

Weighing the Risks: The Impact of Campus Racial Climate on Faculty Engagement With Inclusive Excellence

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Abstract: *This article presents findings from a critical discourse analysis of qualitative data that used Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pedersen, and Allen's campus racial climate framework, with inclusive excellence (IE). Frontier Range University is a private, traditionally white institution (TWI) that adopted IE to represent its values for diversity and inclusion, but struggles to embed those values into its institutional context. Findings revealed that faculty perceived the racial climate to penalize faculty whose engagement in IE was more than superficial. The article concludes with a discussion of steps TWIs can take to make IE a campus reality.*

Keywords: *faculty, campus climate, race, inclusive excellence, critical discourse analysis*

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Special thanks to the Professional and Organizational Development Network in Higher Education (POD), as this research was funded in part by the Faculty/TA Instructional Internship Grant. Correspondence regarding this manuscript should be directed to Chayla Haynes, 543 Harrington Tower, 4226 TAMU, College Station Texas, 77843, E-mail: chayla.haynes@tamu.edu.

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Recently in the United States, campus racial climate has received significant attention, as minoritized students, faculty, and staff at traditionally White institutions (TWIs) question their institution's ability to create inclusive campus environments (Pope, Reynolds, & Mueller, 2014). The term *minoritized* refers to both the objective outcomes resulting from the historical and contemporary practices of racial-ethnic exclusion as well as the continued social, political, and economic existence of marginality and discrimination, though compositional racial-ethnic parity may have been achieved in particular contexts (Chase et al., 2014). In this article, we used the terms minoritized, racially diverse, and ethnically diverse interchangeably. According to Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pedersen, and Allen (1998, 1999), campus racial climate is not only informed by people's perceptions and attitudes, but also by their interactions across cultural/racial groups and the institution's historical legacy. When TWIs fail to embrace the racial diversity represented by its members, minoritized students are more likely to perceive the campus climate as hostile (Denson & Bowman, 2013; Griffin, Muñiz, & Espinosa, 2012; Hurtado, Alvarez, Guillermo-Wann, Cuellar, & Arellano, 2012; Hurtado et al., 1999; Hurtado & Ponjuan, 2005; Lundy-Wagner & Winkle-Wagner, 2013; Maramba & Museus, 2011; Rankin & Reason, 2005; Worthington, 2008). Faculty perceptions of racial climate are researched to a much lesser degree, even though their climate perceptions can influence an institution's ability to improve learning conditions for racially and ethnically diverse students (Harper & Antonio, 2008; Jayakumar, Howard, Allen, & Han et al., 2009; Phillips-Miller, Pitcher, & Olson, 2000; Pope et al., 2014; Victorino, Nylund-Gibson, & Conley, 2013).

This article presents a discourse analysis of qualitative data collected from a campus climate study that sought to understand how faculty engagement in Inclusive Excellence (IE) maybe influenced by their perceptions of the racial climate at one institution. IE is an equity-minded initiative that was established by the American Association of Colleges and Universities (AAC&U) in 2005. Exploring faculty perceptions of the racial climate and the impact those perceptions can have on their efforts to advance IE may help to explain why TWIs, like the university at the center of this research, experience difficulty advancing their espoused values for diversity and inclusion that they state as central to their academic missions. Study findings revealed that faculty, whose engagement with IE is more than superficial, perceive the campus racial

climate as hostile to their efforts to advance diversity and inclusion on campus. (Hurtado et al., 1998, 1999). Further, findings suggested that under these conditions, minoritized faculty committed to social justice appeared to be the most vulnerable.

Making Excellence Inclusive

Founded in the 1800s, Frontier Range University (FRU) is a private, liberal arts institution in the Rocky Mountain region of the United States. The institution enrolls just over 11,700 students, with the majority (6,344) studying at the graduate level (Office of Institutional Research, 2013). FRU was also grappling with the same ‘diversity problem’ (Williams, 2013) that plagues many traditionally White colleges and universities in the United States: white institutional presence (Gusa, 2010). According to previous campus climate assessments, FRU’s campus was a challenging space for people of color to navigate. At the time of this study, the Office of Institutional Research (2013) reported that 191 undergraduate students (15%), 1,015 graduate students (16%), and 89 of the 654 full-time instructional faculty (13.5%) were racially and/or ethnically diverse. The Princeton Review had also ranked the institution in the top ten percentile on its lists of campuses with low racial/class interaction and 20th in homogeneity or lack of student diversity in 2006. In recognition of its educational benefits, the Chancellor adopted Inclusive Excellence (IE) in 2007 to represent FRU’s values for diversity and inclusion. Since then, IE has framed how knowledge and service to the public good are important to the academic mission at FRU.

Educational Benefits of Diversity. IE challenges institutional leaders to take up diversity work as an everyday practice of institutional behavior that contributes to the institution’s vitality (Williams, Berger & McClendon, 2005). IE provides institutional leaders with a comprehensive model that not only ties diversity efforts to key institutional processes, but also with a set of “guiding principles for a national movement to unite campuses in these efforts” (Williams et al., 2005, p. vi). Williams et al., (2005) argue that the attributes of diversity and inclusion should be operationalized across the model’s four dimensions: access and equity, the formal and informal curriculum, campus climate, and student learning and development. According to

their IE model, diversity is described as the individual differences (e.g., learning style, personality type and/or family role) and social/group differences (e.g., race/ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, and/or political affiliation) that exist among faculty, staff, and student populations. Inclusion highlights the ways that an institution engages that diversity. Clayton-Pedersen et al. (2009) posited that Inclusive Excellence requires institutional leaders to engage diversity in people and through community and (co)curricular efforts that are “active, intentional and ongoing” to increase people’s awareness, content knowledge, and empathy for how individuals can experience systems and institutions (p. 2). Some scholars have argued that the IE model has its limitations. Harris, Barone, and Patton (2015), for instance argued that the IE model does not adequately enable a critique of how systemic and interlocking systems of oppression create and sustain inequity and exclusionary practices in higher education because of its emphasis on social identity.

Institutional Transformation Toward IE. Berger and Milem (2000) outlined four aspects of organizational behavior that must be addressed by institutional leaders to “engage diversity in service to student and organizational learning” (Williams et al., 2005, p. ix). At a systems level, institutional leaders need to know of --- and be prepared to align--- external forces that can facilitate and/or destabilize transformational change efforts. This may involve, for instance, institutional leaders challenging state/federal regulations that undermine IE or changing educational norms/practices that limit the ability among faculty to think or act in ways that are conducive to IE. Colleges and universities are also bureaucratic structures with complex hierarchies. Institutional leaders must be willing to “reengineer existing institutional hierarchies and resource (human or otherwise) allocations” to make excellence inclusive (Williams et al., 2005, p. 13). For example, institutional leaders might infiltrate the bureaucracy by routinizing IE strategies or developing a senior diversity position for someone who would report to and possess the broad authority to shape curriculum, campus climate, the recruitment of students, and hiring of faculty and staff (Williams et al., 2005). Analogously, institutional leaders need to be mindful of the relational aspect of organizational change: collegiality.

Williams et al. (2005) argued that while institutions differ in size and scope, faculty across academia value collaboration, shared power and

professional autonomy. The terms of collegiality dictate that institutional leaders ought to include all constituents, especially faculty, in the implementation of organizational change with the potential to make excellence inclusive. Institutional leaders, in turn, should anticipate that transformational change of this magnitude naturally brings about an organization's political nature: conflict, interests and power. In order to cultivate strategic alliances, institutional leaders must know how informal (e.g., race, gender and/or seniority) and formal (faculty rank or positional power) power sources can create unintended power imbalances that can stall change efforts intended to promote IE. Finally, William et al. (2005) warned institutional leaders about "investing too heavily" in symbolic changes that are known more in higher education for "what they express, than for what they produce" (p. 17). Institutional behavior, in this regard, would involve institutional leaders taking steps to redress a campus history of inequity to signal to all members of the campus community that IE resides permanently in the institution's present and future.

FRU's IE Strategic Plan. FRU unveiled an IE strategic plan in 2011, which also included conducting a mixed-methods campus climate study to assess the institution's progress toward advancing IE across its dimensions. The campus climate study was administered campus-wide in the 2011-2012 academic year. Results from the quantitative analysis of climate data collected from faculty were largely positive. Though, a multinomial logistic regression accounting for respondents' racial/ethnic identity indicated that racially/ethnically diverse faculty had significantly lower odds of being in a latent class with favorable perceptions of campus climate and for reasons that could not be determined from the quantitative analysis and IE model alone (OR = 0.46, 95% CI [0.24, 0.89]; Tuitt et al., 2014). We needed a conceptual framework that would allow us to examine the experiences of faculty in racialized academic spaces. We were also hopeful that an analysis of our qualitative data would yield a more nuanced interpretation of the data than generated by the quantitative analysis. We utilized Hurtado's et al. (1998, 1999) campus racial climate framework (CRCF) to frame our critical discourse analysis of the qualitative data collected from faculty. This article presents that qualitative analysis, which was guided by the following research questions: How do FRU faculty perceptions of the campus racial climate influence their engagement with Inclusive Excellence?

Campus Racial Climate Framework

Compared to the IE model, Hurtado et al.'s (1998, 1999) CRCF illustrates how campus climates are constructed to be inherently racist. Employing CRCF in the qualitative analysis allowed for a closer exploration of how FRU faculty's perceptions of the racial climate affected their engagement with IE. This research also demonstrates how the IE model can be used in combination with critical theories/frameworks to explore the experiences of those best positioned to improve campus learning conditions for racially and ethnically diverse students: faculty (Milem, Dey, & White, 2004; Quaye & Harper, 2014).

CRCF Dimensions. The first CRCF dimension, the institution's historical legacy of inclusion or exclusion of various social identity groups (e.g., race, class, or gender), presupposes that an institution's historical legacy of exclusion and its initial response to the inclusion of students of color have a significant influence on its current climate and diversity practices. This dimension allowed for respondents' perceptions of their experiences with racism and white privilege to be isolated in the qualitative analysis in a way that the IE model did not. The second CRCF dimension, structural diversity, acknowledges that compositional diversity is an important first step in improving climate, but cautions that institutions with high proportions of white faculty and students can restrict the quality of social interactions with minoritized students. This dimension complicates the notion of access and equity found within the IE model by illustrating how institutional efforts to address diversity can tokenize students and faculty of color.

The next two CRCF dimensions are used explicitly within the IE model to describe campus climate. Psychological climate recognizes that individual attitudes and perceptions of group relationships, racial conflict between groups, and the institution's response to diversity significantly influence whether minoritized students (or faculty) feel they occupy insider or outsider status. Behavioral climate emphasizes the frequency, type (i.e., poor or good), and influence (e.g., increase of overt racist incidents, positive view of multiculturalism) of documented social interactions between individuals (both students and faculty) from different racial/ethnic backgrounds. The first four dimensions of the CRCF framework (see Hurtado et al., 1998) emerged from the original research that explored the influence of climate on the experiences of

racially and ethnically diverse students. The structural/organizational dimension (see Milem et al., 2004) was subsequently added, expanding the CRCF's reach to include the role of faculty work in improving campus conditions for racially and ethnically diverse students. With this fifth CRCF dimension, institutional practices designed to re-center whiteness are described as embedded "in curriculum; campus decision-making related to budget allocations, reward structures, hiring practices, admissions practices, tenure decisions, and other important structures and processes that guide the day-to-day business of our campuses" (Milem et al., 2004, p. 18). The structural/organizational dimension also attends to the IE priorities related to promoting diversity in the (in)formal curriculum and student learning and development, while also stressing how institutional behavior shapes racial climate.

Critical Discourse Analysis

Consistent with qualitative research traditions, a researcher conducts a discourse analysis when the aim is to derive meaning of text data (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005; Tesch, 1990; Vaismoradi, Turunen, & Bondas, 2013). Additionally, a critical discourse analysis (CDA) is utilized when the intent is to identify (and redress) ideological power imbalances underscored in the discourse (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2013; Luke, 2002; van Dijk, 2001). Moreover, the research findings that emerge from a critical discourse analysis ought to generate research implications that present a political critique of those responsible for the reproduction of dominance and inequality exposed in that discourse (Fairclough, 2001, 2018; Luke, 2002; van Dijk, 2008). CDA is gaining popularity in higher education research, but it is still used sparingly (Patton, 2014).

Griffin, Bennett, and Harris' (2013) used CDA in a study that explored gender differences in Black faculty discourse on tenure, advancement, and professional success. Patton (2014) conducted a CDA in a study that critiqued the Morehouse College Appropriate Attire Policy and explored how issues of race, gender, and sexuality converge to reveal both overt and hidden meanings embedded in the campus policy. Parson (2016) also utilized CDA in a study that explored how language and discourses used in STEM syllabi to replicate the masculine nature of STEM education. Although presenting different research problems, each study thoughtfully adheres to the guidelines of CDA, which presuppose the syntactic structure of talk and text be analyzed along with its context (Huckin,

1997; van Dijk, 2008) to illustrate how ideologies “are acquired, expressed, enacted and reproduced by discourse” (van Dijk, 2006, p. 124).

Method. The faculty data presented in this analysis are part of a larger mixed-methods study that involved the creation and dissemination of a survey designed to explore how experiences with IE contributed to FRU constituents’ (i.e., students, faculty, and staff) perceptions of campus climate. The survey was hosted on a web-based platform and sent via email to all constituents via their university email account. The faculty version of the survey included 35 questions: 18 demographic questions, 16 campus climate-specific questions, and one open-ended question (i.e., “What are your experiences with inclusive excellence?”).

The 16 campus climate-specific questions were quantitative, allowing for an exploration of differences across respondents’ social identity groups (i.e., race/ethnic identity, sexual orientation, gender identity, and nationality). The majority of the campus climate questions were anchored to 4-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 4 = strongly agree), with the inclusion of a don’t know option. A few campus climate questions captured dichotomous (i.e., yes or no) responses. These items were used to determine percentage of agreement for particular issues, especially in instances in which there were no statistically significant differences among groups.

All questions on the survey were optional, not requiring a response. Four hundred and thirty-one respondents completed the faculty version of the survey. Of the faculty who responded, 13.7% self-identified as faculty of color (American Indian/Alaska Native, Asian, Black/African American, Hispanic/Latino, and/or Native Hawaiian/other Pacific Islander) and 7.5% self-identified as international faculty who maintained citizenship outside of the United States. Of the 431 faculty respondents, 107 (18 domestic/international faculty of color and 89 white faculty) responded to the open-ended question, totaling 6,737 words of text data.

Positionality. Qualitative methods also prompted us to consider our own positionalities as the researchers conducting this CDA. We identify as people of color. At the time of this study, we were both affiliated with the institution, where the data were collected and also heavily involved in campus IE effortd. During this study, one of us was and remains actively

engaged in scholarship that explores race, equity, diversity, and institutional transformation, while the other was embarking on doctoral dissertation research that explored the influence of racial consciousness on faculty behaviors in the classroom.

While we argue that this level of proximity to the phenomenon under study lent itself to the analysis, we also felt engaging in reflexive bracketing (Ahern, 1999) throughout our analysis was necessary. Our approach to reflexive bracketing involved challenging one another to (a) identify what components of the research process we took for granted, (b) locate power sources from within the research process, and (c) situate ourselves within the research process (Ahern, 1999). We also participated in peer-debriefing to validate our findings (Creswell & Miller, 2000), which we discuss later.

Data Analysis. Although there is no standardized step-by-step procedure for CDA (Huckin, 1997), scholars generally agree that a CDA must illuminate the social and structure functions (Fairclough, 2001, 2018; Luke, 2002; van Dijk, 2008) of discourse that enable hegemonic forces to “construct versions of reality that favor their own interests” (McGregor, 2003, p. 1). Our analysis began with reading the text data completely and several times. Then, the analysis progressed toward a critique of sentences, phrases, and words, with the intent of evaluating the micro and macro levels of discourse (Huckin, 1997; McGregor, 2003; van Dijk, 2001). Our critical re-reading of the data yielded 139 first-cycle codes. Subsequently, we posed the following structural questions: (a) How, if at all, is IE experienced across racial climate dimensions? and (b) How, if at all, are instances of harassment and/or discrimination experienced across racial climate dimensions? The closely bound nature of our structural questions to the CRCF and the four dimensions of IE enabled the cognitive, interactional, and social functions of discourse to be identified through second-cycle coding. After determining how first-cycle codes were related (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005; Vaismoradi, Turunen, & Bondas, 2013), we desired to establish reliability of our second-cycle codes. Cohen’s kappa assesses interrater agreement in the assignment of categories for categorical variables (Landis & Koch, 1977).

To moderate the effects of researcher bias, a colleague familiar with IE but not engaged directly in this analysis was recruited to engage us in peer-debriefing (Creswell & Miller, 2000). According to Watkins and

Pacheco (2000), “Since kappa coefficients are corrected for chance, they can readily be compared to different experimental conditions even if the frequency of behavior changes across [observer] conditions” (p. 209). A test of Cohen’s kappa (Landis & Koch, 1977) on the second-cycle codes resulted in an interrater reliability of .675. This numeric value indicates good reliability and signified that the level of agreement between us and our colleague during peer-debriefing was substantial.

Accordingly, our 139 first-cycle codes were filtered into 15 second-cycle code categories (see Table 1), each with its own definitions and exclusionary bounds (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005; Vaismoradi et al., 2013). We engaged in third-cycle coding to abstract further from the raw data, permitting theoretical codes or conceptual interpretations of data patterns to be generated (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996; Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). Our theoretical codes (see Table 2) explain the data patterns between code categories (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). Further, our analysis satisfies the requirements of CDA because we are able to explain how the micro and macro discourse levels are connected (van Dijk, 2001).

We present our findings using explicit and implicit explanations, illustrating how the micro and macro discourse levels are connected (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). Explicit explanations are derived from respondent accounts and are reflective of the properties of social interaction (e.g., verbal interaction, behavior, and language) that exist on the micro level of discourse (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003; van Dijk, 2001). Implicit explanations, however, illuminate properties of social structure (e.g., control, dominance, and inequality) by placing the study findings in broader context to expose how power is exerted at the macro level. Van Dijk (2001) found that the macro and micro levels of discourse form “one unified whole” (p. 354) through everyday interaction and experience. Not surprisingly, our qualitative analysis of the faculty data garnered a much more complicated picture than that initially derived from the quantitative analysis. More than a means of triangulation (Creswell & Miller, 2000), we incorporate in the findings select quantitative data to further contextualize the qualitative analysis.

Table 1

A Composite Sampling of Second-Cycle Codes

Category: Dismissing Responsibility

First-cycle codes in this category reflect respondents' rationale for why the survey measurements (e.g., practicing, understanding, and supporting inclusive excellence) were irrelevant. Codes that met this criterion were included; other items were placed in another category.

<i>Exemplar Quotes</i>	<i>First-Cycle Code</i>
"Most of these questions have no bearing on my teaching or life and are thus unanswerable."	IE Has No Bearing
"Race or what I perceive as Inclusive Excellence is not relevant to the classes I teach. I responded many questions with "strongly disagree" because these issues play no role as I prepare most of my classes."	Race/IE is Irrelevant to Teaching

Category: Engaging in IE (competing factors)

First-cycle codes in this category describe the factors that influence a respondent's reason for and level of engagement. Codes that describe not only the reason for but the degree or hindrances to involvement were included; other items were placed in another category.

<i>Exemplar Quotes</i>	<i>First-Cycle Code</i>
"Faculty in the Law school implicitly promotes inclusive excellence. We are sensitized by our law practices to the needs, values, and cultural differences among us."	Comfort with IE Resulting from Prior Field/Professional Experience
"Our department has a high percentage of foreign students, particularly from China, which represents our main diversity/Inclusive Excellence challenge."	IE Implicit to Role as Faculty Large Population of Int'l Students Represents Challenge

Table 2

Third-Cycle Code Category Mapping

Faculty's resistance to, involvement with, and understanding of inclusive excellence (IE)	How a faculty member's intersecting identities of community citizen, scholar, and teacher is affected (i.e., benefits, liabilities, and consequences) by a commitment to IE
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Assessing our efforts (internal and collective) ● Dismissing responsibility for IE ● Engaging in IE (competing factors) ● Overvaluing some social identities and Ignoring others ● Practicing IE 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Describing the campus climate ● Experience acts of discrimination ● Isolating factors of scholarship that promote IE ● Recruiting faculty of color a must ● Translating IE into outcomes or lack thereof ● Witnessing acts of discrimination

Note. The following code categories were excluded at this phase of analysis because no direct connection existed between them and the study's research questions: (a) exploring class and social economic status, (b) about the survey, and (c) formulating responses to the survey.

Additional Methodological Considerations. Though our analysis of faculty data yielded significant findings, there were other methodological considerations worth mentioning. We recognize that a debate still exists in education research regarding the strengths and limitations of conducting research in which the data are collected from a single site. We argue that collecting our data from a single site not only contributed to the depth of analysis achieved, but also aided in our ability to form an implicit explanation through revelatory insight (Farquhar, 2012). Additionally, in this study we made a conscious decision to interrogate the qualitative dimensions of the data based on our assessment that it potentially provided a counter-story to the quantitative findings from the larger mix method study. By embracing the notion that normative quantitative approaches to study racial differences often result in generalizations about racial groups that are inaccurate and misleading, we isolated the qualitative data, so that the qualitative analysis could stand on its own (Teranishi, 2007). Finally, we recognize that our study was conducted in a different time in our nation's history. Inclusive Excellence prompts institutional leaders to examine the external forces that shape an institution's racial climate and efforts to advance diversity and inclusion. Collecting campus climate data from faculty might yield different results in the era of current administration in the White House. Institutional climate assessment should not take place sporadically. We, therefore, urge institutional leaders to collect climate data from all members of the campus community on the regular basis.

Racial Climate Perceptions and IE Engagement

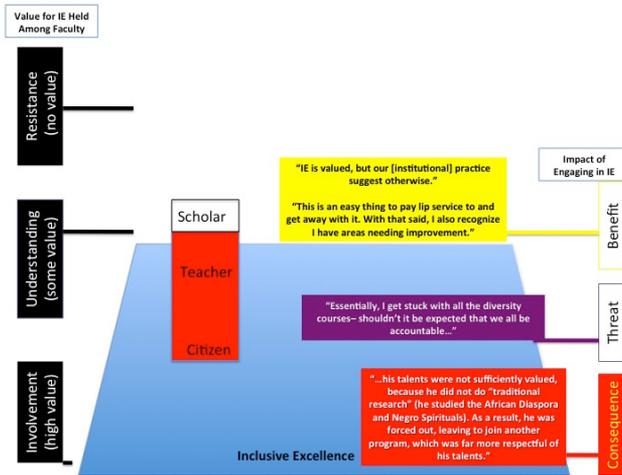
A critical analysis of the discourse revealed that FRU faculty perceived the campus racial climate to penalize faculty whose engagement in IE was more than superficial. Further, findings suggested that under these campus conditions, minoritized faculty committed to social justice appeared to be the most vulnerable. Describing properties of social interaction between perceptions of racial climate among FRU faculty and their engagement in IE that exist on the micro level, this explicit explanation is derived directly from respondent accounts.

Explicit Explanation. Patterns within the data describe faculty's resistance to, understanding of, and involvement in IE. Moreover, our critical analysis of discourse illuminates the impact of FRU's psychological climate by describing the value for IE held by faculty (see

Figure 1). According to Hurtado et al. (1998, 1999), psychological climate is informed by the attitudes, perceptions, and interpretations of group relationships, racial conflict between groups, and the institution's response to diversity.

Figure 1.

Punitive Perceptions of Campus Racial Climate among FRU Faculty



Though not in the majority, respondents who emphasized “a resistance” seemed to dismiss the utility of and responsibility for advancing IE, as characterized by this faculty member’s response: “Diversity and inclusive excellence are not really relevant factors in my classroom because there is so little diversity to begin with.” Many of the comments from faculty also conveyed the sentiment that diversity is being overemphasized “for no reason,” calling IE a form of “reverse discrimination.” In turn, these particular faculty seemed to “not be convinced” that an “excess emphasis” on inclusion is “good for improving the [institution’s] culture or scholarship.”

A resistance, as the respondent’s exemplar quote below illuminates, translates both to no value for and no involvement in IE, among these faculty:

As with most academic institutions, we spend way too much time and, more importantly, money focusing on “inclusiveness” and “social justice.” These are all just softened down versions of affirmative action, which is racist in itself. . . . [We should] focus on allowing and promoting diversity of thought, not just appearance.

Patterns within the text data thus far seemed to suggest that these respondents were resistant to IE because they did not believe it to be valuable and were therefore less willing to advance IE in their faculty work. Respondent accounts that stressed an “understanding of” IE were more prevalent in the discourse. Moreover, the commentary of respondents often echoed the spirit of IE through a discourse that celebrated diversity, as this respondent’s comment reflects: “Who cares what race, gender, sexual preference, etcetera that students are. Just teach and be nice to people.” Faculty also reported that they strived for “fairness” in their classrooms, trying to treat everyone as “equals.” Consistent with maintaining some value for IE, respondents in this category seemed to engage in evaluation of their own and the university’s IE efforts, with most indicating that each “had a long way to go.” One respondent went so far as to say, “While there is a strong commitment from all of us, there are different levels of ability to carry it out.”

Respondent accounts that expressed an “involvement in” IE were few and far between. Faculty responses in this category also seemed to make explicit how IE informed their practice. Being of high value to respondents in this category, IE was believed to be “implicit to faculty work.” Moreover, these faculty tended to internalize IE, seeing its overall success as not only reliant upon their implementation, but also a threshold by which to measure their personal growth. To illustrate, one respondent said, “I was told once that I could see the pictures of my students. I teach online and so [I] never see them. I looked at a few of the pictures and found myself making assumptions based on their appearance. I never looked again.” For this faculty respondent, not looking at student pictures was evidence of their commitment to advancing diversity and inclusion. Finally, faculty in this subset described their involvement as “instinctive” and a contribution to the university because their classrooms prepared students to foster “inclusively excellent environments.”

Patterns within the data also describe how faculty's intersecting (i.e., appearing interconnected and at times overlapping) identities of community citizen, teacher, and scholar were affected by their commitment to IE. It was at this point in our analysis that we began to see clear illustrations of how IE was being advanced across each of its dimensions. Critical analysis of the discourse revealed that FRU faculty perceived that substantive IE engagement would negatively influence their lived experiences on campus. Respondents characterized their involvement with advancing IE in terms of benefits, threats, and consequences, which spoke directly to the remaining CRCF dimensions. For instance, respondent accounts that emphasized community citizenship underscored the importance of this institution's historical legacy and structural diversity.

One faculty member responded by saying, "Let's face it. This has been, for a long while, a whitey white campus. A private university dependent upon high tuition rates from upper-middle-class white families is going to guarantee such a campus." Faculty also seemed to believe the "lack of racial diversity" among students and "poor track record" of recruiting and retaining racially and ethnically diverse faculty reflected the institution's "inclusive excellence challenge." Accordingly, these respondents described the institution's IE commitment as "rhetorical," with some indicating that it was an "easy thing to pay lip service to," admitting that existing "activities and programs are little more than token statements."

Patterns within the data also suggested that faculty who were community citizens (see Figure 1) seemingly ascribed to the institution's value for diversity and inclusion. Situated at the base of a faculty member's intersecting identities, this level, as illuminated by the quote below, was perceived by respondents to be beneficial, presumably because very little effort was required and there was minimal risk:

[Some faculty] in my department give lip service to issues affecting people of color and benefit, reveling in their class and race privilege. If the university truly wants to diversify, they must accept that white privilege must be challenged on a daily basis.

Faculty in this subset valued IE as central to their work and the overall academic mission of the institution. The belief that IE ought to be valued

by FRU faculty was supported in the quantitative data as well. FRU faculty, regardless of salient social identity (i.e., race, ethnicity, religion, age, ability, sexual orientation, or gender), reported that IE was important to them ($M = 3.66$). Although beyond the scope of this analysis, these faculty also reported being comfortable with implementing behaviors in their classrooms that promoted IE ($M = 3.63$).

Patterns within the text data also suggested that some faculty chose to immerse themselves in IE (see Figure 1), engaging in types of participation that mirrored community membership more than community citizenship. Respondents described community membership as engagement in IE through praxis as teacher and/or scholar. Patterns within the text data also suggested that praxis-oriented teaching and/or scholarship was positioned to advance IE across each of its dimensions. Praxis-oriented teaching and/or scholarship seemed to occur most among faculty who were also a people of color. Quantitative analysis of the faculty data indicated that minoritized faculty, irrespective of discipline, were more likely than their white peers to strongly agree that IE was affirmed in their teaching practices, $F(2, 62.8) = 7.40, p = .001$; research agendas, $F(2, 56.34) = 8.94, p < .001$; and in their syllabi, $F(2, 38.6) = 4.22, p = .015$. Also, minoritized faculty were also more likely than their white counterparts to be conscious of the cultural references they made in the classroom, $F(2, 72.53) = 12.71, p < .001$, and promote social justice in the classroom, $F(2, 67.36) = 6.30, p = .003$.

Respondent accounts also described “experiences with discrimination” as either a witness or a victim, resulting in what they characterized as “academic bullying” and “hazing.” Moreover, faculty experiences with discrimination seemingly unscored their perceptions of the behavioral climate, which emphasizes the frequency and significance of social interactions between groups (Hurtado et al., 1998, 1999). Specifically, faculty responses pointed to instances in which they experienced “discomfort” and “anxiety,” which contributed to the threatening feelings some respondents seemed to maintain. One faculty member, troubled by a perceived lack of power to change the predicament, said the following:

It is disheartening to see that colleagues consistently and systematically get away with microaggressions and discriminatory practices. There is not a neutral, fair, and honest system to hold them and the administration accountable. There are no consequences to

“group thinking” that result in marginalization and there are no credible avenues to substantively address such situations.

As a result of their increased commitment to IE through praxis as teachers and/or scholars, respondents expressed that they also felt somewhat targeted by threats that were “subtle, just below the surface.” A respondent elaborated by saying, “Women, non-heterosexuals, and people of color know that they are treated differently, challenged more, [and] viewed with more scrutiny than white men.” And, the complexity of faculty work also meant that the threats respondents described could have particular manifestations in the behavioral climate, as illustrated by one minoritized respondent: “Essentially, I get stuck with all the diversity courses. Shouldn’t it be expected that we all be accountable to how we support diverse students or promote diversity.” Respondent accounts further described other threats, such as taxes on their time, whereas white faculty appeared to have more leeway. This narrative was frequent within the discourse, as reinforced by another minoritized respondent: “It falls on the faculty in the area most related to diversity in our department to hire and recruit diverse faculty and fund graduate students of color.”

Ostensibly, some FRU faculty believed that immersing themselves in IE had unavoidable consequences (see Figure 1). Consequences that appeared particularly burdensome for minoritized faculty navigating the structural/organizational dimension of the racial climate. Respondents began to describe power structures as “intrinsic” in “academic hierarchies.” The majority of respondents also commented on how a “misuse” of power had measurable implications for minoritized junior faculty.

However, the most vivid illustrations of consequences were detailed by faculty responses that described experiences regarding the recruitment and retention of faculty of color. Patterns within the data suggested that efforts to diversify the faculty were especially “difficult” when the faculty member’s scholarship was tied directly to the aims of IE. Respondent accounts also detailed that faculty candidates (presumably those of color and white) whose scholarship promoted diversity and inclusion did not “cross the bar” and were “not hired” because they did not possess “acceptable research skills.” Alternatively, respondents also reported that minoritized faculty candidates were often “dismissed

without consideration” because it was presumed that their “skill-set” replicated existing ones held by the “token” diversity expert on their faculty. One respondent illustrated this by stating,

Even when we have exemplary faculty of color apply, they are dismissed because their area of work touches on race and diversity. Concerns [are raised] that their work is too closely related to the scholar on the faculty who does diversity work, as if race and ethnicity have nothing to do with all areas of inquiry in our field.

Other respondents, who felt there was a need to diversify, reported that they felt “disappointed” or as if their department would “never hire a person of color” when faculty candidates of color were passed over. Other minoritized respondents described these circumstances as a “missed opportunity,” meanwhile multiple remarks reinforced the following sentiment: “Hiring of another faculty member of color will take place when there is a need to replace me.”

Respondent accounts also stressed that pursuing scholarship that emphasized IE was a disadvantage for faculty with regard to tenure and promotion. One respondent talked about an experience with a colleague who, once hired, “mounted an impressive, cross-cultural research program, obtaining respectable funding, attracting graduate students, [but] did not receive tenure because he did not fit the white mold.” The respondent went on to say, “So much of what goes on behind closed doors and conversations reflects a spirit of discrimination that cannot be documented.” Another faculty member reflected on an experience with a faculty member of color in their department:

In my opinion, his talents were not sufficiently valued because he did not do traditional research. He studied the African diaspora and significance of Negro spirituals. As a result, he was forced out, leaving to join another program, which was far more respectful of his talents.

These narratives, which were frequently repeated in the discourse, were also supported in the quantitative data, which indicated that faculty disagreed ($M = 2.44$) that their departments factored in contributions/commitments to IE in their tenure and promotion criteria.

Through their accounts, respondents readily described the “systemic social injustice that is hard to eliminate” and refuted that such incidents are isolated in the academy. And although faculty respondents acknowledged the existence of power structures, many also contended that they were “not sure how or if it [could] be fixed.”

Implicit Explanation. Our CDA enabled an implicit explanation to be generated as well (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). Implicit explanations place the study findings in a broader context to illustrate how structural properties of discourse permit power to be exerted at the macro level. To this end, we argue that institutional efforts to advance IE are likely undermined at traditionally white institutions where the faculty perceive the campus racial climate to penalize faculty whose engagement in IE is more than superficial.

Findings also revealed that higher education institutions need faculty to translate their values for diversity and inclusion into means of improving the campus learning conditions for racially and ethnically diverse students because the IE dimensions (i.e., access and equity, campus climate, diversity in the (in)formal curriculum, and student learning and development) are so closely tied to the core functions of faculty work: teaching, research, and service. Otherwise, the work of trying to advance IE at traditionally white institutions seemingly becomes the privileged burden of mostly minoritized faculty committed to social justice, rather than an everyday practice of institutional behavior that contributes to the institution’s vitality.

Critical Discourse Analysis

Hurtado et al.’s (1998, 1999) CRCF was used to conduct a CDA of faculty responses to an open-ended question on a campus climate survey that explored perceptions of institutional efforts to advance IE at FRU. CDA allowed for a more comprehensive examination of how faculty’s perceptions of the racial climate influenced FRU’s ability to advance IE across its dimensions. With our analysis, we expanded on the existing literature pertaining to IE by demonstrating how the model can be used in conjunction with critical theories/frameworks, such as Hurtado et al.’s (1998, 1999) CRCF, to conduct comprehensive institutional assessments of campus climate and engagement with IE among faculty.

Our study findings suggest that institutional leaders' ability to engage diversity in service to student and organizational learning at traditionally white institutions hinges upon faculty's perceptions of campus racial climate. Berger and Milem (2000) asserted that institutional transformation with the potential to improve racial climate and prompt faculty engagement in IE has to be coordinated and happen across five key levels: the systemic, bureaucratic, political, collegial and symbolic. Race-neutral approaches to understanding factors that support or impede institutional efforts to advance IE, especially in the highly racialized context in which the nation currently finds itself, are futile because campuses are open systems. External forces, such as the resurgence of white nationalism, growing racial and ethnic diversity in the U.S. population, and changes in U.S. immigration policies can literally create an environmental press on campus at traditionally white institutions (TWIs), forcing institutional leaders to create new internal processes/procedures in response (Berger & Milem, 2000). Institutional leaders need to know how to examine external forces that destabilize and align those that facilitate racial climate at TWIs. For FRU, the adoption of IE as a conceptual framework for guiding efforts to advance diversity, equity, and inclusion is an important first step. However, the results of our study serve as important reminder that good intentions do not automatically result in progressive outcomes.

A second important takeaway from this study is that TWIs which seek to engage in the important work of advancing IE have to take great care to ensure that these laudable efforts do not further marginalize minoritized faculty and their social justice allies, who are often called upon to engage in a significant amount of emotional labor in support of diversity and inclusion. Quaye and Harper (2014) argued that faculty should be proactive in the creation of environmental conditions that promote success among diverse students. But, what if that very same environment is unsafe for faculty to occupy because of its racial climate? Our findings suggest that minoritized faculty committed to social justice are potentially some of the most vulnerable faculty in this scenario because their teaching and scholarly activities often align with the institution's values for diversity and inclusion. This conclusion is consistent with previous research (Baez, 2000; Fries-Britt, Rowan-Kenyon, Perna, Milem, & Howard, 2011; Griffin, Bennett, & Harris, 2013; Stanley, 2006) findings that posit minoritized faculty at TWIs are often left to assume the emotional (and invisible) labor of fulfilling the university's

IE efforts. Our findings make even clearer that educational bureaucracies can be filled with broken systems that create harsh consequences for minoritized faculty (Berger & Milem, 2000). The heavy lifting minoritized faculty endure at TWIs, like those at FRU, often occurs in a campus racial climate, where they are significantly more likely than their white counterparts to feel they are the only members of faculty from their racial group, and significantly less likely than their white counterparts to feel their departments are welcoming of people of color. Institutional leaders at TWIs must be willing to re-engineer established faculty roles/responsibilities to redistribute the diversity work that tends to be thrust on a small group of “usual suspects” (Tierney, 1997, as cited by William et al., 2005, p. 14). The terms of collegiality (Berger & Milem, 2000) also dictate that institutional leaders at the highest level must cultivate strategic alliances with deans, department heads, and program leaders to address and rectify inherent and manufactured power imbalances that prohibit consensus- and coalition-building among faculty in the pursuit of IE at TWIs.

At the same time, institutional leaders must be sure to attend to the multiple ways their faculty, like students, make meaning of institutional efforts that are supposed to symbolize a new era in the institution’s legacy (Berger & Milem, 2000). Our study findings illustrate how negative perceptions of racial climate among the institution’s faculty can foster a belief among them that involvement in advancing IE beyond the superficial can have repercussions that appear to work against institutional commitments and priorities. TWIs hoping to make excellence inclusive need to engage institutional transformation in symbolic, yet formal ways that meaningfully attempt to redress the institution’s racist past (Berger & Milem, 2000; William et al., 2005). This requires institutional leaders to evaluate their policies, practices, and procedures to ensure that they align with IE. Unless IE is embedded into policies, practices, and procedures related to hiring, promotion, research funding, and merit, advancing institutional goals related to diversity, equity, and inclusion will continue to be viewed by faculty at TWIs as optional and risky business. When these institutions reconfigure campus policies to recognize and reward faculty for efforts they make to improve racial climate conditions, the message received by all faculty—particularly minoritized faculty—is that advancing IE is the highest priority (Tuitt, 2009).

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