A Diversity Framework for Higher Education  
*Inclusive and Differentiated*

It may seem strange to begin a chapter describing a diversity framework with a discussion of technology. But in my view our current discourse on diversity in the academy is narrow and static—so much so that it does not permit the change that is needed to build institutions’ capacity to function in our increasingly diverse society. Considering technology allows us to take a look at another change in the environment that has transformed higher education. Because of its increasing centrality to institutional life, it serves as a useful parallel. Technology has been understood to be an imperative—a necessity that, despite all the challenges of change, must be implemented without excuses. Establishing diversity as an institutional imperative is one purpose of this book, so it is appropriate to begin with a perspective on what the technology imperative has meant institutionally, and how it might help illuminate how diversity might be considered.

Several decades ago, when technological changes were emerging in society in the form of desktop computers and word processing, campuses throughout the country began to accept the need to educate for a technological society, and they began to build their own institutional capacity to function in that society. Technology imperatives appeared in strategic-planning documents, capital plans, curricular discussions, and educational objectives. Research and development on many aspects of technology began, and partnerships with industry emerged. Although student learning and educating students were central parts of the discussion, a more overarching and largely unquestioned assumption was that institutions themselves would need to prepare their infrastructures for a new era in technology. There were major debates at the time about what computer literacy meant (including whether one had to know programming to be literate or whether word-processing skills were enough), but the institutional debates were focused on questions such as whether the platform that served the sciences could also serve the humanities, how much money needed to be spent, what vendors to use, and how to computerize payroll, registration, and admissions.
The debates about definitions of computer literacy quickly became moot. What emerged as important were institutional needs and developing the capacity of faculty and staff to work in this new context. Desktop computers were offered, and much time was spent introducing the new technologies of word processing and then e-mail to staff and faculty on the campus, even as many faculty and staff in science and engineering were using and developing much more sophisticated technologies.

In an important way, technology was no longer the sole domain of science and technical fields; it quickly touched all aspects of the institution. The curriculum in virtually all fields was changed to engage technological advances, including the arts, the humanities, urban planning, and architecture, as well as the traditional scientific and social science fields. Hiring shifted as new fields of expertise were seen as necessary for student learning and for keeping the disciplines current. Basic values of academic culture even shifted somewhat, to legitimate connections to industry and the technological partnerships that could be developed. Strategic-planning documents asserted the imperative of technology, and budget plans estimated how much would have to be spent to build the necessary institutional capacity. The mainstreaming of e-mail and the Web, and the ubiquitous presence of integrated information systems, has changed how institutions communicate and how the campus presents itself to the outside world. Many campuses have even introduced chief information/technology officers, whose job is to ensure that the relationships among all the technology initiatives across the institution are strategically coordinated.

There have been controversies, to be sure. Online courses have raised serious concerns about the ownership of ideas and intellectual property in general. Security and privacy are matters of concern. And to some degree the infusion of technology suggested a cultural shift in which technology seemed not only to take over for people, but to suggest a value shift from people to machines. Significantly, while many of the shifts came with great costs and were not always easy to manage, there was virtually no question about the imperative to build institutional capacity for technology into every campus in the country. Rather, questions were framed in terms of how to minimize the risks, how “cutting edge” to be, or how far to develop different opportunities that emerged. Even those who hated the idea understood that technology was inevitable and essential if the campus was to remain viable and vital. It also became clear that the campus had to either identify or hire people who had the necessary expertise to manage the new technologies and to advise about the best strategies in the context of the institution’s mission. The hiring of faculty and staff with technological competence increased, and professional development was designed, and continues to be used, to bring others “up to speed.”

There have been, over time, issues of definition (are we discussing distance learning, digitizing information, new pedagogies?), structure (should the organization of technology be centralized or decentralized?), and what constitutes excellence (in hiring and knowledge). There has also been anxiety about what the changes will bring to the form of things near and dear to the academy. Will libraries disappear, or (as it appears) will they be reconfigured? Will books disappear, or (as it appears) will they come in multiple formats? Will technology make history and other disciplines irrelevant, or (as it appears) will it influence and make more accessible the significant knowledge of the classics?

Overall, technology has introduced new approaches and new knowledge: affected research, pedagogy, and communication; and created links that would not have been possible in an earlier era. Moreover, it has forced institutions to build capacity—the resources, expertise, and talent—to function and work in a technological world. What is seen as excellent and essential has also changed with the advent of the resources of technology. While there are some who are saddened by some of the changes and who long for a simpler time, few institutions would turn their back on what technology offers. As Friedman wrote in The World Is Flat (2005), “the experiences of the high-tech companies in the last few decades who failed to navigate the rapid changes . . . may be a warning to all . . . that are now facing these inevitable, even predictable, changes but lack the leadership, flexibility, and imagination to adapt” (p. 46).

Diversity, like technology, represents a powerful change in our environment. Like technology, it is an imperative that must be engaged if institutions are to be successful in a society that is ever more pluralistic and in a world that is both interconnected and challenged by diversity. Diversity, like technology, introduces significant strategic opportunities to fulfill the mission of higher education and to serve institutional excellence. And, as with technology, the challenges and changes keep coming at the same time that the institution must continue to function. This understanding of diversity begins at the institutional and societal levels. Nonetheless, diversity is far more contested than technology with respect to questions about the strategies for achieving
change—or even whether it must be addressed at all. While technology, too, is about power, it is not nearly as contentious as race and gender or justice and inequity in our society. No one has had to “prove” the benefits of technology; no legal challenges have ensued over whether the people hired under job descriptions that focus on technology were hired unfairly; and so on. Technology is understood as an imperative to be engaged without excuses.

There is another potentially useful parallel between technology and diversity. When the technology was new, the changes fundamentally challenged existing ways of doing things. Converting existing registration systems, including hand-entered data, was not easy. The early format for the Web was cumbersome and not user-friendly. And the basic cultures of institutions did not support technology. Today, while conversions are still not easy, the fundamental framework for technology exists. Moreover, many of the changes have facilitated institutional functioning and have in fact turned out to be a “good thing.”

Today, the Web facilitates research and is easily used because of the developments in search engines. Similarly, in the environmental movement, early technologies were designed to reduce the waste and pollution of old technologies, such as those built into cars and power plants. Doing so was cumbersome and expensive. With the advent of new technologies, there is the promise of machines that no longer need to be cleaned up; the new systems and technologies will be “clean” to begin with. At that time, the culture will have changed, and the costs of being “green” will diminish.

What does this mean for diversity? Current efforts are largely focused on interrupting and changing embedded patterns and practices that serve to exclude and devalue. This process is, by its very nature, cumbersome and expensive. It is possible, however, that efforts to transform the academy and scholarship to fully embrace diversity will ultimately, as happened with the acceptance of technology, produce new ways of proceeding that become part of normal practice and that reflect excellence. Florida, in his response to Friedman’s The World Is Flat, suggests that the world is also “spiky”: technology is important, but institutions, especially colleges and universities, have an opportunity to be hubs of creativity that build on diversity, places that are “open to new ideas, cultivate freedom of expression, and are accepting of differences, eccentricity, and diversity” (Florida, Gates, Knudsen, & Stolarick, 2006, p. 35). Institutions that are more diverse and that have developed new ways will be able to respond to change and will be more viable, as well as potentially more attractive to diverse groups of people.

A Framework for Diversity

Perhaps one of the most vexing dilemmas on campuses is how to define diversity. As discussions of diversity proceed on college campuses across the country, the question of defining it often touches on the question of who gets included and why (Levinson, 2003). In a diversity task force, do we restrict the conversation to race and ethnicity, especially for underrepresented persons of color (African Americans, Latinos, and American Indians), or do we present diversity as a long list of identities—a list that, while being more inclusive, might also mean that issues of diversity lose focus? In the previous chapters, I used the term diversity rather loosely to incorporate many different elements that are salient for institutions and are parts of an individual’s or group’s identity. The list included, among other identities, race, ethnicity, gender, class, sexual orientation, and ability. Today, however, we need to incorporate the complexity of diversity in such a way that the concept does not become watered down and generic. On the other hand, it needs to be inclusive. How can that be accomplished?

Historical Evolution

There are conceptual and historic ways of thinking about diversity that can reflect both inclusiveness and differentiation. Because the framework that I will suggest is aligned with the development of diversity over time, I offer here an overview of the evolution of diversity efforts over the past fifty years. This description will necessarily be broad. It will be useful, however, as a way of connecting the past with a strategic future.

OPENING DOORS

The earliest efforts toward diversity were attempts to open doors to those who were excluded by law from educational institutions. While many of our current discussions about diversity take as their historical source the early stages of the civil rights movement and issues of access to higher education that gained momentum during that period, the struggle for access to education predates the 1960s. There were many other challenges to lack of access and to segregation throughout the country involving Blacks, Chicanos, Asian Americans, and American Indians (Aguirre, 2005; Chesler, Lewis, & Crowfoot, 2005; Ladson-Billings, 2006; MacDonald & García, 2003; Moreno, 1999; Valencia, 2008). The landmark desegregation case involving Chicanos on the
West Coast, *Mendez v. Westminster* (1947), is but one of many cases often overlooked; it would go on to provide an important precedent for the historic Brown case seven years later. Indeed, Chicano and Asian groups were fighting segregation in numerous locations, but especially on the West Coast. Nonetheless, much of the early work on diversity in higher education is centered on the civil rights movement in the South and, in particular, on the civil rights movement most visibly represented by African Americans and White women.

That era of struggle led to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and various executive orders for affirmative action that focused on ensuring access to higher education for historically underrepresented minorities (African Americans, Latinos, and American Indians) and for White women in fields in which they were underrepresented. The struggle for access concerned not only student admissions, but hiring as well. Significantly, and a fact often lost in current discussions, affirmative action was not framed as a method to hire or admit people, but rather as a way to hold institutions accountable and to minimize discriminatory practices against protected classes for whom discrimination was documented.

Other pathbreaking legal and legislative mandates also pushed higher education to make changes. The 1965 Higher Education Act established need-based financial aid for the first time, along with the creation of TRIO early-intervention programs for underrepresented minorities and low-income students. In 1972, the Basic Educational Opportunity Grants (later renamed Pell Grants) were a long-overdue fulfillment of the recommendation of the Truman Commission report of 1947 to open access to higher education to people from all classes (Thelin, 2004). The landmark legislation of Title IX (1972) mandating access for women in athletics was important not only because it required equivalent support for male and female athletes, but also because it did not permit the excuse that women didn't want to do athletics. Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 and the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 required that campuses move to provide access and accommodation for persons with disabilities. Thus, legal and policy initiatives provided some of the framework and pressure for diversity efforts early on.

**BEYOND OPEN DOORS**

In the 1960s and 1970s, the prevailing notion was that by opening the doors to higher education, the inequities of exclusion would be remedied. While the focus on access did make a difference, it did not take long for the literature on higher education to reveal a shift from a concern solely about access to a concern about student success as well (Garcia, 2002; Smith, 2005). Because so much research was designed to compare students who succeeded with those who did not, and because there was little systematic study of institutions, it is not surprising that the early research in this area directed attention almost entirely to students and the reasons for their failure. As a result, campus efforts targeted student preparation (almost certainly a part of the issue), the effect of family culture (much of which has been disputed), and motivation. Today, this deficit model, while still embedded in some research, policies, and procedures, is less credible (Blake, 1985; Walser, 2006). Nonetheless, the notion that students are “at risk” because of their background rather than “at risk” because of their experiences on campus continues to inform many campus efforts, even though, as we shall see in chapter 7, who is at risk and why varies wildly.

In the 1970s and 1980s, more topics of diversity were framed in such a way as to highlight the institution and the ways in which colleges and universities were and were not prepared to educate diverse students of color for success (Gândara, 1999; Gándara & Contreras, 2009; Nakashima & Nishida, 1995; Sedlacek, 1999; Smith, 2005; Stein & Malcolm, 1998; Wright & Tierney, 1991). Nevertheless, even today, diversity efforts are largely focused, as they were in previous decades, on outreach, access, and success—mostly at the undergraduate level and mostly in terms of underrepresented-minority (URM) students. Gender issues for White women remain for certain science and engineering fields. And too often, concerns about access and success remain centered on issues of preparation at the K–12 level.

In more selective institutions, as we shall discuss in chapter 4, the focus has been on maintaining affirmative action as a tool for diversity. Although affirmative action became the mechanism for admissions in such institutions, it has been a contested one since the Bakke decision in 1978. Today, admissions remains a topic of huge debate and concern (Altbach, Berdahl, & Gumport, 2005; Gallacher & Osborne, 2005; Lowe, 1999; Massey, Charles, Lundy, & Fischer, 2003; Wilson, 1995a). There is still a heavy reliance on parallel processes to ensure diversity in admissions even as these approaches have been limited by recent legal and policy mandates and even though they have had only limited success. Increasingly, the basis for using race or gender as a factor is whether diversity is central to the institution’s academic mission. Fundamentally, the concern in highly selective admissions will be an institutional one: how to develop the capacity to identify talent in students who might not look like the “traditional” student.
Although much of the national attention to diversity has emphasized the admissions debates, the role of community colleges, as the point of entry for many low-income and URM students, has also been important. Over the decades, the question of whether community colleges adequately serve as a bridge to the bachelor’s degree or employment or whether they serve as a place that limits opportunity has put increasing pressure on these institutions to attend to issues of success, not just access.

Remedial education has also been a cause of concern in four-year public institutions, especially where there is great ambivalence about providing it. Despite research showing that remediation has been with higher education for centuries, there remains the belief that this is the responsibility of community colleges or high schools, rather than four-year colleges and universities. However, a growing body of research suggests that engaging remediation through attention to more advanced approaches, rather than basic skills, has greater potential for success (Merisotis & Phipps, 2000). Included in this research is a concern about faculty capacity to interrupt patterns of failure through effective pedagogy and classroom structures (Merrow, 2007). Student support services directed to academic and social concerns remain a high priority in trying to improve the experiences of students from diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds, especially those from underrepresented communities.

In contrast to the focus on undergraduates, the issue of diversity in graduate education has remained in the shadows. However, it has begun to emerge as an important topic—in part because of the need to build capacity in the sciences, ensure a diverse faculty, and improve graduation rates, time to degree, and the relationship between the PhD and the needs of society (Golde & Walker, 2006; Goldman & Massy, 2001; National Research Council, 1997; Nettles & Millet, 2006; Perna, 2004; Woodrow Wilson Foundation, 2005).

Thus, the literature on outreach, access, and success today parallels strongly the literature of forty and fifty years ago. However, access and success is now stressed with increasing urgency, given changing demographics, the central role of education for individuals and the society, and, perhaps, the time constraints placed on the Supreme Court’s Michigan case. The difference is that today access and success is more often (though not always) framed as something the institution needs to be accountable for. A strong alignment between the changing demographics of society and concerns about the economic future of society has made accountability highly relevant, particularly with respect to the achievement gap (Clotfelter, Ehrenberg, Getz, & Siegfried, 1991; Gándara, Orfield, & Horn, 2006; Haycock, 2006; Jaeger & Page, 1996; Kirsch, Braun, Yamamoto, & Sum, 2007; Swail, Cabrera, & Lee, 2004; Watson, Cabrera, Lee, & Williams, 2005). Student success is today more likely to be seen as a reflection of institutional success or lack thereof.

Moreover, a much more robust body of research and programmatic approaches illuminate the conditions under which success can be developed regardless of a student's background. More campuses are focusing less on remediation and more on academic success and excellence. The use of data, as with the Equity Scorecard (Bensimon, 2004; Bensimon, Polkington, Buman, & Vallejo, 2004), and the development of new approaches to honors programs, gateway courses, and a focus on success in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) fields have increased.

CLIMATE

Activists in the 1960s and 1970s understood that access and success was a function of institutional practices and environments. Sandler’s term “chilly climate” (1983) became a central organizing concept to capture ways to describe institutions with respect to openness to race/ethnicity, sexual orientation, women’s issues, and religion. The regular occurrence of hate crimes and racist, sexist, antisemitic, anti-Muslim, and homophobic incidents even today keeps campuses responding and reacting as each event occurs.

The study of campus climate provides opportunities to reflect on the culture and values of a campus, how people are treated, and how they perceive the institution with respect to diversity (Hurtado, 1992; Hurtado et al., 2012; Hurtado et al., 1998; Rankin, 2003). Concerns about the climate for diverse groups of faculty and staff have also prompted studies of the climate in schools and departments, work with deans and department chairs, and staff development. Invariably, work on climate leads to additional programmatic and policy recommendations related to hiring, teaching and curriculum, admissions, town-gown relationships, and community health.

CURRICULUM

In the early work on diversity, the introduction of ethnic studies programs, ethnic centers for students, women's studies programs, and women's centers was central to strategies for adding a diversity element to the education and climate of the campus. Beginning through grassroots student and faculty activism, ethnic studies programs were developed to create locations for new scholarship and teaching and ultimately to challenge some of the core as-
sumptions of the traditional curriculum (Hu-DeHart, 1995; McLaurin, 2001). At the same time, the development of women’s studies programs introduced gender into the curriculum and into institutional practices. Although most colleges and universities claimed to be coeducational and included male and female students, new scholarship at that time tried to underscore the Eurocentric and male bias in the curriculum and scholarship. The absence of women in STEM fields and the limited access for women to many graduate programs were important topics, though implicitly, this was mostly about White women (Rosser, 1995). These efforts on ethnicity and gender were compensatory in nature, but at their core they were also trying to show how generic approaches to knowledge were not sufficient and how knowledge itself reflects existing power and social structures (see, e.g., Banks, 1997; Butler & Walter, 1991; Cortés, 2002; Darder, 1991; Espiritu, 1997; Greene, 2003; Hu-DeHart, 1994, 1995; Hull, Scott, & Smith, 1982; Hune, 2003; Minnich, 2005; Minnich, O’Barr, & Rosenfeld, 1988; Nardi & Schneider, 1998; Perkins, 1983; Schmitz, Butler, Rosen-felt, & Guy-Sheftall, 1995; L. T. Smith, 1999; Winston, 1994).

Using the resources and scholarship developed through ethnic and women’s studies programs and research, curriculum transformation became a huge effort in the 1970s and 1980s. Propelled by student activism and the efforts of a handful of faculty, especially faculty of color and White women, the goal was not only to develop pedagogy and knowledge appropriate for the increasing diversity of the student body, but also to critique the adequacy of knowledge that claimed to be generic. The theme of invisibility was important. Takaki (1993) asked, “What happens when historians leave out many of America’s people?” (p. 16). Adrienne Rich (1986) captured the significance of invisibility: “But invisibility is a dangerous and painful condition, and lesbians are not the only people to know it. When those who have power to name and socially construct reality choose not to see you and hear you, whether you are dark-skinned, old, disabled, female, or speak with a different accent or dialect than others, when someone with the authority of a teacher, says, describes the world and you are not in it, there is a moment of psychic disequilibrium, as if you looked into a mirror and saw nothing” (p. 199).

Peggy McInnis’s curriculum transformation scheme (1983) provided, and still provides, a heuristic tool for seeing the intellectual shifts that have occurred in many disciplines. While she initially used gender as the focus, the perspective of race quickly emerged. The model can be applied as well to any form of identity group, and also to the issues concerning intersections of groups. She uses history as an example of how curriculum has evolved. In this process, the first stage is history without regard to gender or race; it is the study of wars and kings. Social history, the history of people’s lives and communities, is seen as peripheral.

The second stage focuses on history with exceptions. In this stage, history is still about wars and kings, but with an effort to find exemplars from absent groups—women and persons of color, for example. Here we might include Joan of Arc or find a lone African American general. The next stage involves studying why certain groups were not present, usually in terms of deficit characteristics. In this period, one attributes a group’s absence to its characteristics—women’s brains’ being deficient for doing math and science, for example. One sees considerable research on why URM students are not successful, why women cannot do math, and why many diverse groups are not well represented in the disciplines or present in leadership positions. As ethnic studies and women’s studies grew, they gave voice to a large body of literature focused not on comparing women to men, or Blacks to Whites, but on the study of groups in their own right. This period also gave rise to the early work on the intersections of race and gender, in particular. This phase of research, which continues today, has allowed for the knowledge base that informs much of the current pedagogical, curricular, and scholarly work and that continues to push for the final stage in McInnis’s model—intellectual and curricular transformation for all.

By opening up fields of scholarship to new ways of understanding and thinking, many disciplines have changed. The study of race, class, gender, sexuality, and culture has transformed many fields. The field of history now legitimates social and educational history, which, if properly taught, includes many people from diverse backgrounds. It also makes the study of history connected to many aspects of society apart from war. The study of human development has been fundamentally transformed by the scholarship related to identity. Even the study of women in science has legitimized women’s presence in science and points to the institutional and structural impediments to careers in science or to the advancement of persons of color and White women (Harding, 1986; Minnich, 2005; Rendón, 2005). As Minnich (2005) cautions, however, ”to pluralize is to hold open the question of whom we really mean to include, and why. It is a beginning. . . . We cannot think better about all of us if we simply tack ‘and women,’ ‘and disabled women,’ ‘and minorities,’ ‘and other people of color’ onto the same old exclusive meanings” (p. 11).
Today, the change in the curriculum and an increasing body of scholarship related to diversity, especially in ethnic studies and women’s studies, represent an important shift from fifty years ago, when these topics were not even visible, let alone acceptable. A significant number of campuses now have diversity requirements (Humphreys, 1997) as core to the institution’s educational mission. These requirements are most often located in the general education program. However, the lack of clarity and the laundry-list approach to diversity have left many—those who argue for the need to increase the cultural competence of all students—dissatisfied with the more generic or singular focus of many of these requirements. At the same time, many more disciplines have incorporated diversity to some extent into the core canon of the field. As the scholarship grows in breadth, depth, and complexity, many campuses are being challenged to do more to incorporate diversity into the curriculum and teaching at every level.

Religion, race, gender, and class, to mention just a few identities, intersect in profoundly important ways and touch on societal issues that are pressing campuses to continue the intellectual transformation of the academy. If one reviews the challenges facing societies reviewed in chapter 1, it is apparent that engaging research and teaching that matters will necessarily engage topics that require embedding diversity. International relations today would require a sophisticated understanding of the role of salient identities in societies and the conditions under which groups that have historical grievances can be brought together. American political science certainly would have to address race/ethnicity, gender, class, religion and other salient identities to analyze voting patterns. To understand health care, health disparities, and health outcomes one would need to understand how these dimensions vary for different communities. In sum, good academic work almost inevitably requires immersion in the elements of diversity.

Although there remain tensions and questions about the legitimacy of scholarship on groups from diverse perspectives, there is no doubt that such work is closer to the center than the margin. That said, considerable concern exists as to whether these fields have had to abandon some of their critique of higher education in order to become more legitimate (Boxer, 2001; Rojas, 2007). For example, while ethnic studies and women’s studies built in a link between praxis and theory as part of the development of the field, some would argue that in an effort to be more acceptable, they have had to develop a more scholarly orientation with fewer links to praxis (Soldatenko, 2001). To the degree that this is true, there is a certain irony, because at the same time we see exponential growth in the fields of community studies and service learning, in order to provide greater links between student learning and praxis off and on campus. Questions of pedagogy and engaged learning have also been informed by efforts to link academic work with its applications. Such efforts relate not only to service-learning initiatives, but also to problem-based learning, from engineering to medical education.

Most of the effort regarding academic change has focused on the faculty. As a result, faculty development has been a central part of diversity work. Indeed, there has been an increase in the number and percentage of faculty involved in curricular transformation (Morey & Kitano, 1997; Musil, García, Moses, & Smith, 1995; Musil et al., 1999). Thousands of faculty across the country have been involved in some level of curriculum-transformation work. Where they have been most successful, the approach has been linked to the academic mission of the institution, excellence in education, and building faculty capacity. They have been less successful where curriculum change seems to be a superficial effort to transform the appearance of the syllabus rather than engage the substantive perspectives that diversity raises for scholarship and pedagogy. A significant part of current diversity initiatives across the country continue to engage faculty in the scholarship related to diversity and to curriculum transformation. The aspects of diversity brought into these efforts are quite broad, because educating all students for a pluralistic society must inevitably be inclusive, and constantly developing.

The educational focus of diversity and the concerns about student success have also raised important questions about pedagogy. Many campuses have approached the topic of teaching and learning through the lens of learning styles. While this approach runs the risk of incorporating stereotyped ways of characterizing groups that do not reflect individual and group variation, it has opened the door to the consideration of variations in how individuals learn and how to incorporate those approaches for the benefit of all students (Lawry, Laurison, & Van Antwerpen, 2006; Tushim & Reddy, 2002). The growing areas of service learning, learning communities, problem-based learning, and civic engagement are often not at all related to diversity but in fact have significant implications for classroom interactions, learning, and success. In addition, as diversity has increased and some of the issues related to diversity have grown more contentious, building capacity to use conflict to facilitate learning has emerged as increasingly important (Palmer, 2002).
INSTITUTIONAL-LEVEL CHANGE

Whatever the diversity issue, recommendations and challenges for change invariably require institutional changes (Martin, 2000; National Science Foundation Advance Project, 2002). In part as a result of legal challenges, but also because of the need to defend diversity as an important institutional imperative, more and more campuses have been placing diversity at the institutional level, beyond climate and beyond the curriculum. Diversity is discussed to some degree in terms of institutional mission statements, strategic planning documents, and the need to try to build diversity in leadership. Faculty diversity, especially in ethnicity and gender, has been the object of numerous efforts on campuses all across the country in the past fifty years. Rhetorical statements about the need for diversity throughout the leadership of the campus are common.

As a result of national conversations about the future of democracy and the changing demographics in society, even boards of trustees have begun to ask questions about how the institution is building its capacity and in what ways it is successful with respect to diversity. Most often, these conversations at the institutional level remain focused on undergraduates, undergraduate education, and undergraduate success. Recently, as a result of the growing numbers of programs and approaches, campuses have begun to appoint a chief diversity officer (CDO) whose task, in part, is to advise senior leadership and help coordinate efforts. The increasing number of people in this role is reflected in the development of a CDO national organization, an annual conference, and a journal, the *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*. The development of this position is still very much in flux with respect to goals, appropriate structures for different kinds of institutions, and the conditions needed to have a CDO be successful rather than the single point for "all things diversity" (Williams & Wade-Golden, 2013a, 2013b; Stevenson, 2014).

We have some detailed information about what campus strategies have involved during the six-year period from 2000 to 2005 because of the Campus Diversity Initiative (CDI), funded by the James Irvine Foundation in California. This $29 million effort was designed to assist twenty-eight independent colleges and universities in California in strategically improving campus diversity, with the aim of increasing the access and success of low-income and URM students in higher education.

An important part of the initiative was to build in a strong evaluation component to help each institution focus its strategies and track progress. A team of researchers from around the country under the auspices of Claremont Graduate University and the Association of American Colleges and Universities, led by principal researchers Alma Clayton-Pedersen, Sharon Parker, and myself, worked with the campuses to build their capacity to measure success, to make corrections, and ultimately to broaden and sustain their efforts beyond the scope of grant-funded projects. Another purpose of the evaluation was to contribute to the field. There will be references throughout this book describing the results of the evaluation and the research that emerged.

One element of this work was to look at what strategies the campuses were employing. While the strategies developed were all located in the particular context of the mission, resources, size, and selectivity of the campus, there was considerable overlap. Virtually all the campuses with undergraduate programs used resources to increase access, and more than half focused on success. Three-fourths allocated funds to support faculty development in curriculum, teaching, and research, and more than half of the campuses focused on increasing faculty diversity. These efforts mirrored many of the efforts that have been developing nationwide over the past fifty years (Clayton-Pedersen, Parker, Smith, Moreno, & Teraguchi, 2007; Parker, 2007; D. G. Smith, 2004).

EMERGING ISSUES

The early discussions of diversity began with issues of access and developed into discussions about student success, campus climate, curriculum, scholarly research, and institutional domains such as hiring. This way of framing diversity, however, was often reactive, focused on responding to events and being implemented primarily to serve specific populations. Diversity was not necessarily embraced as central to institutional functioning and the building of an inclusive institutional culture.

Today, we have a large (and growing) number of efforts and programs, focused on engaging the many groups and issues that have emerged. The list of identities that fall under the diversity umbrella has grown longer, in part as a function of historic concerns about rights and the growing identity movements in the United States that include issues of race/ethnicity, gender, religion, sexual identity, class, nationality, multiracial and biracial identities, differential abilities, mental health, age, weight, and so on. In part, the growth in the list of salient identities is a function of the very dynamic context in which the diversity discussions on campus take place.

Race, ethnicity, class, and gender remain central; indeed, many of the historic issues pertaining to these identities are still the core of diversity efforts.
As will be clear in chapter 4, however, these issues are both the same as and quite different from the discussions of fifty years ago. The understanding of class has moved beyond income to include cultural norms and values. Moreover, the intersections of race, class, and gender have grown in importance (Borrego, 2004; Frable, 1997; Langhout, Rosselli, & Feinstein, 2006; Sleeper & Grant, 1988; Teranishi, Ceja, Antonio, Allen, & McDonough, 2004; Zandy, 1996, 2001). After September 11, campuses became acutely aware of the issues regarding campus climate for Muslim students and questioned whether the standard curricular offerings dealt thoroughly enough with Islam and the role of religion in contemporary society. Furthermore, there are a number of groups that are clearly underrepresented on campuses, such as Hmong students and others from Southeast Asia (Chang, Park, Lin, Poon, & Nakanishi, 2007).

The increase in immigration and the concern about undocumented immigrant students have drawn more attention to immigrant students than one might have predicted fifty years ago (Douglas, Roebken, & Thompson, 2007; Perez, 2009; Pérez & Cortés, 2011). Increased globalization has brought international issues to a higher priority as well. Also, while domestic discussions of diversity were clearly distinguished from international concerns fifty years ago, that boundary is much more porous as a result of immigration. Today, domestic Latino students identify not just with Puerto Rican, Chicano, Hispanic, and Cuban roots, but also with Central America, South America, and specific nationalities within those regions. Similarly, as Asian American communities have grown, they have shown a greater desire to make distinctions among the vastly different nationalities and ethnicities captured under that large category. Korean Americans, Filipinos, Japanese Americans, and Hmong have different narrative histories, different locations and experiences within higher education, and different ways of engaging in the diversity conversation (Oliver & Shapiro, 2001).

As diversity has increased, especially among students, the rationale for diversity has begun to include its educational benefits. At the same time, concerns have emerged as to whether students are engaging one another deeply and often. It is unfortunate that on too many campuses, the problem is framed as self-segregation, primarily concerning students of color. This way of describing the problem prompted a wonderful book by Tatum, Why Are All the Black Kids Sitting Together? (1997), in which she summarizes the social, political, and psychological issues concerning patterns in which identity groups in a minority seek each other out. As we shall see in chapters 6 and 7, identifying self-segregation as a problem is itself problematic. It ignores the history of self-segregation among Whites and the continuing evidence that it is White students who have less contact with students of color, instead of the reverse. Self-segregation among White fraternities and sororities has existed since the founding of higher education, yet intergroup efforts today are too often framed as a concern about ethnic groups that stick together (Tatum, 1997). This formulation also assumes that the issue is with the students and not with the environment in the institution. And it focuses on undergraduates, as if there were no intergroup concerns between and within faculty and staff groups.

The educational benefits have largely been focused on undergraduate education. But building the competence to function in a diverse society, whether in leadership, management, health, teaching, or other domains, means that building competence will become ever more critical in the professions, business world, and nonprofit sectors.

Some of these topics have been with us for decades, and others are newly emerging. In addition, as reviewed in chapter 2, our conceptual understandings of identity, once thought of as static and monodimensional, have expanded to recognize that identity is multidimensional and changing. Understandings of gender identity, for example, now reflect the growth in discussions about transgendered persons and the increasing experience with diversity within the "traditional" discussion about sexual orientation. Indeed, the literature on sexuality and gender identity shows the inadequacy of one of our last remaining dichotomies—the binary of male and female. Further, the increased visibility of multiracial students on campus and the census's introduction of multiple racial identities have more adequately captured the multiplicity of identity with respect to race and ethnicity and have served to add complexity to identity. Thus, the reality of the multiplicity and intersectionality of identities has emerged as important and inevitable (Collins, 1990; Omi, 2001; Wijeyesinghe & Jackson, 2001).

As a result, and to complicate matters further, it has become clear that many of our current category systems have to be questioned. Conventions that have proved functional for researchers and policy makers that aggregate groups have to be studied to see whether an aggregation still works. While many scholars in higher education, including myself, still find utility in referring to underrepresented minorities (URM) with respect to the historic underrepresentation of African Americans, Latinos, and American Indians, the data suggest that the experiences and trajectories of each group can be quite different and that aggregating data may mask important changes within...
them. The categories of Asian American, Latino, and even African American and American Indian have been and remain very useful, but there is a growing need to disaggregate data so as to differentiate the vastly different experiences for specific subgroups. It is also critically important to understand the need to disaggregate international hiring from domestic. And in some locations such as South Africa, language becomes an important unit of analysis (Jansen, 2014).

**Dimensions of Diversity: Reframing the Focus**

Institutional policy makers, then, are being faced with a great deal of diversity and with continually expanding notions of diversity. As a result, the number of potential programs and initiatives continues to grow. Diversity task forces around the country engage in uncomfortable discussions about the tension between being focused and being inclusive. “Plethoraophobia,” the fear of too many, seems to take over. I have seen many committed leaders throw up their hands in frustration with the implicit plea, “When will it stop?” At the same time, imagining a choice between picking the few identities that matter and defining diversity as a laundry list is not very satisfactory in most campus contexts. Conceptually, however, this is where most campuses seem to be.

To put in perspective the growing complexity in identities and diversity, it might help to think for a minute about the current growth in academic disciplines, fields, interdisciplines, subdisciplines, and, transdisciplines. While they may present administrative challenges, they are also seen as reflecting the cutting edge of knowledge and the intellectual vitality of the twenty-first century academy. Similarly, higher education is being forced, mostly through the increasing diversity of individuals on campus, to engage issues of diversity in ways that reflect its complexity and significance. Moreover, as we have seen with technology, moving through this complex interplay of issues holds the promise of change that will ultimately benefit the institution. But the key strategy here, conceptually and in terms of excellence, is to use these changes and pressures to rethink the institution, its capacity, and its core functions in order to serve the purposes of the campus and higher education.

Thus, rather than engaging diversity as a list of identities or creating a uniform set of policies and practices, framing diversity in terms of how the institution’s mission and goals can be improved through the lens of different groups or issues provides an opportunity for both inclusiveness and differentiation. For example, concerns in faculty hiring most often relate to race/ethnicity, gender (in particular fields), and the intersection of race and gender. In contrast, issues of sexual orientation and gender identity more often relate to climate or to institutional policies for domestic partners or access to restrooms than to admissions or hiring. Ability concerns can center on access, accommodation, climate, or scholarly work. Religious identity can develop as part of a curriculum conversation or because of an incident involving campus climate. Religion, especially in today’s geopolitical environment and following 9/11, raises concerns about the campus’s capacity to provide robust teaching and scholarship of non-Western religions and their role. By encouraging a differentiated look at the variety of identities, a campus is in a better position to engage diversity pluralistically and with greater equity and inclusiveness.

The framework presented here has emerged from diversity’s historical roots and from current issues that have emerged on campus, but it shifts the focus from groups to the institution. The framework incorporates four dimensions. While these have changed over time and might well be described differently, as others have done (e.g., Bensimon, 2004; Hubbard, 1998; Hurtado et al., 2012; Hurtado, Milen, Clayton-Pedersen, & Allen, 1998; Williams, Berger, & McClendon, 2005), they have been useful for capturing the work of diversity on campus and for helping to provide a structure by which a campus can describe and evaluate its efforts. This framework both engages the entire spectrum of identities and differentiates the concerns related to each. The four dimensions are access and success of underrepresented student populations, campus climate and intergroup relations, education and scholarship, and institutional viability and vitality (fig. 3.1). Together, the dimensions provide a way of understanding what institutional capacity for diversity might mean and what it might look like.

Because the history of diversity work on campuses began with a focus on access and success, beginning with that dimension—the heart and soul of much of diversity work—would run the risk of continuing to avoid the centrality of diversity as an institutional imperative. On most campuses, access and success is where diversity discussions start and remain. Fortunately, much of the research available suggests that the institutional and group perspectives are not in conflict. More data on this will be presented in later chapters. But in order to make sure that in this framework diversity is centrally identified with the institution, I begin with the institutional dimension.
mission. The mission can be a function of institutional type, but it can also be a function of location and history. In any case, mission matters.

For a research university, diversity will remain marginal unless it is central to the core research and scholarly mission. Yet highly selective research institutions often find their diversity debates centering on admissions criteria. In public institutions, in particular, legal challenges have inevitably placed undergraduate admissions under scrutiny (Douglass, 2007). Nevertheless, while admissions is important from a student point of view as well as from the institutional point of view, the mission of highly selective research universities is much more about scholarship, research, and impact on society at large. Once again, then, the topics raised in chapter 1 require a deep intellectual understanding of diversity.

To be sure, one key role of these institutions has been to grant an elite stamp to graduates who go on to serve in many leadership positions in society. But another central role is to produce knowledge and scholarly advances for society. Identifying and understanding the relationship of diversity to these advances is important to whether diversity will be positioned as marginal or central. In other areas, numerous examples of institutional change, faculty hiring, curricular innovation, and even fund-raising have emerged in research universities that desire to engage cutting-edge research and policy. For example, developing a nanotechnology initiative results in new hiring, new building construction, industry partnerships, and huge investments, because it puts an institution at the forefront of science. In contrast, if the focus of diversity is on undergraduate admissions and general education, diversity will not be seen as core to what the institution deems important and thus not deserving of extensive attention and resources.

For community colleges, building institutional capacity to focus resources and attention on student success and career pathways is urgent, and it is central to their historic mission. That mission is about access, expressed through educational programs and connections with employers to help students develop skills and competencies in a wide variety of fields. A community college might also focus on serving local communities in a variety of ways. It would be appropriate in such a context to ask whether the institution has the necessary faculty and staff expertise to facilitate student success. For example, if students arrive with developmental needs in math, does the campus have the expertise to successfully educate those students to fulfill basic math requirements and to go on in fields that might require math?

For community colleges today, the concern about student success and the
pathway to a four-year college is becoming urgent because so many students, particularly from poor or URM backgrounds, begin college there. Recent research on developmental education and the failure of students to successfully complete developmental education courses, especially in math, points to the need to interrupt patterns of failure with effective instruction (Clery & Solórzano, 2006; Dowd, 2007; Merrow, 2007).

What about an elite land-grant university? Such campuses also have a mission to serve state or regional needs, including serving communities. However, this mission is enacted not only through educating students, but often through applied and basic research designed to address pressing needs of the state. Health care, urban planning, education, agriculture, and regional partnerships might all be central to the mission and receive high priority in fund-raising, grants, budget allocations, and strategic priority setting. The degree to which diversity is understood to be related to such topics will be significant for building institutional capacity.

In most states, comprehensive public institutions have a role in educating the citizens of the state. They are often seen as economic “engines” as well, because of the kind of education provided to graduates who go into the community. Increasingly, comprehensive institutions are playing other roles as well, such as developing an adequate teaching force for the state, contributing to policy and research, and serving local communities. Diversity might become an economic issue for the campus to the degree that tuition costs are related to access across all economic groups. Diversity might also become a political issue, as it has in some states, when policy makers note with alarm the glaring racial and ethnic achievement gaps among students.

Among the more than four thousand colleges in the United States are many small private institutions with a wide range of missions and selectivity. The liberal arts colleges often place their emphasis on the broadening of students’ perspectives and preparation for leadership in a diverse society. In addition, an increasing cadre of for-profit institutions have emerged whose primary mission is providing specific and often applied educations to students. For many of these tuition-driven institutions, diversity is closely linked to institutional viability and survival. As the society becomes more diverse, the need to attract and keep students from diverse backgrounds in order for the institution to survive can place diversity conversations at the center.

While the descriptions provided here suggest distinct missions for each of these categories, the boundaries and distinctions among institutional types—as with identity and academic fields—are becoming less clear. What matters, however, is the ways in which a particular campus or system understands the relationship of diversity in its own context. Discussions of diversity from one campus to another too often look alike and undifferentiated. The discussions are often on tracks quite disparate from those of the strategic issues that really matter to the institution. A serious and deep look at the mission facilitates the process of embedding diversity more centrally and examining what it will take to develop the capacity to succeed strategically. A useful exercise is to look at core institutional documents—strategic plans, capital-campaign documents, accreditation self-studies, and so on—and ask whether and how diversity is engaged as a central element that grows out of the particular campus and the particular institutional type.

Culture. Culture and mission are related, but not the same. There is increasing work in the higher education literature on the important role that culture plays in an institution—in how the institution is perceived, its style, who is attracted to it, and who succeeds in it. Leadership and change can be dramatically affected by institutional culture (Aleman & Salk, 2003; Crutcher, 2006; Kezar & Eckel, 2002, 2005). This is especially true in relation to diversity. Roberto Ibarra (2003) draws attention to the embedded ways in which the culture of academe has developed from ethnic roots: “The cultures of our colleges and universities are permeated by cultural contexts forged from different academic roots. . . . While the ethnic markers disappeared long ago, the cultural contexts in higher education, such as preferences for individualized learning, as well as many gender preferences, have not. They have been incorporated into all academic disciplines” (p. 207).

Culture takes longer to change than climate, and it must be framed so that diversity can be facilitated rather than obstructed. Diversifying people in an institution can lead to greater turnover if the culture of the institution or the unit does not serve to validate and support them. The challenge, institutionally, is to scrutinize the culture so as to understand what is core and should not be changed and what must be changed in order to ensure that people from diverse backgrounds can thrive.

In many cases, campuses are not aware of the ways in which campus culture is transmitted. Cultures that have developed from particular customs, traditions, and values can create a sense of belonging and comfort for some but a sense of alienation and “otherness” for others (Johnsrud & Sadao, 1998). Padilla (2004), in thinking about the richness of Latino culture and what it offers, describes a form of alienation and also the loss to the institution resulting from the fact that most predominantly White institutions utilize an
Anglo way of knowing—saber—that focuses on formal learning, measurement, and objectivity. He notes another potentially important form of knowing that is expressed in Spanish: conocer (if I understand it correctly) emerges from relationships and experience. Emphasizing multiple ways of knowing and learning is certainly at the forefront of efforts to develop service learning, problem-based learning, and other pedagogies that recognize and validate the integration of experience with learning.

Because disciplines and culture are intertwined, one can see how diversity might be perceived as a threat to the integrity of a discipline. The fact is that in different academic disciplines, certain methodologies are valued, certain ways of doing things are accepted, and certain ways of framing issues are expected. These elements become codified in a culture with norms and values that can limit the openness to new ideas and people but can also be seen as central to the excellence of the field. At that point, diversity is seen as threatening accepted notions of excellence, not just culture. Thus, conversations about diversity in science have to at some point address the core aspects of science. If science is seen as a largely White and male culture, it will not be open. It is important to sort out what in science has come to reflect maleness and what in science reflects good science. The maleness culture presumably can be changed; good science should not. Perceptions that science is isolating, separate from real-world topics, and linear have been recently challenged for these reasons. Because many of these elements of bias in culture are hidden and not explicit, the conversation about culture is often difficult, especially for those immersed in it (Jones & Young, 1997; Margolis, 2001; Margolis & Fisher, 2002).

Human Capital. Another key element in building capacity for diversity is whether the campus has the human capital—the expertise—to engage diversity. Diversity in the staff, administration, faculty, and leadership is critical here, as is the competence of all people to engage diversity (Benjamin, 1997; Garcia, 2000; Lindsay, 2001; Moses, 1997; Sagaria, 2002; Santiago, 1996; Sue, 2001; Turner, 2007). The rationale for diversifying a campus needs to be made explicit. Often, the assumption is made that the reason for diversifying is that the student body is diversifying. As will be clear in chapter 5, most campuses in the United States have too much homogeneity in decision-making to build human capacity—something that puts decision-making, perceptions of commitment, and credibility at risk. Moreover, while the diversity literature emphasizes diversity in leadership, the general research on leadership is rather silent on the role of diverse people and also what kinds of competence it takes to lead in a pluralistic society (Smith, 2011b, 2012a).

There are, in my experience, seven important reasons for creating a more diverse community at every level.

1. Successful diversity in people represents one of the critical indicators of institutional equity and true inclusion. The absence of diversity can send powerful messages. It doesn't take long to look around an institution and see whether diversity is valued. If only White men are hired, it is reasonable to conclude that the institution does not seriously want anyone else to apply. One of the reasons that every hiring decision today is under such scrutiny for diversity is that diversity in leadership is so lacking that every new appointment is seen as one that matters.

2. Given the salience of many identities in the society and on campus, the absence of diversity puts the validity of decision-making at risk. It is not that identities each carry a prototype set of experiences, but in our society there are many perspectives held by diverse people that will enrich and inform decisions and policies.

3. People from different backgrounds bring with them different networks, connections, and associations with communities. Although communities can overlap, and people express their identities in many different ways, identity tends to bring with it networks of people. These networks can increase the campus's social and cultural capital.

4. Diversity in the community and especially in decision-making locations will increase the community's trust in the institution's decision-making.

5. True diversity in the institution is likely to increase the attractiveness of the campus to more diverse populations and decrease the negative impact of tokenism. In addition, Cameron (2005) poses the question of whether people are thriving—that is, do they experience "vitality, positive momentum, and learning" (p. 321)?

6. Diversity in all constituencies promotes the development of future leadership. Developing leadership among diverse communities is important, and one of the most effective ways to do this is to provide opportunities for people to get experience and to be successful throughout their career.

7. Diversity in leadership provides role models not only for those from a particular group, but for all. The absence of any diversity, especially, sends signals about lack of possibilities and lack of recognition and appreciation of talent in people from diverse backgrounds. The presence of diversity, on the other hand, creates a concrete sense of possibility.
Imagine that a campus president put together a senior cabinet composed entirely of physicists. There would no doubt be fear and outrage on the campus, as many constituencies would assume that the perspectives brought to decision-making would be narrow. Even if this group of physicists were broadly educated and aware of the need to take into account other perspectives, trust and credibility would become issues that would have to be engaged. Ironically, it would require more effort for this group of physicists to be conscious of what is not being said, of what perspectives are not being considered, than if there were diversity at the table. And in the end, there is no way that a group of physicists could become as deeply familiar with the concerns of the social scientists, the humanists, and those in professional fields as people from those fields.

Human capital in leadership is not simply a function of diversity in composition. It is also a function of competence and commitment among all groups. Indeed, without sufficient support and competence throughout the institution, leaders who are themselves tokens may find it difficult to succeed. While change in higher education is not accomplished through hierarchical mandates, there is often an expectation that a single leader, especially one who represents diversity, can generate great change.

Increasingly, not only in the higher education literature but in studies of organizations more generally, there is a recognition that leaders exist in a complex web in their institutions, that “fellowship” matters, and that success is a matter of building connections and capacity (Bligh, Pillai, & Uhl-Bien, 2007; Gilmore, 1997; Lipman-Blumen, 1998; Weick & Sutcliffe, 2001). Without knowledgeable and committed leadership at all levels, institutional change will flounder. I emphasize that I do not mean senior leadership alone (presidents, provosts, and deans). Leadership is important among faculty, in departments, in student affairs, among staff, and among students. Boards of trustees and community leaders play important roles as well. The critical capacity needed is the capacity to build synergies among the many efforts that most campuses are undertaking with respect to diversity.

While the literature on diversity frequently discusses leadership and its importance, the institutional record with regard to staff persons should also be considered. On many campuses, the only real racial and ethnic diversity is among lower-level, less well paid staff. An institution’s commitment to diversity might well be understood according to how staff at these levels feel about the institution, the opportunities it offers for professional advancement, and whether staff concerns are considered seriously. Neglect of staff and their concerns also occurs in the research literature on diversity. But an institution’s commitment to developing human capacity and the degree to which it engages staff are important elements for the institution’s viability and vitality. Moreover, there are many stories about how staff members provide advice, support, and encouragement for underrepresented and first-generation students on a campus. This mostly invisible role needs to be strongly acknowledged.

Core Institutional Processes. A central element of institutional viability and vitality is whether diversity is a core part of regular institutional processes and plans. One good way to see where diversity stands is to take a look at strategic plans, ongoing reports to a board, accreditation documents, and proposals and see whether and where diversity is engaged.

An example of the significance of core processes and the degree to which key diversity constituents pay attention to them might illuminate this point. I was asked to work with an institution that was attempting to develop a proposal to a foundation regarding diversity. As is typical, a group of excellent people were brainstorming the kinds of diversity-related programs and initiatives they might undertake. I asked if I might see the strategic plan and talk to the president to understand more fully the status of diversity on the campus. When I read the plan that was about to be presented to the board of trustees for approval, I was struck to see that the only mention of diversity was related to the need for additional financial aid funds. I also had the opportunity to read the opening convocation address that the president had given. In it, diversity was central; it was invoked with passion and described as an imperative for the institution and the region. I met with the president and pointed out that if I were a person committed to diversity on the campus, I might be quite frustrated, even angry. His speech would have inspired me and affirmed my continued involvement, but the absence of any real engagement with diversity in the strategic plan would have prompted me to think that the commitment to diversity was more rhetorical than real. The president, who I believe was truly committed to diversity, was surprised by my observations but then sheepishly pointed out that he was scheduled to meet with an angry group of faculty the next day about the absence of diversity in the campus’s strategic plan. Alignment of rhetoric, activities, and institutional goals is important in this dimension.

Perceptions of Institutional Commitment. One of the themes that emerge from research and from experiences on campus is that the morale of people, especially those in the minority on campus, is connected to perceptions of
an institution's commitment to diversity and equity. Those perceptions have thus emerged as a significant predictor of satisfaction and success among students and faculty, and in the long run, they will probably be linked to alumni support and fund-raising. Work on organizational justice highlights the importance of perceptions about fairness, whether in terms of overall views of the institution or in specific domains such as allocation of resources, procedures, and interpersonal treatment (Colquitt, Greenberg, & Scott, 2005; Kezar, 2014b; Mowday & Colwell, 2003). The issue of trust can also be an important mediating variable in considering how people feel about the institution and its fairness (Colquitt, Greenberg, & Scott, 2005). While we know less than we need to about what fosters these perceptions, it is partly related to diversity in hiring, how people from diverse groups are treated, the degree to which diversity is embedded in each of the dimensions we are discussing, and whether people feel the institution works at improving the climate for diversity.

The presence, absence, or role of diversity in all these elements—an institution's mission, culture, human capital, core processes, and perceived commitment—conveys a great deal about whether an institution has the capacity to engage fully in diversity efforts and whether these efforts are central or marginal. In our increasingly diverse society, an institution that relies on students for its existence will need to be diverse if it is to maintain its viability and vitality. But undergraduate student diversity, so often the focus of diversity conversations at the institutional level, is only one element for institutions with important research, policy, and community roles. In today's environment, a perception of commitment to diversity will, like a commitment to technology, increase an institution's vitality and attractiveness.

Education and Scholarship

The education and scholarship dimension focuses on the academic core of the institution. Questions about the research and teaching functions of the campus, in the context of the educational mission, frame this domain. Does the campus have the resources to give all students the experience of being educated to function effectively in a diverse society? What should that education look like in terms of curriculum, pedagogy, faculty expertise, and so on? In addition, for many campuses in which research and graduate education are central, this dimension brings attention to the production of new knowledge that addresses the intellectual and applied issues of the day. Is a land-grant institution that cares about health care studying the ways in which race, ethnicity, class, and gender influence access to health care and patterns of disease and health? What is the role of the campus in influencing educational reform, the production of teachers prepared to engage diversity in schools, the textbooks and knowledge being taught? How does a major research university position itself with respect to graduate and professional education, and how does it see its academic role with respect to diversity?

Framing the diversity imperative in academic and educational terms is critically important for the engagement of faculty and for moving diversity conversations to the center of institutional concerns. Indeed, supporting and encouraging opportunities for faculty to engage diversity deeply through their own scholarship and/or teaching has been very successful in getting faculty to be involved—leading curriculum-transformation efforts, undertaking new scholarly initiatives, and transforming the hiring process for faculty.

As described earlier, the development of ethnic studies programs and women's studies programs decades ago began primarily because of a need to engage what was missing in the curriculum and the scholarship of many fields. Without these developments, much of the exciting knowledge that informs the disciplines today would still be missing. While students and a small group of faculty led the movement for change, the issue of the adequacy of knowledge was at the core of this effort. This imperative for knowledge development continues and grows with respect to race, gender, sexual orientation, class, ability issues, age, ethnicity, and their intersections. In each area, there are new developments that not only inform the particulars for any given identity but also provide alternative ways of approaching traditional areas.

For example, the study of sexual orientation and gender identity has informed our understanding of gender and heterosexuality (see, e.g., Preves, 2005). The study of ethnic and gender identity development has moved the work in identity forward from Erikson's early formulations (1997). The study of race calls for an understanding of racial literacy including its context and history (Guinier & Torres, 2002). As Fox, Lowe, and McClellan (2005) suggest, "The study of indigenous epistemologies, cultural traditions, and social structures also provides a richer array of options through which everyone can seek to understand and address the problems and opportunities that challenge them in the broad scope of their work and lives" (p. 3). International perspectives are important here as well; global work is often recommended because bringing in international perspectives not only educates about these
perspectives, but also brings greater clarity to an understanding of the United States. In much the same way, the study of specific identities sheds light on other aspects of human development.

Thus, in this dimension we are asking about the educational experiences of all students and the scholarly focus of the institution. We ask about the adequacy of what is being taught. This is not for the benefit of a few, but for all students and for the advancement of knowledge itself. The advancement of knowledge needs to be the central concern for major fields, for graduate and professional education, and for faculty as well. Preparing doctoral students to be future faculty who are adequately educated in cutting-edge scholarship is critically important for their careers, but also for the institutions they will serve. Preparing students to be teachers, researchers, lawyers, and doctors who can function in competent ways for their professions requires engagement of diversity. Campuses throughout the country have had to initiate substantive professional-development opportunities in order to bring new perspectives to what the faculty teach and how they teach it. Addressing such competencies at the graduate level and underscoring their centrality to the discipline could limit the need for such remedial efforts in faculty development when graduate students become faculty.

While diversifying the faculty and the leadership will continue to be necessary, as will diversifying at every institutional level and constituency, the work of engaging all faculty and building the capacity of all faculty to address the pedagogical, curricular, and scholarly work of diversity is also critical. Indeed, it has become clear that curriculum transformation and building faculty capacity have been among the most successful efforts on diversity across the country. In part, this is because, as with technology, faculty are often excited when given the opportunity to engage the education and scholarship of diversity in their own fields (Musil, García, Moses, & Smith, 1995; Musil et al., 1999). Mini-grant and regranting programs have been reliably successful in engaging faculty.

The growing work on helping faculty facilitate the difficult dialogues that need to occur in classrooms will become more central as the complexity and breadth of diversity expand. Designing learning environments that make use of multiple ways of knowing and teaching will also help to increase student success and satisfaction and expand the kinds of fields in which students can succeed (Clayton-Pedersen, Parker, Smith, Moreno, & Teraguchi, 2007).

Where does science fit in this dimension? It is easy to imagine that science, broadly conceived, does not relate to the education and scholarship dimension of diversity at all, and indeed many scientists believe that. It is clear, however, that race, ethnicity, gender, and sexual orientation are increasingly salient for fields such as biology, genetics, and organic chemistry, and in many cases they challenge earlier assumptions in the field. Even in engineering, as a result of women engineers, there are new areas of bio-engineering where osteoporosis is being studied through a structural lens rather than a biochemical one. Researchers are trying to understand how racism impacts health. However, in fields such as physics and mathematics—except for the study of ethnomathematics and studies of history—diversity content might be less relevant (though there are many who maintain that the culture of fields such as math and physics affects the questions asked and the methodologies employed; see, e.g., Peat, 2002; Rosser, 1995; and Tonso, 2001). The climate of the classroom, the openness and attractiveness of the field to diverse groups, and the success of the faculty to engage and diversify the field remain critical.

But there are four very important ways in which diversity is relevant to science. First, there is a growing concern about the diversity—and the domestic diversity—of people who become physical scientists, mathematicians, and so on. In many fields in science and mathematics, the number of U.S. citizens with a PhD has been declining over the past decade. A second central issue in the education of present and future generations of scientists is the development of engaging pedagogies that facilitate student success.

A third concern is creating a climate that invites students from diverse backgrounds to consider science as a field of study. A small but important body of research describes the culture and climate of science as fundamentally hostile, or at least nonwelcoming, for diversity (Ceci & Williams, 2007; Chubin & Malcolm, 2006; Moses & Cobb, 2001; Rosser, 1995; Seymour & Hewitt, 1997). Climate has implications not only for how open to diverse students the field seems, but also for the field's openness to differing perspectives for solving problems. Thus, while there has been substantial controversy about whether the diversity of the people sitting around the table informs the context and methods of science, there is sufficient anecdotal evidence to suggest a fourth role for diversity in science. The openness of science to diverse people and the cultures that are developed among them will affect the legitimacy, contributions, perspectives, and priorities of science.

CLIMATE AND INTERGROUP RELATIONS

The study of effective institutions often includes studies of individuals' perceptions about their institution. Is it inclusive? Is it welcoming? Is it fair in its
treatment of people? There is a significant body of literature in organizational theory and social psychology, and to a lesser degree in higher education, concerning the impact of climate on morale, satisfaction, and effectiveness. The climate and intergroup-relations dimension focuses on the campus climate for students, faculty, and staff and the degree to which people are indeed interacting across diverse groups. This dimension includes looking at the institution through a variety of perspectives, including not only those of race and ethnicity for URM students, faculty, and staff, but the perspectives of all persons of color, women students, LGBT communities, religious minorities, and all other identity groups (McDonough, 2002; Rankin, 2003; Teranishi, 2002; Tierney, 1997).

As campuses have become more diverse, it has become increasingly clear that intergroup relations need to be addressed. While intergroup relations could be included in the education and scholarship dimension (because of their relevance to classroom discussions and faculty capacity), they are included here as a broader institutional concern. Work on intergroup relations these days most often addresses the amount and quality of interactions among students from different backgrounds based on race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, or religion. However, campuses interested in building capacity for diversity should also attend to the quality level of interactions among faculty and staff, and between faculty and staff as well. All these kinds of interactions have been concerns for a long time. As with so many aspects of diversity work, looking at intergroup relations doesn’t cause problems; it just uncovers existing patterns and calls for their resolution.

With increasing demographic diversity, some campuses are beginning to build capacity to encourage dialogue among groups. There is an unfortunate tendency to frame some of the need for intergroup efforts in terms of the “self-segregation” of students of color; the issue of how best to achieve difficult dialogues without sacrificing the benefits of identity is less clearly understood on most campuses. As with other work on diversity, many of these intergroup efforts focus attention on undergraduates, rather than all constituencies. As we will see in chapter 6, there is a great deal that can be done that does not pit the significant role of identity or identities against intergroup dialogue.

In addition, campuses have begun to see that building a sense of community and truly educating students require the ability to engage in difficult dialogues that can range from discussions among racial groups to heated debates concerning the Middle East, religion, racism, and tensions over campus incidents. The topic of intergroup relations is a growing focus for twenty-first-century diversity efforts, as evidenced by a recent Ford Foundation initiative appropriately called Difficult Dialogues. In the foundation’s call for proposals, a group of college and university presidents, along with the foundation’s president, described the significance of the issue: “Colleges and Universities are on the front line in weaving together this unprecedented diversity of faiths, races/ethnicities, and cultures into a new American social fabric. . . . Diversity is simply a fact of our local and global world, but pluralism requires engaging that diversity with study, debate, and dialogue; and this constitutes a new intellectual challenge for colleges and universities” (Ford Foundation, 2005a).

A sense of urgency is emerging about the need to build the capacity of all members of the wider campus community to engage in difficult conversations and to build faculty capacity to have difficult dialogues in the context of the classroom (Sue et al., 2009; Young, 2003). Succeeding in this effort will have an impact on the capacity of the campus to engage diversity both internally and outside in the community. While many campuses will start their diversity efforts by focusing on the dimension of campus climate, it is but one entry point into diversity; it is deeply connected to each of the other dimensions and cannot be understood apart from them.

Access and Success of Historically Underrepresented Students

The last of the four dimensions, access and success of historically underrepresented students, was historically the first. Its legacy is a focus primarily on African Americans, Latinos, and American Indian students and on White women in areas such as science and math. This is the historic heart and soul of diversity in higher education in the United States. But its history remains all too current. Indeed, a review of the literature today concerning student success for African Americans, Latinos, and American Indians reveals a chilling similarity to the literature of fifty years ago. As chapter 4 will suggest, while there has been progress, issues of access and success remain all too pressing, especially in terms of the achievement gap and diversity in STEM fields. And while the focus has, here again, been on undergraduate education, this dimension of diversity must also incorporate graduate and professional education.

While access for URM students was the starting place of diversity efforts decades ago, the changing demographics of the society pose the danger that
access will come to define diversity. I suspect most readers of this book will have heard a college president or campus leader instruct someone to appreciate a campus’s success with diversity by inviting them to look around the campus and “see the diversity.” While the changing “face” of a campus might be inspirational, diversity “by looking” says nothing about student success, campus climate, institutional effectiveness, or graduate-student or faculty profiles. Indeed, on too many campuses, equity, in terms of whether students are thriving, succeeding, or (in the case of community colleges) transferring, can be overshadowed by the presence of a demographically diverse student body (Bensimon, 2004).

Because early research on student success studied students themselves, the findings focused on characteristics of students who succeeded or failed, students at risk, and the inadequacy of K–12 preparation for college. In contrast, this dimension is meant to focus on students as an indicator of an institution’s success, or at least as one key marker of its progress with respect to diversity. While student characteristics are, of course, issues in student success, focusing attention on them results in efforts to fix or remediate them. Using student success as an indicator of institutional capacity, on the other hand, directs attention to understanding students for the purpose of educational improvement. From an institutional perspective, access and success involves identifying talent, enabling student achievement, and studying which students are thriving and why. This is important, because framing access solely in terms of such things as grades and tests makes institutions vulnerable to legal challenges when those with higher scores get denied entrance in favor of someone with lower scores. Finding ways of identifying merit and excellence in broader terms has great potential for increasing diversity and excellence, as we shall see in the next few chapters.

Even as the focus on URM students must remain central, the recent demographic changes in society suggest that this dimension will need to expand its focus to others who are underrepresented, because nothing is static. Campuses will need to pay greater attention to, for example, Asian American groups such as Hmong and to some degree Filipino students, as well as historically overlooked groups from Hawaii, Alaska, and the Pacific Islands. The issue of class and whether higher education is truly accessible for poorer students is vitally important, as will be discussed more completely in chapter 4: recent research suggests that poor students, often first generation, who have academic potential equal to that of wealthier students have less opportunity for higher education than fifty years ago, when access emerged as impor-

tant (Carnevale & Rose, 2004; Ellwood & Kane, 2000; Heller, 2002; Hoxby & Turner, 2013; Kahlenberg, 2004). In part because of federal legislation and other civil rights initiatives, access and success is also important for students with a variety of ability issues. At the most basic level, the absence of ramps makes physical access impossible for students in wheelchairs. However, access goes much beyond ramps, as does the related question of whether an institution is set up to provide students with disabilities with the tools necessary to succeed.

Interconnected, Inclusive, and Differentiated

The dimensions of the framework I have described above are all very much interconnected. They provide a means to attend to an inclusive approach to diversity while differentiating where specific aspects of diversity might need to be addressed. Campus climate is very important for many specific groups, because it relates to the question of how they perceive the institution in the context of larger social, historical, and political experiences. The curriculum, of course, addresses the education of all students, but it must also attend to the adequacy of knowledge, whose story and experiences are included, and how new forms of scholarship change fields. We will see in later chapters how, for example, student success is related to institutional commitment, intergroup relations, and climate. Similarly, faculty, staff, and administrative hiring and retention must be attentive not only to racial and ethnic diversity and gender, but also to the climate, organizational culture, and institutional commitment.

Excellence in an institution, then, is defined by who succeeds, what is taught and what research is thought to be important, who feels as if they matter, and whether the institution has sufficient resources of people, ideas, and policy to successfully function in a diverse context. In chapter 8, we will see how this framework can provide the means to monitor progress in ways that are manageable and that facilitate organizational change.

Framing diversity as an element of building institutional capacity for educational excellence on campuses and for the society has enormous implications for institutional approaches. One of the dominant themes since the Bakke decision in 1978 has been framing diversity in terms of a response to legal challenges to affirmative action and more recently a response to public initiatives limiting the use of race and gender in campus decision-making. As a result, much of the work on campus and even in research is oriented toward
this legal and public-policy context, often centering on admissions. The challenge moving forward is one of reframing the issue of diversity as an institutional imperative concerning education and excellence. To do so creates opportunities for new approaches and begins a conversation that focuses on the heart of the mission of higher education. While the legal and public-policy issues cannot be ignored, they move from being drivers of the conversation to being something that must be considered in the larger institutional context. How diversity is framed, then, becomes central to much of what follows in this book, and it is critical for the sustainability and centrality of diversity.