of a chief diversity officer. *The Chronicle of Higher Education*. Retrieved from <http://chronicle.com>
- Williams, D. A., & Wade-Golden, K. (2013). *The chief diversity officer: Strategy, structure, and change management*. Sterling, VA: Stylus.
- Williams, L. S. (2008). The mission statement: A corporate reporting tool with a past, present, and future. *Journal of Business Communication, 45*, 94–119. doi:10.1177/0021943607313989
- Wilson, J. L. (2013). Emerging trend: The chief diversity officer phenomenon within higher education. *Journal of Negro Education, 82*, 433–445. doi:10.7709/jnegroeducation.82.4.0433
- Wilson, J. L., Meyer, K. A., & McNeal, L. (2012). Mission and diversity statements: What they do and do not say. *Innovative Higher Education, 37*, 125–139. doi:10.1007/s10755-011-9194-8
- Wood, J. T. (1992). Telling our stories: Narratives as a basis for theorizing sexual harassment. *Journal of Applied Communication Research, 4*, 349–363. doi:10.1080/00909889209365343
- Wood, J. T. (1998). Celebrating diversity in the communication field. *Communication Studies, 49*, 172–178. doi:10.1080/10510979809368527
- Worthington, R. L., Stanley, C. A., & Lewis, W. T. (2014). National Association of Diversity Officers in Higher Education standards of professional practice for chief diversity officers. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education, 7*, 227–228. doi:10.1037/a0038391
- Wrench, J. S., Thomas-Maddox, C., Richmond, V. P., & McCroskey, J. C. (2008). *Quantitative research methods for communication: A hands-on approach*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

- Yoshino, K. (2007). *Covering: The hidden assault on our civil rights*. New York, NY: Random House.
- Yosso, T., Smith, W., Ceja, M., & Solórzano, D. (2009). Critical race theory, racial microaggressions, and campus racial climate for Latina/o undergraduates. *Harvard Educational Review, 79*, 659–691. doi:10.17763/haer.79.4.m6867014157m7071
- Zanoni, P., & Janssens, M. (2004). Deconstructing difference: The rhetoric of human resource managers' diversity discourses. *Organization Studies, 25*, 55–74. doi:10.1177/0170840604038180
- Zebregs, S., van den Putte, B., Neijens, P., & Graaf, A. de (2015). The differential impact of statistical and narrative evidence on beliefs, attitudes, and intentions: A meta-analysis. *Health Communication, 30*, 282–289. doi:10.1080/10410236.2013.842528
- Zúñiga, X., Nagda, B. R. A., Chesler, M., & Cytron-Walker, A. (2007). *Intergroup dialogue in higher education: Meaningful learning about social justice*. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons.
- Zweigenhaft, R. L., & Domhoff, G. W. (2014). *The new CEOs: Women, African American, Latino, and Asian American leaders of Fortune 500 companies*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

APPENDIX A

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD APPROVAL

APPROVAL

10-Jul-2014

Dear Kristina Ruiz-Mesa,

On **10-Jul-2014** the IRB reviewed the following protocol:

Type of Submission:	Initial Application
Review Category:	Exempt - Category 2
Title:	Identity and Organization: A Study of Chief Diversity Officers within Higher Education
Investigator:	Ruiz-Mesa, Kristina
Protocol #:	13-0229
Funding:	None
Documents Approved:	13-0229 Interview Consent Form (10Jul14); 13-0229 Interview Scripts; 13-0229 Protocol (10Jul14); 13-0229 Recruitment Material; 13-0229 Observation Consent Form (10Jul14);
Documents Reviewed:	HRP-211: FORM - Initial Application;
Notes:	The clause regarding unknown risks was removed from the Consent Form as unnecessary for this minimal risk interview research.

The IRB approved the protocol on **10-Jul-2014**.

Click the link to find the approved documents for this protocol: [Approved Documents](#). Use copies of these documents to conduct your research.

In conducting this protocol you must follow the requirements listed in the [INVESTIGATOR MANUAL \(HRP-103\)](#).

Sincerely,
 Douglas Grafel
 IRB Admin Review Coordinator Institutional
 Review Board

APPENDIX B

PARTICIPANT INFORMED CONSENT FORM



University of Colorado
Boulder

Human Research Study

Title of research study: Identity and Organization: A Study of Chief Diversity Officers within Higher Education

Investigator: Kristina Ruiz-Mesa

Why am I being invited to take part in a research study?

I, Kristina Ruiz-Mesa, a doctoral candidate in Communication Studies at the University of Colorado at Boulder, invite you to take part in a research study because this dissertation research project will investigate how diversity officers in higher education negotiate identity in their organizational positions. As a diversity officer in higher education, you have experience in this position and as such, I am inviting you to participate in this research project.

What should I know about a research study?

- Someone will explain this research study to you.
- Whether or not you take part is up to you.
- You can choose not to take part.
- You can agree to take part and later change your mind.
- Your decision will not be held against you.
- You can ask all the questions you want before you decide.

Who can I talk to?

If you have questions, concerns, or complaints, or think the research has hurt you, please talk to the principle investigator, Kristina Ruiz-Mesa, a doctoral candidate and graduate researcher in the Department of Communication at the University of Colorado at Boulder, 270 UCB, Boulder, CO 80309. Kristina can be reached at Kristina.ruizmesa@colorado.edu. You may also contact Kristina's faculty advisor, Tim Kuhn, at the same mailing address or via email at Tim.kuhn@colorado.edu.

This research has been reviewed and approved by an Institutional Review Board ("IRB"). You may talk to them at (303) 735-3702 or irbadmin@colorado.edu if:

- Your questions, concerns, or complaints are not being answered by the research team.
- You cannot reach the research team.
- You want to talk to someone besides the research team.
- You have questions about your rights as a research subject.
- You want to get information or provide input about this research.

IRB Approval Date

IRB Document Revision Date: April 8, 2013 HRP-502: TEMPLATE – Consent Document v2

Why is this research being done?

The purpose of this research is to explore how diversity officers negotiate identity within their professional positions within higher education. The interviews and participant observation will allow me the opportunity to understand how the role of diversity officers impacts conceptions of professional and personal identity. A benefit of this interview would be to share best practices in identity work, as well as a clearer conception of discursive resources used by diversity officers.

How long will the research last?

We expect that you will be in the research study interview for 30 to 60 minutes. I will be respectful of your time, and if at any point in the interview you would like to reschedule or cancel our interview, I will be happy to comply. Our interview will be semi-structured, and as such, you will have a large say in the direction and content of our interview.

How many people will be studied?

I expect about 60 people will be involved this research study including chief diversity officers. Of these 60 individuals, I expect 40-50 will be interviewed.

What happens if I say yes, I want to be in this research?

If you agree to take part in this study, you will be asked to take part in an interview in which you will be asked a series of questions. You will be asked questions about your role as a diversity officer in higher education, and how this organizational position impacts identity work. Our interview will be conversational and I will ask questions from my interview guide, but you will control the direction and depth of the interview.

For the purpose of transcription and analysis, I would like to audio record our conversation. I will only keep your voice recording until the data is transcribed and analyzed. Once the research project is completed, all audio recordings will be deleted. Our interview will take place either over the phone or via Skype.

What happens if I do not want to be in this research?

You can leave the research at any time and it will not be held against you.

What happens if I say yes, but I change my mind later?

You can choose to end the interview at any time, and it will not be held against you. You can answer in as detailed manner as you choose, or refuse to answer any questions. If you choose to withdraw from this study, it will be up to you whether you would like me to keep and analyze any or all data associated with our interview.

Is there any way being in this study could be bad for me?

There are some minimal risks if you take part in this study. Minor emotional and/or psychological risks are possible when you discuss your identity struggles associated with your organizational position as a higher education or hate crimes that occur on campus. The probability of these risks is low, however if you would like to stop the interview at any time, please let me know.

In addition to these risks, this research may hurt you in ways that are unknown. These may be a minor inconvenience or may be so severe as to cause death.

Will being in this study help me any way?

We cannot promise any benefits to you or others from your taking part in this research and there will be no financial compensation for your time. However, possible benefits of participating in this study include giving back to the diversity in higher education literature, reflecting on your experience as a diversity officer, and helping other diversity officers by sharing your experience. Upon completion of my research project, I will be happy to share a copy of my completed data analysis and final dissertation via e-mail.

What happens to the information collected for the research?

Any and all efforts will be made to limit the use and disclosure of your personal information to people who have a need to review this information. I will make every effort to maintain the privacy of your data, however cannot promise complete secrecy. Your consent forms will be stored in a locked filing cabinet in the researcher’s private office, and all interview and participant observational data will be stored on a secure, password-protected computer and cloud. Your name will not be connected to your interview answers. Pseudonyms will be used for individuals and institution to ensure confidentiality and your organizational title will not be used. If you consent to the interview being audio recorded, the recording will be destroyed upon the final reporting of data in research publication.

These are some reasons that I may need to share the information you give me with others:

- If it is required by law.
- If I think you or someone else could be harmed.
- Sponsors, government agencies or research staff may sometimes look at forms like this and other study records. They do this to make sure the research is done safely and legally. Organizations that may look at study records include:
 - i. Office for Human Research Protections or other federal, state, or international regulatory agencies
 - ii. The University of Colorado Boulder Institutional Review Board

Any Questions?

Before signing this consent form, do you have any questions we can discuss together?

Your signature documents your permission to take part in this research.

Signature of subject

Date

Printed name of subject

Signature of person obtaining consent

Date

Printed name of person obtaining consent

IRB Approval Date

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW GUIDE

- **Diversity Officer Position**
 - Tell me about your position as a diversity officer.
 - How did you get into higher education administration?
 - Did you always imagine yourself working in higher education?
 - What are some of the challenges you face in your position as a diversity officer?
 - What are some of the benefits of your position as a diversity officer?
 - What areas on campus do you see as champions or allies of your work?
 - Are there areas within higher education where diversity initiatives are more difficult to implement or assess?
 - If you could change one thing about your position, what would it be?
 - What is your favorite thing about your position?
 - How would others on this campus describe your work?
 - How would you describe the work that you do on this campus? Do you think that this position differs from this position on other campuses? If yes, how so?
 - How does your diversity mission statement reflect and, perhaps conflict, with the institutional mission?
 - If your position and office could be placed anywhere within the organization, where would you be placed, who would you report to, and why?
 - How do your professional organizations describe and represent your work? How about the media? Are these descriptions and representations accurate?

- **Participant Identities**
 - How would you describe yourself? If I asked you to describe yourself both professionally and personally, what would you say?
 - Would you say that your personal identities impact your professional identities? If so, how?
 - How do you identify in terms of race, ethnicity, gender, gender identity? Do you feel like any of your identities are called upon in your work? If so, how?
 - Do you feel that this position has changed, magnified, or minimized your connection with any of your identities?
 - Do you feel like you have a master identity or identities that guide your experiences? If so, which identities or intersections?

- **Experiences of Work and Identity**
 - How did you learn to be a diversity officer?
 - Who or what helped you to be the diversity officer you are today?
 - When I say “diversity work” what images come to your mind?
 - What do you think others in higher education imagine when they hear “diversity work”?
 - What words do others use to describe your work? Are they accurate? Do they challenge the ways you see yourself and/or your work?
 - Who does diversity in higher education serve?

- What does your work mean to you? To your students? Colleagues?
 - If I spoke to 20 year old you, what would you say about the work you currently do?
 - When you are advocating for a policy or a student, what images, mentors, or words come to your mind?
 - In your experience in higher education, where is the center of organizational power? Is this power center problematic or ideal?
 - What are the biggest challenges facing students in higher education? Faculty? Staff? Administrators?
 - If I asked you to describe your position as a diversity officer in one word, what would it be? Why? What do you think about this word? Is it the same word you would have used when you started this role? If no, what changed?
- **Closing thoughts**
 - If you could give advice to a new diversity officer in higher education, what would you say?
 - How do you see your position as a diversity officer at this institution changing over the next decade?
 - Are there questions that I did not ask, that you wish I would have asked?
 - Anything else you would like to share?