Implementing Diversity:

Contemporary Challenges and Best Practices at Predominantly White Universities

Edited by
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Preface

Race and ethnicity are important dimensions of American social life and a central feature of our education system. Race and ethnicity are also major dimensions of the day-to-day experiences of students in our universities. Although racial and ethnic minority populations in the United States are increasing at a very rapid rate, their numbers in our major universities are not. These demographic trends will re-shape American society and American higher education in the next generation.

Arguments in favor of interventions to improve the status of racial and ethnic minorities have been based on appeals to the enlightened self-interest of the majority population within the context of the university. These demands and difficulties to be faced by our system at that time will only be compounded by a large young, minority population with low educational levels and dim prospects in the labor force of the future. This combination of demographic and economic change provides a compelling call for action. The ultimate appeal to attention and action on this issue must be based on moral concerns. We have to agree that besides posing potential political, social, and economic difficulties, permitting conditions to exist which may result in a society even more divided by race and class than today's is quite simply wrong.

Some of our recent research on diversity in higher education compares the enrollments of African American and Latino students in public Big Ten universities with the proportion of each state's population comprised of these two groups. The University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign can correctly boast of having the largest enrollments of African American and Latino students. However, the state of Illinois has, by far, the largest population of these two groups of any Big Ten state. In addition to having the largest enrollments of these groups, the University of Illinois also has the largest gap between enrollments and the statewide population composition.

The Center on Democracy in a Multiracial Society (CDMS), an interdisciplinary research and service institute at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, is organized around a commitment to the practice of democracy, equality, and social justice within the changing

multiracial society of the United States. The three core principles of CDMS' Mission are to:

- Learn how to fully realize the benefits of diversity, negotiate conflicts, and form coalitions with individuals and groups of various racial and ethnic backgrounds;
- Empower members of the University of Illinois community to live in racially diverse communities, maintain friendships with people of different backgrounds, and function more effectively in an increasingly diverse workplace by teaching and learning about racial diversity in formal classroom activities and informal interactions on campus; and,
- Prepare students for civic engagement and participation in a democratic society.

The chapters in this volume are the result of a multi-year concerted effort to fulfill these principles and respond to an issue of great concern both locally and nationally.

Race, Diversity, and Campus Climate was a major conference held April 10, 2008 on the University of Illinois Champaign-Urbana campus with a goal of presenting and publishing information that the University of Illinois and similar universities could use to make the campus more diverse and inclusive, including a particular focus on scholarship related to campus climate and diversity.

We hope that you find this resulting publication useful.

Jorge Chapa
Director
Center on Democracy in a Multiracial Society

Introduction

Public colleges and universities in the United States are becoming increasingly racially and ethnically diverse. Over the past four decades, these institutions of higher education have identified policies and practices to recruit and retain diverse students and faculty in order that the institutions may better reflect the nation as a whole. Although we have seen improvement in attention to promoting inclusivity on campuses and to creating a safe learning environment where all students, faculty, and staff feel welcomed and respected, it seems we have only begun to tackle the challenges in building such educational havens. Predominantly White universities (PWU) have the added challenge of working to create racial representation in terms of recruitment, retention, and curriculum in a political climate hostile to affirmative action. Added to these challenges is the imperative to equip all students with the skills necessary to function in our ever increasingly diverse society.

This book project emerged from the Race, Diversity, and Campus Climate conference held at the University of Illinois in April 2008. Building on the theoretical and empirical research in higher education, the conference sought to provide a critical analysis of best institutional practices at PWUs. The conference was translational in that it sought to incorporate an application of research to the day-to-day practices on campuses with an eye toward advancing the commitment to the practice of democracy and equality within a changing multiracial U.S. society. This collection complements recent publications on the topic, including Harper and Hurtado's (2008) *Creating Inclusive Campus Environments for Cross-cultural Learning and Student Engagement*; Hale's (2004) *What Makes Racial Diversity Work in Higher Education: Academic Leaders Present Successful Policies and Strategies*; and Brown-Glaude's (2009) *Doing Diversity in Higher Education: Faculty Leaders Share Challenges and Strategies*. Similar to these works, the current project relies on theoretical and empirical research, along with decades of applied experiences and expertise, to provide an informed analysis of issues and practices that can be discussed, modified, and/or adapted.

This collection also makes unique contributions. This is one of the few works to systematically examine the context of diversity solely

at public PWUs, most of which are institutions that have been charged with educating the citizens of a specific geographic space. The notion of access, representation, and inclusivity on these campuses is complicated by a number of factors, including anti-affirmative action attitudes (and threats of legal action) and dominant racial ideologies which serve to deny, distort, and minimize the presence of racism. Both of these factors add additional resistance to implementing practices designed to achieve greater racial diversity while also restricting creative thinking in meeting the "diversity challenge." Moreover, on a great number of these campuses, attending college marks one of the first opportunities for many students to develop meaningful interactions with people who are racially different from themselves and to experience exposure to the histories and research on non-Whites. Another of the book's unique features is its inclusion of the perspectives of educational practitioners and scholars from a range of disciplines, along with views from researchers who are well-established in their respective fields and new thought from emerging scholars. The addition of fresh voices also encourages a rethinking of the boundaries of diversity and inclusivity. For example, a couple of the chapters provide an informed analysis of new media as an extension of the campus climate.

The book is divided into four main parts and is designed to identify broader theoretical and practical issues in fostering diversity at PWUs. The two chapters in the first part of the book—Fostering Diversity and Addressing Challenges at Predominantly White Universities—draw on the theoretical and empirical literature and practical experience to identify "proven" practices that promote racial understanding and equity. Specifically, Katrina Wade-Golden and John Matlock open the tome with a clear and insightful discussion of 12 lessons gleaned from over two decades of work in the area of academic multicultural initiatives at the University of Michigan. The lessons provide practical guidance about ways in which predominantly White institutions can systematically integrate diversity issues into the institutional fabric of the campus, including special attention given to the legal climate with respect to concerns related to affirmative action and diversity.

In the second chapter, Helen A. Neville, Lisa B. Spanierman, Lydia Khuri, Belinda De La Rosa, and Mark S. Aber review the extant literature on the influence of diversity-related courses and other formal

campus practices that promote the adoption of more inclusive and less prejudicial racial attitudes and behaviors. Grounded in the contact hypothesis, the authors discuss the mounting documentation about the link between interracial friendships and the creation of a more inclusive campus environment. Greater exposure to diverse perspectives through peer interactions and coursework in general increases openness to cultural similarities and differences, awareness about the existence of racism, and a commitment to working to address equity issues in society, particularly for White students.

The second part of the book—The Processes of Racial Formation on Campus: Perspectives from Emerging Scholars—includes three chapters from fresh or new voices. In this part, the authors explore both old and new dilemmas, including the ways in which new media can influence the racial climate and the boundaries of free speech on college campuses. Also provided are concrete strategies to address the complexities of the problems within a university culture. In her chapter entitled, Virtual Racism, Real Consequences: Facebook, Racial Microaggressions, and Campus Climate, Raina Dyer-Barr argues that racial minority students attending predominantly White universities experience racial microaggressions or slights, insults, and invalidations on a number of fronts. These subtle forms of racial acts occur on a daily basis and over time can take a toll on individuals' psychosocial and educational adjustment. Dyer-Barr applies the racial microaggressions theoretical framework to identify the ways that acts of racism are expressed online via Facebook and other social networking sites and the cumulative influence of these acts, not only on individuals, but also the campus climate as a whole.

In How Do We Deal with Incidents of Noose Hanging on College Campuses?, Hyunjung Kim argues that expressions of free speech, such as noose hanging, which target historically marginalized groups, should not be tolerated on college campuses. She further contends that such expressions undermine the perceived safety of the campus and that campus-wide initiatives are needed to educate the community about the boundaries of freedom of speech and the importance of creating an anti-bias environment. In their chapter, Perpetuating Racism through Freedom of Speech, Edelmira P. Garcia and Tarnjeet Kang further Kim's analysis by contending that when universities do not challenge and question hate speech on campus they are, in essence, maintaining

inequality on campus. Drawing on recent events at predominantly White universities, the authors illustrate the ways in which the inconsistent implementation of freedom of speech on campuses can actually further the hierarchical power relationships between racial and ethnic minority groups and their White peers.

The third part of the book—Institutional Change at Predominantly White Universities—consists of three chapters that critically examine institutional practices designed to promote longitudinal changes in racial diversity in several Midwestern schools. Yolanda Zepeda's chapter entitled, Changing Classrooms, Changing Climate: An Examination of Diversity at 12 Midwestern Research Universities, provides an analysis of structural diversity in terms of student enrollments and faculty at the member universities of the Committee on Institutional Cooperation (CIC). Consistent with recent national trends, Zepeda inspects the patterns of change over time within CIC members to conclude that more strategic and aggressive recruitment efforts are needed to increase racial parity on campus. To highlight the broad scope of interventions needed to reach true representation on campus, Zepeda outlines the goals and activities of five model programs/initiatives designed to create inclusive learning environments and to increase minority access and participation. The programs described in the chapter engage underrepresented students in research activities, increase minority participation in graduation education, and support diversity goals for faculty development.

In their chapter entitled, Diversity at Central Michigan University: A Case Study of Achieving Diversity at a Predominantly White Public University, A. M. Ulana Klymyshyn, Denise O'Neil Green, and Carole Richardson address the unique challenges universities can face in promoting diversity in relatively homogenous learning and community environments. The chapter details Central Michigan University's comprehensive strategic plan, which includes an intentional change framework focusing on the institution's vision, policy, design, and assessment practices. The authors provide a context for the development and implementation of the strategic plan over time.

The third part concludes with Melodie Yates' and Njeri Nuru-Holm's exploration of the changes in race relations over a decade at Cleveland State University. Data from three sets of surveys directed at faculty, staff, and students suggest an improvement over time in race

relations, especially among students. Specifically, the findings reflect the national campus climate literature indicating that individuals of color at predominantly White universities generally describe their experiences differently and often more negatively than do Whites on the same campus. The authors conclude by identifying a number of lessons learned and examining future research directions.

The fourth and final part of the book centers on case studies at the University of Illinois. The four articles in this section provide a discussion of good practices in promoting a positive campus climate, increased racial understanding among students, and inclusive transformation of department cultures. The organization of this segment of the book moves from a new proposed conceptual model for change to the evaluation of specific campus interventions. Lissette Piedra outlines a new conceptualization of social entrepreneurship as a strategy for creating campus change. The model provides a framework to inform interventions that deal with the conflict arising as a campus increases its racial and ethnic representation, both numerically and culturally. In addition, the model highlights the ways in which students can become active agents in developing cultural competence; that is, to move from being passive observers of the social tensions to capitalizing on the opportunities that intergroup relationships provide for meaningful civil engagement and social change.

In the chapter entitled, Fostering Diversity, Dialogue, and Democracy in the Intersections Living Learning Community at the University of Illinois, Mark S. Aber, Urmitapa Dutta, Helen A. Neville, Lisa B. Spanierman, and Belinda De La Rosa describe the development, goals, and the implementation of Intersections, a relatively new multiculturally-focused living learning community at the University of Illinois. The content of the chapter summarizes data from focus groups with over 50 students across a three-year period, individual interviews with professional and paraprofessional staff, and examination of archival documents. Using the archival and staff interviews, the strategies designed to achieve these goals are outlined. Students indicated that the most enjoyable aspects of Intersections were the opportunity to establish relationships with people who were racially and culturally different from themselves and the dialogue and exchanges ensuing from these relationships. Suggestions are provided for implementing a multiculturally-focused living learning community and for further engaging students in the process.

In the chapter authored by Laura Lawson, Lisa B. Spanierman, Paul Poteat, and Amanda Beer, entitled, Best Place for Best Practice? The Challenge of Multicultural Learning in a Community-based Design Studio, the authors describe student experiences in an East St. Louis Action Research Project (ESLARP)-affiliated design studio. Specifically, the authors describe the goals and objectives of the design studio and the importance of the community-based project. Findings from data collected during one semester of the class are also presented. Overall, students reported gains with regard to their professional development, but only minimally reflected about how the experience influenced their personal perceptions of race and the social structures that perpetuate inequality. This research data provides valuable insights about ways to structure service learning projects to increase personal reflection and cultural competence. In the last chapter, Elizabeth L. Sweet outlines the strategies used by the Department of Urban Planning to promote racial diversity within its unit. Sweet contextualizes the topic by providing a brief description of the historical treatment of racial issues within the urban planning field. She then discusses her department's creation of a process of infusing diversity into the program with a diversity code of conduct as the centerpiece.

The chapters in this edited volume present old and new conceptualizations of the challenges and best practices to promote racial and ethnic diversity on public PWUs. It is our hope that readers take away a better understanding of the multiple systemic and programmatic influences on the creation of truly pluralistic campus environments. We also hope this work expands the knowledge of the myriad factors undermining diversity at PWUs and encourages new ways of thinking through and addressing these challenges. We envision the collection facilitating critical discussions about best practices in promoting a positive campus climate, ways to increase racial understanding within the campus environment, and approaches to transform the cultural practices within units so that they reflect inclusive environments.

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Working through the Challenge: Critical Lessons Learned for Building and Sustaining a Robust Institutional Diversity Culture

Katrina Wade-Golden and John Matlock

An institution's mission should adapt to the changing forces around it. This statement has never been truer than with respect to the infusion of diversity on our college campuses. Indeed, the process of organizational change and diversity is of paramount importance in higher education. Diversity continues to evolve on our nation's campuses as legal challenges, rapidly shifting demographics, and changing needs of the workforce continue to affect our institutions. Other forces—such as social, economic, and political (internal and external) pressures for institutional change around issues of equity and access—also influence institutional leaders as they consider how to conceptualize, organize, and implement their plans to achieve diversity. Further, there is a growing body of literature showing positive educational effects when students have the opportunity to learn from and interact with diverse others on campus; thus, validating the focus on the diversification of our colleges and universities (Shaw, 2005; Chang et al., 2003; Hurtado et al., 2003; Gurin, 1999).

However, the challenges that confront higher education institutions are complex; among the most difficult of them is the perception by some inside and outside the institution that promoting diversity, particularly racial/ethnic diversity, is incompatible with the institutional mission of maintaining academic excellence and quality undergraduate education. Furthermore, over the past several years, efforts to diversify campuses throughout the nation have faced legal challenges in the courts, and ballot initiatives in their states designed to eliminate affirmative action-related programs. Thus, the prevailing question remains: how do we demonstrate the need for diversity and support our objectives with compelling evidence that will convince the courts and

a skeptical public that diversity benefits not only all members of the campus community but also the nation in general?

While institutions have claimed that educating all citizens is an integral part of their educational mission, there is considerable disagreement regarding how they should reach that goal. Thus, more and more higher education institutions are being called on to demonstrate how their commitments to campus diversity benefit all students, while also remaining compatible with their institutional missions and goals relative to academic excellence.

Proponents of diversity efforts can cite as support the 2003 Supreme Court ruling that upheld the value of diversity in higher education admissions (Grutter v. Bollinger, 2003). The Court concluded that diversity provided an educational benefit to all students and was essential in preparing students to work in a global community and to participate in civic engagement and leadership. That ruling continues to highlight the key role of diversity on our college campuses and warrants the inclusion of campus diversity as a key indicator of overall institutional effectiveness. In alignment with the Court's opinion, the leadership at the University of Michigan (U-M) has implemented and sustained a number of strategies and initiatives designed to enhance the institutional climate for diversity. U-M's diversity efforts have long been regarded as pacesetting by many colleges and universities nationally. The spirit and goals of nationally emerging centers, such as the Center on Democracy in a Multiracial Society (CDMS) at the University of Illinois and the National Center for Institutional Diversity (NCID) at the University of Michigan, are also directly aligned with the Court's defense of well-crafted diversity programs.

While the emergence of a methodical and consistent approach to diversity at U-M and other institutions has ushered in a new era of institutional change—thanks to an array of creative initiatives—diversity still faces influential detractors. In fact, increased commitments to diversity and inclusion have attracted rising backlash efforts, mainly in the form of legal challenges and public referenda, with U-M as the bull's-eye in both instances. The legal backlash resulted in two 2003 Supreme Court decisions regarding the U-M undergraduate admissions policies, one favorable to the U-M (referenced above) and one unfavorable (Gratz v. Bollinger, 2003). More recently, Michigan voters passed Proposition 2

by referendum in November 2006, a measure that, among other things, prohibits the consideration of race and gender in the admissions and financial aid programs of the state's higher educational institutions.

Thus, the purpose of this chapter is to discuss how the University of Michigan, a predominantly White institution, has developed and sustained a culture that is committed to advancing campus diversity as an integral component of the institutional mission, even in the wake of legal challenges. It will highlight our knowledge and experiences with regard to what makes diversity "work" on college campuses. A historical perspective regarding the emergence of campus diversity efforts is presented, followed by an explication of lessons learned to maximize the educational and social benefits of diversity on college campuses. While these lessons are an outgrowth of our lived experiences on a predominantly White campus, we feel that they are widely applicable to any institution of higher education looking to advance and assess its diversity efforts.

For over twenty years, U-M has been at the forefront nationally regarding the advancement of campus diversity. The original blueprint of these efforts was *The Michigan Mandate: A Strategic Linking of Academic Excellence and Social Diversity*.[1] That document articulated why building and sustaining a community that values, respects, and draws strength from the diversity of its community is an essential element in ensuring that U-M would remain highly competitive in the future. Our focus today is on sustaining and improving our institutional culture, a culture that for more than 150 years has been committed to advancing campus diversity as an integral component of our institutional mission.

In December 2006, in response to the constraints imposed by the public referendum (Proposition 2) passed just one month earlier, the University's focus on diversity planning was extended and renewed with the creation of the Diversity Blueprints taskforce. This taskforce was commissioned by President Mary Sue Coleman to identify legally permissible innovative strategies to sustain and improve effectiveness in recruiting, retaining, and supporting a diverse student body, faculty and staff, and to enhance the university's educational outreach and engagement. The 55-member taskforce was made up of faculty, staff, administrators, students, and alumni. The report entitled, *The University of Michigan Diversity Blueprints Final Report*, was released in March 2007, and presented 155 recommendations that addressed both long-

range and immediate steps that can be taken to strengthen the university's commitment to diversity. One of the immediate action steps taken was the development of the Center for Educational Outreach and Academic Success. The center is charged with promoting and coordinating educational and community outreach and engagement activities, and strengthening partnerships between the University and K-12 school systems and communities in the State of Michigan. The creation of this Center is viewed as an important way to maintain and expand diversity at U-M.

As a critical component and outgrowth of the Michigan Mandate, we have also been involved in a comprehensive, longitudinal campus diversity research project that examines the impact of diversity on students.[2] The Michigan Student Study data relates an extensive array of diversity-related attitudes and behaviors reported while students were still in college, to their overall educational experiences in college, as well as to the meaning of diversity in their adult lives ten years out of college. We who have been designing and implementing U-M's diversity efforts have given numerous national presentations about our experiences, and have also consulted with a wide array of higher education institutions. During this time, we have learned much about what it takes to make campus diversity successful.

Given the pressing negative reactions against concepts of affirmative action, diversity, and inclusion, however, it is ever more important that colleges and universities appreciate and understand how to strategize, plan, and implement campus diversity efforts. In this spirit, we list below twelve observations and recommendations that may help campus leadership gain a fuller understanding of the dynamics of campus diversity. These points illustrate critical lessons learned along the way, including the avoidance of pitfalls that institutions can encounter.

Generally, while U-M's focus on diversity tends to be very broad—inclusive not only of race and ethnicity but also of gender, sexual orientation, nationality, ability, etc.—the research study from which many of these lessons are drawn was primarily centered on racial and ethnic diversity. This should surprise no one, since the contentious nature of the national debate over diversity/affirmative action is rooted in the politics of race. Therefore, while we feel that these suggestions are broadly applicable to a wide spectrum of differences, they are principally centered on racial and ethnic diversity.

Lesson Learned #1: Campus Leadership Must be Visible and Heard

Without visible and sustained commitment from the campus leadership (including academic leaders), it is unlikely that institutional approaches to campus diversity can be effective and successful. There are pockets of diversity activities throughout any given campus that many key administrators know very little about. In fact, these activities are often achieved despite a lack of campus leadership involvement.

In general, the campus community needs to know that diversity is a priority of the president or chancellor, the executive officers, and the governing board. These leaders must strongly advocate for diversity and deliver consistent, clear messages regardless of the audience. They also must commit to providing requisite resources so that the work can be done with excellence.

As an example, one of the issues we consistently hear is that campuses focus on increasing the number of students of color but pay little attention to hiring and promoting faculty and staff of color, or improving the overall campus climate and addressing retention issues. It is essential that emphasis also be placed on hiring more faculty and staff of color into rank and file, as well as leadership positions—and on retaining them. At the same time, institutions have to be sensitive to the fact that campus diversity is everyone's business, and that faculty and staff of color or offices of minority/multicultural affairs should not be the sole bearers of campus diversity efforts. Campuses that have well-articulated visions of diversity—and campus leaders who put these visions into practice—tend to have a much more vibrant commitment to long-term diversity achievements.

Lesson Learned #2: Institutional Diversity is Everyone's Business–No Exceptions

The ways college and university campuses approach diversity have changed dramatically in the last ten to fifteen years. Long gone are the days of solitary offices or, in some cases, single individuals, being charged with pushing the diversity agenda for the entire campus—and at times being held accountable for any shortcomings. When diversity becomes an institutional priority, such practices cease.

Institutions must be sensitive to the fact that campus diversity is everyone's business. In order to have sustained success, strategic diversity planning and implementation should touch the entire campus. Institutions must have a commitment to reform the "untouchables," that is, those academic units which often convey the message that diversity does not apply to them. Furthermore, academic units have to be major players in institutionalizing campus diversity initiatives that impact students. The lack of involvement of key academic units can leave the impression that campus diversity initiatives pertain only to students and student affairs units or to the administration in general.

However, there is cause for hope. Nationally, many institutions have come to grips with the sobering reality that achieving campus diversity success requires a well-crafted, well-articulated, and integrated strategic plan that engages each level of the institution and reflects a commitment to action. This shifting paradigm is embedded in the belief that the breadth of responsibility for creating and advancing campus diversity initiatives should span across all levels of the institution. It also should include a regimen of planning, implementation, and assessment that addresses broad and specific diversity-related goals. Simply put, advancing institutional diversity is *everyone's business*.

We have observed that in reaching this ideal place of full institutional entrenchment with regard to diversity, institutions are becoming increasingly willing to engage in a number of requisite steps. These steps include the following:

A. Examining programs, policies, practices, and procedures; determining how they impact the campus and benefit the various populations they are intended to serve; and making necessary changes to be more effective and inclusive.

B. Taking a hard and systematic look at institutional traditions, customs, policies, procedures, and practices that often pose significant barriers to achieving campus diversity successes; and committing to institutional reframing, as needed.

C. Committing to extend the diversity focus from being primarily aimed at student programming to incorporating enriched diversity experiences for the faculty and staff; enhancing diversity content within the curriculum; tackling access, equity,

and retention issues; addressing climate issues; and being sure that diversity is reflected in the faculty, staff, and leadership serving the student body.

D. Exploring opportunities to incorporate student organizational programming (e.g., guest diversity speakers, cultural shows, etc.) into the academic experience involving faculty and curriculum. This is an ideal opportunity to more tightly couple students' in-class and out-of-class experiences with diversity. We can learn a great deal from diversity initiatives coordinated by students. Students devote enormous energy to planning and implementing diversity activities, oftentimes with little involvement and support from faculty and academic units. Some administrators and faculty perceive such efforts as not germane to the academic mission, and thus pass up potentially valuable learning opportunities.

Lesson Learned #3: Stop Reinventing the Campus Diversity Wheel

While much energy is committed to designing diversity plans and developing goal statements, most campuses fall short on the strategic implementation of these plans. Plans often incorporate lofty goals and objectives, but do not tackle tough issues such as funding commitments, implementation strategies (including periodic assessments), and institutional leadership. Campuses often update or develop new plans without fully assessing the successes and challenges of the previous plan. "What was wrong with the previous plan and what happened to it?" is a frequent comment heard by stakeholders.

For some institutions, developing a plan every five years or so seems to be the norm. As a result, many become weary and wary of another initiative to develop a "new and improved" diversity plan. It is essential that plans contain not only strategic implementation, but also action steps that are monitored by the leadership and reported to the campus community. A good place to start is by analyzing the efficacy of previous plans.

Campuses have to do more than just give the appearance that they value diversity by merely trotting out a diversity plan at the beginning

of each year or during accreditation reviews. Such maneuvers, whether sincere or not, produce considerable cynicism across campus. Supporters of diversity will say that nothing is being done, while opponents will argue that the lack of progress demonstrates that diversity efforts do not work and are divisive.

Lesson Learned #4: Integrate Campus Diversity Priorities with the Institutional Mission

Institutional diversity priorities must be aligned with the institutional mission. A good diversity plan links the goals of diversity with other components of the institutional mission, such as instruction, research, and service, while weaving these objectives into the fabric of campus priorities. Otherwise, campus diversity efforts can be easily viewed as tangential, as nonessential to the fulfillment of an institution's overall mission, and operating in a silo.

Most institutions claim in their mission statements that if students attend their respective institution, they will be better prepared as citizens of the world. Yet, many of these institutions have failed to consider how institutional diversity fits into this equation. What is warranted is a clear articulation of how campus diversity policies, practices, procedures, and activities are being enacted in the interest of fulfilling the overarching mission.

For example, when the University of Michigan developed its initial diversity plan in 1988, it gave considerable emphasis to "strategically linking social diversity to academic excellence." This signaled to the campus community that diversity was so important that it was going to be interwoven into the instruction, research, and service missions of the institution. This linking, as a broader outcome, was critical in the Supreme Court decision that validated U-M efforts to demonstrate that diversity was critical to the academic mission of the institution.

Further, the over 500 amicus briefs submitted in support of U-M's case (by corporations, educational associations, and the military) created a powerful and convincing argument for those Justices who concluded that diversity provided educational benefits to all students while also preparing them for civic engagement, voter participation, and work and leadership in a global community.

It is important that campus diversity efforts and commitment be viewed as essential to the fulfillment of an institution's overall mission. This is unlikely to happen when poorly conceived diversity plans are isolated and operate separately from campus priorities. Isolated plans give the appearance that diversity has low priority on campus and is not related to important institutional goals. Diversity efforts can then become marginalized, and prime targets for budget cuts and campus cynicism ("this is just a public relations gimmick" or "all talk, no action.") Additionally, diversity leaders must look for opportunities to link diversity activities with other programs and activities that might lack obvious relationships with diversity initiatives.

In terms of doing the work, various campus constituencies (faculty, staff, students, and leadership) should work collectively in setting a broad and shared strategic diversity plan for achieving, measuring, and sustaining diversity in the recruitment and retention of students, staff, and faculty; in student support services; in the academic curricula and co-curricula; and in improving campus climate. An ancillary benefit of this shared process is that it also cultivates a sense of ownership and attracts buy-in across multiple levels of the institution—essential elements needed to advance the diversity agenda campuswide.

Lesson Learned #5: Campus Diversity is More Than a Numbers Game

Measured success of institutional racial and ethnic diversity has to go beyond issues of access and increasing numbers. Too many campuses seem to be obsessed with how many students of color enroll this year over the previous year. The markers of annual success or failure become based on whether the number rose, stayed the same, or, worse, declined. Campus leaders often fail to appreciate the complex interrelationship between access, success, and retention/graduation. A better measure of diversity success is how many underrepresented students return after the first year and how many graduate. There are often vast differences in the graduation rates of various racial and ethnic groups on campus, yet institutions rarely institute systematic efforts designed to close those gaps. Graduation parity has to be one of the key goals—and key measures of success—of campus diversity efforts.

A well-conceived diversity plan should include strategies that address: 1) access, persistence, and retention, 2) disparities in graduation rates, and 3) overall satisfaction with the campus experience.

Student satisfaction over the four-year experience can strongly reflect perceptions of the overall institutional climate. An institution may have a great overall graduation rate and yet discover that many students of color express considerable unhappiness with the campus climate. A potential reaction from a student in this predicament might be, "I graduated, but I would never return to or donate funds to this campus. A lot of negative things happened to me strictly because of my race."

Lesson Learned #6: Campus Diversity among Students is Complex and Multifaceted

To demonstrate that diversity represents a benefit to all students, colleges and universities must recognize the complexity of campus diversity from the student perspective—especially how students see the interrelationship of equity/social justice issues and institutional efforts. To have successful campus diversity, an institution must address both goals.

Campus leaders should realize that, even when they are open to learning about others, students come to our campuses loaded with misperceptions and stereotypes about other groups. Students in general still come from highly segregated high schools and communities. Thus, the curricular and co-curricular experiences in which students engage must expand beyond "soft" diversity programs that tend to be superficial and contribute little to a deepened understanding and appreciation around issues of diversity and difference—and in many cases, reinforce or validate stereotypes students may already harbor about different groups (e.g., ethnic dinners). There also must be a commitment to addressing campus myths about diversity—especially racial and ethnic diversity—and to creating spaces and opportunities where students feel safe and comfortable to explore their own identities as well as those of others.

Leaders must also acknowledge the remarkable diversity within various racial and ethnic groups (e.g., the various sub-groups that exist within the broad Asian American, Latino, or African American categories). Emphasis must be placed on supporting students' inter- and intra-

group identities through programming, services, and policies. Failure to recognize and appreciate within-group experiences can easily convey the view that all groups are monolithic in their values, expectations, and experiences.

Furthermore, it is imperative that campuses be prompt, and proactive when possible, in addressing racial incidents involving students, faculty, and staff. Students expect campus administration to resolve racial incidents in a timely manner and to cultivate a climate that encourages the success of all students. Additionally, students of color hold university leadership accountable for addressing overall campus climate issues at all levels. If leaders fail to effectively address racially charged incidents, they are likely to face major and sustained conflicts that can quickly derail any recent climate improvements. Above all, institutions must take the stance that students have the right to live, learn, and work in environments that validate their myriad identities and cultivate their social, emotional, intellectual, and professional development. This message must be clear and consistent. Diversity can not be a code word for assimilating into the dominant campus culture, practices, and traditions. A campus should not send out a subtle message that says, "The sooner you figure out how you fit in, the better off you will be."

Lesson Learned #7: Maintaining a Commitment to Racial/Ethnic Diversity as the Institution's Diversity Focus Broadens

Over the past twenty-five years or so, the diversity agenda has broadened from a focus on African Americans to other racial groups and to greater concerns relative to gender, international status, and sexual orientation. However, there is a danger that as the diversity agenda broadens, some campuses appear to be shifting away from a civil rights focus on social justice/equity issues related to diversity, such as increasing and retaining adequate numbers of underrepresented students, faculty, and staff. Perhaps this is related to continued attacks on campus diversity efforts, which tend to make some campuses more cautious and less aggressive in pursuing diversity efforts focused on race and ethnicity.

At many campuses, there is a perception that campus leaders often pit diverse social groups against each other, forcing them to compete

for resources and attention. Such practices make it difficult for the various diversity groups to work through their differences, because their interests have been made oppositional rather than mutual. A good diversity plan recognizes the importance of *all* components of diversity that enrich the campus, while consistently addressing the paramount diversity issues involving equity. Affirmative Action initiatives are rooted in the civil rights/social justice activities of the 1960s, and the racial aspects of this dilemma still remain unresolved and contentious despite the continuing expansion of the definition of diversity.

Lesson Learned #8: The Importance of Assessing the Impact of Campus Diversity on All Students

Diversity-centered research must be a critical foundational aspect of how colleges and universities organize and provide empirical support for their myriad diversity programs. Given the imperative of the diversification of our colleges and universities, presenting anecdotal stories as proxies for measuring impact will no longer suffice. Appropriate assessment requires the establishment not only of data baselines when students first enter the institution but also of data gathered when they graduate and beyond. Using these data, as well as other planning tools, will help institutions become more strategic and effective in advancing campus diversity, thereby better positioning their efforts for increased levels of success.

The University of Michigan has conducted a large-scale, multimethod research initiative centered on the impact of campus diversity on our students (The Michigan Student Study) for nearly twenty years. The University's president initiated the study in 1990 to assess the institutional response of an aggressive undertaking to make the University a diverse, multicultural institution. It has been highlighted nationally as an example of an assessment plan that can be initiated to enhance a university's ability to track student perceptions and experiences with diversity over their four years on campus and beyond. This research also has helped to generate numerous diversity strategies for improving academic and non-academic programs at our institution and at numerous others across the country.

Two longitudinal datasets have been developed over the duration of the study. One contains the entrance, first year, fourth year, and

alumni data from the 1990 entering class. The other contains the entrance, first year and fourth year data of the 2000 entering class. These datasets make possible types of data analyses that are quite unique in the literature. For example, there are a few studies that have related behaviors of college alumni to their *recollections* of their experiences with diversity when in college. But the Michigan Student Study data permit analyses that relate an extensive array of diversity-related attitudes and behaviors reported while students were still in college, to the meaning of diversity in their adult lives ten years out of college (please see the *Michigan Student Study Guidebook (2008)* and the *Michigan Student Study Synopsis (2000)* reports for a more detailed explication of the study's history, methodology, and research findings).

A few sample findings from the study include:

A. From seniors in 1994 to alumni in 2003, students' support of diversity efforts based across campus and in society generally increased significantly. Alumni in all racial groups were *less* likely to see diversity as divisive compared to their standings as seniors, and were more likely to support the University's efforts to develop and implement policies to enact diversity and make campus diversity efforts learning-centered.

B. As alumni, an average of 45% of survey respondents across all racial/ethnic groups reported that the experiences they had with diversity while they were on campus had a *great* positive impact on their life since college. Further, when you consider the respondents who reported that it had at least *some* positive impact on their post-college lives, the average across all racial/ethnic groups jumps to nearly 75%.

C. We found that for ALL racial/ethnic groups, those individuals who believed that their groups had a lot in common with African Americans and Latinos/as, were more liberal, emphasized structural causes for racial inequality and for poverty and wealth, and endorsed the use of affirmative action and multicultural education in universities, whereas perceived commonality with Asian Americans and Whites was essentially non-political. These data highlight the fact that it is the perceptions of commonality with the low power groups, not the high

power groups in our society, that have political significance in a country with a long-standing, pernicious racial/ethnic divide.

It is essential that campuses have such longitudinal, quantitative, and qualitative assessment data on how institutional diversity efforts benefit students both while they are on campus and years after they graduate. Increasingly, our legal system and the public are asking institutions to demonstrate that campus diversity really has an educational benefit for all students, yet most fail to provide the much-needed concrete and long-term evidence of the value, importance, and effectiveness of diversity efforts.

Comprehensive institutional examinations can have a significant impact on an institution's ability to develop and evaluate strategic planning and implementation models related to campus diversity. Institutional "report cards" help to meet the demand for proof that diversity works from both the courts and an even more skeptical public. These progress reports also justify the benefits of diversity success when an institution's campus diversity practices are challenged.

Institutions that plan to conduct quality institutional research relative to diversity may wish to consider the following suggestions:

A. Be mindful to track the impact of campus diversity initiatives on students in their social, academic, and professional experiences across their four years in college and for several years post-graduation, thereby assessing the short-term and long-term benefits of campus diversity initiatives.

B. Study instrumentation should include a large number of items specific to race-related attitudes and behaviors as well as a large number of items on attitudes and behaviors not specific to race but, rather, centered on assessing the students' general college experiences. The benefit of this approach is that it permits a broader and more balanced analysis of the relationship between experiences with racial/ethnic diversity and general educational outcomes than has been achieved in most related research studies on college students.

C. The study planning and implementation team should really reflect a *true* collaboration between academic and non-aca-

demic units, making sure that all requisite perspectives are represented in the study design and subsequent deployment.

D. A broad-based qualitative component should supplement a large-scale quantitative survey effort. This will allow researchers to probe more deeply into how the students' views on life relate to their experiences with diversity at their institution. Qualitative surveys give students the space and opportunity to talk "in their own voices" about how they feel about, and were affected by the myriad diversity experiences their institution offered them.

Lesson Learned #9: Communicating Institutional Diversity Priorities and Successes

Once a formidable diversity agenda has been set, and work has begun, it is important that these insights be shared with the campus community to foster support and momentum for the continual advancement of campus diversity goals. It is important not only to communicate campus diversity successes, but also to address, at the same time, stereotypes and myths that can derail campus diversity efforts (e.g., that all the financial aid funds are allocated to students of color, or that students of color do not interact with other groups).

Most institutions have lofty statements proclaiming their support for campus diversity. However, if they lack clear communication plans or send mixed messages to the campus community, they will convey the message that diversity is merely tolerated, thus thwarting the hard and dedicated work of many administrators, faculty, students, and alumni. A series of questions might help campus leaders design an effective communication program in relation to institutional diversity. They include:

A. What activities/events/communications/media introduce the importance of campus diversity to new students and faculty?

B. What institutional reports/data have been shared/publicized that speak to the various benefits that have been realized relative to diversity throughout the campus?

C. How are diversity successes and achievements celebrated and communicated to the campus and external populations?

Campuses have to be proactive and aggressive in communicating diversity success to counter some of the media and campus constituents that view diversity only in negative terms.

Lesson Learned #10: Consult Your "Friends"– Other Colleges and Universities That Have Faced Diversity Challenges

When faced with challenges, such as ballot initiatives or simply stagnation relative to diversity programming, it is useful to consult with your "friends" at other colleges and universities. This is a means to share best practices, process recommendations, and outcomes with your counterparts.

In the last three years, the U-M has been engaged in a variety of new and creative efforts to generate innovative thinking and best practices for moving forward. The first was an intensive self-study conducted throughout the campus to generate new ideas for programs and initiatives—the Diversity Blueprints project. Secondly, we have reached out to other institutions that have faced similar legal challenges that we have endured: the University of Washington, UCLA, UC-Berkeley, and the University of Texas-Austin. Last year, representatives from those campuses came to U-M to participate in symposia to offer insights and lessons learned for advancing diversity in this anti-affirmative action climate. U-M also has visited all of those institutions to meet with administrators, faculty, staff, and students.

Lesson Learned #11: Continued Assessment of the Evolving Nature of Diversity

It is imperative that higher education institutions be in touch with not only the changing mood in the country relative to diversity but, equally important, with the changing mood on campuses as well. We stress this because these shifts can quickly alter the missions of programs and activities, and in many respects, the attitudes of students. For example, public perceptions of diversity seem to impact campuses that have major concerns about legal challenges to diversity, and those perceptions can thwart efforts at campus diversity.

Several of our previous observations can be addressed by the following questions: Have diversity priorities changed when programs are altered, combined, expanded, or reduced or made race neutral? Do all elements of diversity have equal status or have priorities been rearranged? How do we engage various communities, and are there new players added to the mix? Diversity should have solid footing in the campus community, and various constituencies should all feel respected, valued, and appreciated.

As diversity evolves on campuses, goals and objectives must be periodically reexamined—we can not have 1999 approaches in a 2009 world. Diversity efforts impact the entire campus community. We must stay on top of the diversity shifts occurring in the world, the country, and our campuses. One has only to look at the diversity of the various presidential and vice-presidential candidates and recognize that the nation, to the surprise of millions, elected its first African American president. It is obvious that shifting demographics have resulted in significant changes in America's voting patterns.

Lesson Learned #12: Garnering External Support for Campus Diversity

External support from alumni, donors, and the corporate community is essential to the long-term success of campus diversity initiatives. These external groups are often overlooked as potential supporters of and contributors to diversity efforts. They can be powerful allies in fostering support for overall campus diversity initiatives. Campus leaders can also serve a pivotal role in informing these populations about the importance of campus diversity and how such efforts benefit society in general. This is, unfortunately, an opportunity that is often overlooked.

A notable example that speaks to the necessity of fostering external relationships was the extensive filing of amicus briefs by corporations, unions, and the military in support of the University of Michigan in its defense of its admissions policies. The more than 500 briefs were the most filed in the history of the U.S. Supreme Court. These briefs were of critical importance to the successful aspects of the two cases and highlighted to the broader community the importance of diversity in preparing educated and competitive citizens for today's increasingly global democracy. These supportive actions further illustrated that

diversity is not only key to a quality education, but also critical to the current and future economic vitality and security of our nation.

It is surprising that many institutions do not reflect their commitment to diversity in their capital campaigns and fundraising efforts. Their representatives often say that donors are not interested in contributing to causes that advance diversity—especially to programs relating to race and ethnicity. But, such assertions contradict the commitment to diversity proclaimed and practiced by the leading corporate and foundation communities.

Conclusion

To a large extent, colleges and universities are still grappling with how to make diversity work on campuses in such a way that the entire community reaps the full educational benefit. While campuses are still experimenting with how to make their efforts all function effectively in a diverse democracy, one thing is certain: diversity is here to stay on campuses and elsewhere. Demographic data indicate that the U.S. will become increasingly diverse over the next 40 years. In the not-so-distant future, there will be no majority racial group in our country, a trend that has already occurred in California. Further, women will continue to outpace men in college attendance rates; again, a trend already occurring on many of our campuses.

The future economic, educational, and social health of our country, as a whole, depends greatly on how well we sort through the complex challenges of diversity. Failure to succeed in this matter could put the nation at risk in the next few decades. Given the vital responsibilities the 2003 Supreme Court decisions bestowed on higher education—to prepare our students for the future—campuses will play a major role in fulfilling this aspect of our national priorities. We hope that sharing these twelve critical lessons will aid predominantly White colleges and universities in more effectively engaging their institutional diversity efforts, and thereby, embracing our collective diversity reality.

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FOOTNOTES

[1] President James Duderstadt wrote this document in 1988.

[2] This project is funded in part by the Ford Foundation and began in 1990.

Promoting Multiracial Democratic Attitudes among Students: Interracial Friendships and Diversity Educational Experiences Matter

Helen A. Neville, Lisa B. Spanierman, Lydia Khuri, Belinda De La Rosa, and Mark S. Aber

For nearly two decades, many predominantly White colleges and universities throughout the United States have struggled with diversifying their campuses in terms of racial and ethnic representation of faculty, staff, students, and the curriculum. And, during this time, tomes, articles, guidebooks, and major conferences have articulated persuasive rationales for a successful implementation of diversifying the academy. Among these efforts is the pamphlet, *Now is the time: Meeting the challenge for a diverse academy* (2005), jointly authored by the American Association of State Colleges and Universities and the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges task force. In addition to learning (i.e., a diverse campus has educational benefits for all students) and economic imperatives (i.e., diversity in the professional workforce enhances creativity and innovation, earning potential, and services to consumers), the authors identified a democracy imperative to support diversity initiatives in higher education. The need to prepare students to interact and assume leadership in the ever increasingly diverse U.S. population is apparent. Often obscured from the discourse in the popular media, though, is the role of diversity in securing democracy in this country.

Building on the extant literature and the research/educational efforts of the relatively new Center on Democracy in a Multiracial Society (CDMS) at the University of Illinois, in this chapter we focus on college experiences found to promote diversity on college campuses, with a specific emphasis on increasing student commitment to democracy and social justice. As a way of providing context for our discussion, we briefly

define multiracial democracy and outline foundational work grounding the research presented. We include a discussion of our ongoing Illinois Longitudinal Diversity Project, and highlight selected findings throughout the chapter to situate our work within the larger literature on diversity and social justice research in education. We conclude with specific recommendations for universities, based on empirical research findings and diversity-related strategic initiatives at the University of Illinois.

Multiracial Democracy

The term multiracial democracy is used within the context of this chapter to capture the democracy imperative in higher education and highlight the ideal role of higher education in preparing graduates to become informed, civically-engaged citizens who are committed to creating a society that is just and equitable for all. This concept assumes there is inherent value in providing a diverse curriculum and educational environment—one that respects the contributions of the diverse members in its community and one that provides a safe space in which students can challenge themselves and grow personally, educationally, and professionally. The notion of multicultural democracy also implies that in order to make the type of contributions that we believe college graduates should make in society, they must possess the attitudes, knowledge, and skill set to be effective in a racially and culturally heterogeneous society. A number of scholars have articulated this vision, including liberation (Friere, 1970/2006) and, more recently, multicultural education theorists such as James Banks (2004), as well as researchers from a wide range of fields (e.g., Gottfredson et al., 2008; Gurin, Dey, Hurtado, & Gurin, 2002; Gurin, Nagda, & Lopez, 2004; Hurtado, 2005; Zúñiga, Williams, & Berger, 2005).

The term multiracial democracy should not be confused with racial democracy or the myth that South American countries, particularly Brazil, have created raceless societies in which racial conflict and discrimination have been eradicated (see Winddance Twine, 1997). Instead, the concept is aspirational in nature—an ethical goal in which to strive towards. Thus, we are interested in better capturing those attitudes (hereafter referred to as multiracial democratic attitudes) that are theorized to promote such a democracy with the understanding that institutions are made, created, sustained, and transformed by individuals.

A number of institutions of higher education have explicitly articulated this vision and are actively working to transform the academy (one student and one institution at a time). For example, CDMS (2009) has among its primary mission to:

- Empower members of the University of Illinois community to live in racially diverse communities, maintain friendships with people of different backgrounds and function more effectively in an increasingly diverse workplace by teaching and learning about racial diversity in formal classroom activities and informal interactions on campus; and,
- Prepare students for civic engagement and participation in a democratic society.

There are a number of ways in which researchers have operationalized multiracial democratic attitudes, which we assert are important student educational outcomes. For example, some have used indicators of support for educational equity policies and practices and the awareness of the existence of racial inequality in the United States (e.g., Lopez, 2004), and others have focused on attitudes about and behaviors involving social action engagement (e.g., Laird, Engberg, & Hurtado, 2005). In her work, Sylvia Hurtado (2005) used social justice related variables (e.g., affirmative action beliefs) to capture what she termed as democratic sensibilities, as well as indices of one's worldview (e.g., pluralistic orientation), social interests (e.g., concern about poverty issues and the public good), and civic involvement (e.g., voting and helping others). Although in our review of the literature we highlight empirical findings linking diversity practices to a number of educational outcomes, we focus our analysis on those most consistent with promoting a multiracial democracy.

College-Experiences that Promote Multiracial Democratic Attitudes: Interracial Contact and Diversity (Co)Curriculum

There is growing empirical support for diversity interventions and college experience variables that promote a range of educational outcomes, including those consistent with our notion of a multiracial democracy (e.g., understanding institutional racism, appreciation of cultural diversity, etc.). A number of these studies build on Astin's (1993)

input-environment-outcome model. In *What Matters in College*, Astin summarized data from a multi-institutional four-year longitudinal study. In this work, he examined input variables that play a role in college students' experiences, such as family characteristics and educational background; in addition, he explored the role of environmental college factors (e.g., curriculum influences, formal instruction, out of class experiences, and the characteristics of the school itself) on a wide range of educational and developmental outcomes (e.g., academic, occupational, and psychosocial development, including civic development). Findings most pertinent to the focus of the present chapter center on the role of interracial interaction. After controlling for the influence of input variables, Astin found that interacting with students from a different race was associated with attitudes consistent with multiracial democratic educational outcomes, including increased cultural awareness and a commitment to racial understanding. He also found a link between interracial interactions and increased academic development. These findings underscore the continuing significance of the work of Gordon Allport (1954) in his seminal work, *The Nature of Prejudice*, which is discussed in more detail below. In the next two subsections, we review the literature on college experiences that consistently have been shown to promote positive racial beliefs (i.e., consistent with our notion of a multiracial democracy): interracial contact and completion of diversity-related courses/activities.

Contact hypothesis/intergroup contact theory. In his seminal work on prejudice, psychologist Gordon Allport (1954) observed that increased meaningful intergroup interaction or contact would reduce racial and ethnic prejudicial attitudes and behaviors. Underlying his assertion was the belief that prejudice is rooted in the adoption of incomplete and misinformation about outgroup members and that with increased knowledge about the targeted group, a decrease in prejudice will occur. Clearly, the goal is not only to reduce prejudice but also to promote intergroup acceptance and understanding. Allport cautioned that superficial contact was insufficient to create the type of desired changes in individuals. He stipulated four critical situational conditions that were essential for the contact to have an impact. Specifically, the contact hypothesis applies when members in the contact groups: (a) share equal status within the situation; (b) work collaboratively toward a common goal; (c) experience a certain level of social intimacy to produce reciprocal knowledge and understanding to achieve the com-

mon goal; and (d) are part of a system that values and nurtures this type of intergroup collaboration. Recent findings, however, indicate that increased intergroup contact can decrease prejudice even when each of these conditions has not been met (see Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008).

In the over five decades since the publication of Allport's seminal book, there literally have been hundreds of studies supporting the contact hypothesis, or what scholars have since termed intergroup contact theory. Much of social psychologist Thomas Pettigrew's career has involved testing and reconceptualizing the contact hypothesis in the field of intergroup relations. Pettigrew and his colleague, Linda Tropp, conducted initial (2000) and extended (2008) comprehensive meta-analyses on the link between intergroup contact and prejudice reduction. In the most recent publication, they included 515 studies in their analysis (with 713 independent samples) and found small effects supporting the association between increased intergroup contact and negative outgroup prejudice (reported mean *r*'s range from -.205 to -.214). The studies represent a range of target groups with regard to race, physical ability, sexual orientation, and so forth from around the globe. Although the initial contact hypothesis was designed to capture racial and ethnic prejudice, there were no statistically significant different effects for studies in which racial and ethnic groups were the target compared to those studies in which other social identity groups were targets. The authors found some noteworthy moderating effects. For example, larger effects were found among participants in studies in which they did not have a choice about whether or not to engage in the intergroup contact (mean *r* -.280), compared to participants in studies in which they had some (mean *r* -.190) or full choice (mean *r* -.218) in engaging in the contact.

Given the meta-analysis findings, it is not surprising that there is growing documentation on the contact-prejudice link in the context of higher education. For example, Antonia (1991) examined the influence of friendship group contacts on diversity-related outcomes among students attending a multiracial university. Greater racial diversity in friendship circles and racial diversity in interacting with people outside of this network were both related to increased change in students' perception of cultural awareness and appreciation and a willingness to promote racial understanding. Similarly, Hurtado (2005) found that the quality of interracial interaction resulted in significant differences

on educational outcomes, after controlling for the effects of precollege (or input) variables. More specifically, interactions with racially diverse peers that were characterized as negative were more likely to have a significant and negative influence on a range of educational outcomes, but the reverse was true for positive interracial interactions. Some findings, however, suggest that greater interracial contact promotes more favorable intergroup attitudes for White students but has a negligible effect on racial and ethnic minority students (e.g., Lopez, 2004).

Diversity curricular and co-curricular activities. Although empirical findings underscore the role of interracial contact in promoting positive racial attitudes, particularly for White students, researchers caution that this type of contact is not enough to produce lasting change. Consistent with educational theories such as Astin's input-environment-outcome model, scholars urge institutions to consider other types of environment variables in their evaluation research and intervention programs. As such, there is emerging empirical support for the influence of college experiences such as completion of required (e.g., Chang, 2002) and elective diversity courses and participation in co-curricular activities on reduction of students' level of racial bias (see Engberg, 2004 for a review). For example, McClelland and Linnander (2006) found, in both their cross-sectional and longitudinal samples, that the larger number of Black events White students attended, the lower their levels of reported contemporary racism and, for the cross-sectional sample only, the greater levels their positive affect toward Blacks. Similarly, using racially diverse samples, Gottfredson and colleagues (2008) examined the complex relations between diversity experiences (i.e., classroom diversity and contact diversity) and outcomes among two samples of law school students. Using hierarchical linear modeling, they found that after controlling for input variables (e.g., age, gender, and LSAT scores), classroom diversity was associated with both increased attitudes favoring equal opportunity and cognitive openness to cultural diversity; contact diversity was only related to cognitive openness, but not views on equal opportunity.

Although research findings suggest that participation in curricular and co-curricular campus activities can promote greater levels of social justice orientations across racial lines (e.g., Zúñiga et al., 2005), a number of studies have found that the benefits of courses/activities are only relevant for White students. Gurin and her colleagues (2004), for

example, found that greater diversity experiences inside and outside of the classroom were related to a number of outcomes, including adopting non-divisive views on diversity policies and increased involvement in campus political and community service for Whites, African Americans, Asian Americans, and Latinos. Interestingly, the link between increased diversity activities and empathic perspective taking was significant, however, only for the White students in the sample. Lopez (2004) surveyed European American, Asian American, and African American students attending a predominantly White university at the beginning and end of their first year of college. After controlling for the influence of input variables (e.g., racial attitudes at entrance), increased exposure to racial and ethnic diversity through course readings and lectures, and also participation in co-curricular activities, were related to greater awareness of racial inequality and support for educational equity for White students, but not for either the Asian American or the African American students. In sum, theoretical and empirical literature consistently tout the educational benefits for students who engage in meaningful interracial interactions with peers and who take advantage of the curricular and co-curricular activities on campus. Although it appears that all students benefit on some level, the biggest recipients of these types of diversity experiences are White students.

Promoting Multiracial Democratic Attitudes at the University of Illinois: The Illinois Longitudinal Diversity Project

In 2004, CDMS received funding from the Ford Foundation to conduct a cross-campus research collaborative to document the influence of diversity initiatives and activities on a range of educational outcomes at the University of Illinois. Our research team, in particular, was charged with empirically exploring the development of diversity attitudes over time and also evaluating the effectiveness of the newly established multicultural living and learning community (Intersections); findings from the latter research are described in greater detail in chapter 10 (Aber et al., this volume). In this section, we outline the Illinois Longitudinal Diversity Project (ILDP), its goals, the method, and key findings from ongoing analyses.

Building on educational theories such as the contact hypothesis and the input-environment-outcome model, along with emerging publications from the Michigan Student Survey, the ILDP focused on freshmen students' attitudes about diversity and under what conditions these attitudes changed over the course of their four-year college experience. To date, we have completed five waves of web-based survey data collection and two focus groups. Time 1 data collection occurred at the beginning of students' first semester, Time 2 at the end of their first year, and Times 3-5 occurred at the end of each subsequent year. We plan to collect follow-up data with alumni who were ILDP participants to examine whether any identified changes are lasting in nature. A total of 1,153 (44.8%) first-year students provided usable data at Time 1: 517 (44.8%) of the participants were men, 576 (53%) were women, and 60 (5.8%) did not report their gender. Through active recruitment efforts, we obtained a relatively diverse sample: Asian/Asian American (n = 330; 28.6%), Black/African American (n = 110 or 9.5%), Latino/a (n = 164; 14.2%), Native American (n = 6; 0.5%), and non-Hispanic White (n = 543, 47.1%). Consistent with the extant literature, we included multiple indices of input, environmental, and educational outcomes. Also, addressing some of the measurement concerns in earlier research, when possible we included multi-item measures with psychometric support to assess specific constructs. Outlined below and detailed in Table 1 are the variables included in the various waves of data collection:

- *Input (precollege) variables* – self-reported and registrar data on gender and race/ethnicity, political orientation, high school multicultural courses completed, residential and school diversity, and parent openness to cultural diversity.
- *Environmental (college experience) variables* – diversity activity checklist and diversity course checklist, racial composition of close friends (designed to assess the general conditions of interracial contact), and perceived institutional commitment to diversity.
- *Outcome variables* – psychosocial (e.g., anxiety, self-esteem, collective self-esteem, and satisfaction with life), and multiracial democracy attitudes (e.g., psychosocial costs of racism to Whites, diversity-related leadership skills, color-blind racial beliefs, openness to diversity, and several Michigan Student Survey scales, including items assessing affirmative action beliefs and democratic sensibilities).

Table 1
Selected Variables Assessed in the Illinois Longitudinal Diversity Project (ILDP)

ILDP VARIABLES	Fall 2004 Time 1	Spring 2005 Time 2	Spring 2006 Time 3	Spring 2007 Time 4	Spring 2008 Time 5
INPUT/PRECOLLEGE (INPUT CONSIDERED AT TIME 1)					
Background/Demographic					
Demographic Questions	X	X	X	X	X
High school Multicultural/Diversity or Ethnic Studies Courses Question	X				
Pan-ethnic/race Background Question	X	X	X	X	X
Parents talked about race (1 item; 1 open-ended question) B, W		X			
Racial and Class Composition of High school (archival data)	X				
Racial and Class Composition of Neighborhood (Census block data)	X				
Racial Beliefs and Multiracial Democratic Attitudes					
Parent Openness to Diversity (via telephone interview)	X				
Teenager Experiences of Racial Socialization, B, W		X			
Psychological Costs of Racism to Whites, W	X	X	X	X	X
Collective Self-Esteem – Race and Ethnicity, A, B	X	X	X		X
Color-Blind Racial Ideology, B, L,W	X	X	X	X	X
Openness to Diversity	X	X			
Comfort with People who are Racially Different	X		X		
COLLEGE EXPERIENCES/PERCEPTIONS					
Diversity Activity Checklist		X	X	X	X
Diversity-related Courses Checklist		X	X	X	X
Friendship Diversity (Inner Circle)	X	X	X		X
Perceived Campus Cohesion			X	X	X
Perceptions of Campus Related Race Issues - Mascot and a Forum on Racism				X	
Perceptions of the University's Commitment to Diversity		X			
MULTIRACIAL DEMOCRATIC OUTCOMES					
Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites, W	X	X	X	X	X
Color-blind Racial Ideology, B, L, W	X	X	X	X	X
Openness to Diversity	X	X			
Race-based Affirmative Action Beliefs		X			
Diversity Citizenship Beliefs, B, L, W		X			
Redistributive Government Policy (RGP)		X			
Valuing Diversity in College		X			
Ethnocultural Empathic Perspective Taking			X		
Prejudice Reduction			X		
Leadership and Diversity Attitudes					X
Controversy w/Civility & Citizenship					X

Note. Surveys given to all students unless denoted by A, B, L, W; A = Asian American Participants, B = Black Participants, L = Latino Participants, W = White Participants

Although we have a number of manuscripts in various stages of production, we highlight the findings from four studies, two of which include the racially diverse samples and two of which focus on processes related to the White participants. In the first study published on these data, we tested a conceptually grounded model describing the development of multiracial democratic attitudes (Spanierman, Neville, Liao, Hammer, & Wang, 2008). In this study, we used two indicators of multiracial democratic attitudes (or what we termed in the manuscript as racial democratic beliefs) to assess cultural awareness or appreciation of similarities and differences in cultural groups and color-blind racial ideology (CBRI) or the denial and minimization of the existence of structural racism in the United States. Using separate path analyses for White (n = 239), Asian American (n = 131), and Black and Latino participants (n = n = 78), we examined if the link between precollege input variables (e.g., entrance multiracial democratic attitudes and gender) and multiracial democratic attitudes at the end of their first year was mediated by outgroup interracial friendships and/or formal campus diversity practices that reflect courses and activities. We found that, for the most part, college experiences, including interracial friendships and participation in (co)curricular activities, were related to multiracial democratic attitudes, even after controlling for precollege attitudes/characteristics. Not surprisingly, though, the pattern was different depending on the race of the participants. Similar to the extant literature, we found that both greater openness to diversity and lower levels of denial of structural racism at entrance were related to White students' establishment of close interracial friendships and participation in diversity courses/activities and that these experiences were, in turn, related to increased multiracial democratic attitudes at the end of their first year.

Although the models we tested also were significant for Asian Americans and Blacks and Latinos, the role of college experiences differed. For Black and Latino students, the diversity-related courses/activities, but not the interracial friendships, helped explain their multiracial democratic attitudes. Conversely, for Asian Americans, the interracial friendships, but not the courses/activities, helped to explain their openness to and appreciation of diversity at the end of the year. Because of the low reliability estimates on the measure we used to assess CBRI for the Asian American sample, we did not test the denial of structural racism model for this group.

Reflecting on the consistent findings in the literature suggesting that interracial friendships play a limited role in altering Black and Latino students' racial viewpoints offers implications for contact hypothesis/intergroup contact theory. Interracial contact is designed to decrease prejudice and promote cultural openness and understanding through the process of obtaining first-hand information to counter stereotypes. It may mean that living as a racial minority in the United States, Black and Latino students are exposed to multiple viewpoints that differ from their own through their interactions at school or in society in general (e.g., work sites and media socialization). Given this exposure, interracial contact may not significantly alter one's awareness of racism or openness to cultural diversity.

The process is probably different for White and Asian American students, at least in our sample. White and Asian American students in our sample primarily came from the segregated, predominantly White Chicagoland suburbs. For many White students, attending the University of Illinois marks one of the first opportunities they have for establishing friendships with peers who are racially different from themselves. These new interactions occur in an environment in which the students have equal status (as first year students at an elite public institution) and one in which people are working to support one another to succeed in school; both of which are core conditions of the contact hypothesis. It stands to reason that these new types of encounters provide students with information contrary to negative cultural stereotypes that they were likely to have learned through the media, school, or their families prior to entering college.

The process by which interracial friendships influence Asian Americans is more complex and warrants additional exploration. In our analysis, students provided information on the proportion of their friends who were White, African American, Latino/a, Asian American, and Native American (on a 5-point scale from *none or almost none* to *all or almost all*), and we created an averaged interracial friendship variable to use in the analysis. Because we assessed interracial friendships via a global indicator, as opposed to examining race of friends separately, we have no way of knowing if Black friends, for example, had greater effects on multiracial democratic attitudes than Latino or White friends for Asian Americans. Another limitation of this research

is that we did not assess for the quality of contact. By delimiting the questions to close friendships, we assumed the interactions with peers were positive and intimate. Thus, we were unable to explore the influence of negative interracial interactions on student outcomes.

As a follow-up to this initial study, we were interested in further understanding precollege attitudes/characteristics on the development of student social justice attitudes (Lewis, Neville, & Spanierman, 2009). We grounded our investigation in the color-blind racial ideology (CBRI) and the diversity in higher education literatures to explore the link between input variables at entrance on race-based affirmative action beliefs and citizenship engagement at the end of their first year. CBRI theorists assert that the minimization and denial of the existence of contemporary racism in the United States has supplanted old-fashioned notions of racial intolerance (Neville, 2009). Similar to the creation of a racial democracy, racial color-blindness is an ideal in which to strive, but the current material conditions suggest that race and racism persist today; thus, as long as racial oppression exists in a society, we are unable to "get beyond" race. Empirical research indicates that individuals (irrespective of race) who adhere to greater levels of CBRI endorse attitudes and behaviors that counter the creation of a multicultural democracy (Neville, 2009).

In this second study, we focused on White, Black, and Latino students; Asian American students were not included because of the low reliability estimates for this group on the CBRI measure we used. Findings indicated that entrance scores on CBRI accounted for a significant amount of variance in both end-of-the-year social justice indicators for all students, even after controlling for gender and high school multicultural exposure. Interestingly, completion of diversity courses/activities also helped explain both social justice indicators for Whites; in fact, participation in these (co)curricular opportunities mediated the link between entrance racial color-blindness and end-of-the-year social justice attitudes. That is, White students who held lower racial color-blindness views (and thus were more aware of institutional racism) were more likely to take advantage of (co)curricular activities, which, in turn, was related to increased social justice attitudes. The influence of diversity courses/activities was less powerful for the Black and Latino students; the courses/activities were only associated with a democratic orientation and they did not mediate the racial color-blindness-democratic orientation

link. Thus, these findings add to the growing body of literature indicating that while diversity courses and activities are helpful to all students in promoting multiracial democratic outcomes, they appear to have the most powerful impact on White students across a range of outcomes.

We also completed two studies further exploring the ways in which White students changed over time; our focus on White students in these studies allowed for a more nuanced examination of specific race-related processes salient to a group of students who are taught to ignore their own racial identities. Extending the findings from the earlier study, we examined White students' adoption of less racial color-blindness, or greater awareness of structural racism, over their four years at Illinois (Neville, Poteat, Lewis, & Spanierman, 2009). Although there is growing support for the link between greater CBRI and lower racial sensitivity/awareness, at this point we know very little about the stability of CBRI over time or the factors that may account for patterns of change in CBRI. Lower CBRI reflects greater endorsement of multiracial democratic attitudes. We found that several precollege variables were associated with racial color-blindness such that being a Republican, reporting lower levels of openness to diversity and commitment to social justice, and participating in fewer high school diversity activities/courses were associated with greater entrance levels of racial color-blindness. The most interesting results, however, were based on the longitudinal analyses—we found that there were, in fact, distinct patterns of change in racial color-blindness among White college students over a four-year period. Specifically, White students who reported a greater proportion of Black friends and who took more diversity courses, demonstrated a greater decrease in CBRI over their four years in college than those with fewer of these experiences. What is striking here is that having a greater percentage of Black friends (as opposed to interracial friends as a global measure) was most important in capturing student changes. These findings encourage us to think about the formation of race in this country and that, although it is critical to move beyond a black-white binary analysis of race, understanding the power of this relationship is important for White students (at least in the Midwest).

The other ILDP study examined another aspect of racial attitude change among White students. Building on the systematic work of the second author, Spanierman, Todd, and Anderson (2009) used entrance

and Time 2 data to explore the development of the psychosocial costs of racism to the White students. Race scholars have long argued that both Whites and racial minorities are psychologically harmed by the inhumanity of living in a racially hierarchical society (e.g., Fanon 1952/2008). Surprisingly, very little empirical work exists on the ways in which Whites have been affected emotionally by unearned racial privilege. Because emotional responses are particularly salient among Whites with regard to racial issues, recent empirical work has begun to focus on specific affective costs of racism: White Empathy (e.g., anger about the existence of racism), White Guilt, and White Fear (e.g., limited social relationships outside of one's own racial group). Adding to this recent work, our fourth ILDP study examined five distinct constellations of affective costs of racism types among White university students (n = 287) (Spanierman, Todd, & Anderson, 2009). Noting that the *Antiracist Type* (i.e., high White empathy and White guilt, coupled with low White fear) is most desirable, we sought to understand the factors that explained membership in this type and others (e.g., *Empathic but Unaccountable, Insensitive and Afraid*). We found that costs of racism type at entrance explained student engagement in interracial friendships, but not diversity courses and activities, which we know are important variables in White students' development of multiracial democratic attitudes. This finding makes sense with regard to our earlier discussion of the contact hypothesis in that racial empathy and interracial friendships are linked. Results also indicated that while costs of racism types are generally stable, they may change during the course of the academic year. Approximately 45% of our sample changed types and particular patterns emerged with regard to how students changed types. Taken together, these findings strongly suggest that White students' racial affect (e.g., White guilt and White empathy) is relevant to consider when designing campus diversity programs and interventions for White students.

In sum, findings from our initial ILDP investigations further support the importance of college experiences on student diversity outcomes, especially for the White students in our sample. This is to be expected, considering many of the educational theories to date focus on general processes that are critical for students across racial backgrounds, and the discussions on race-related processes are based on developmental tasks most closely associated with White students (e.g., racial prejudice reduction). Additional theorizing and empiri-

cal research is needed to better articulate both general and race- and culturally-relevant outcomes for a range of students.

Where Do We Go From Here?: Applying the Multicultural Change Intervention Matrix as a Way of Promoting the Adoption of Multiracial Democratic Attitudes

In this section, we draw on the research findings highlighted in this chapter to guide our suggestions for future directions in terms of diversity interventions and research evaluating the effectiveness of these interventions. To provide structure, we also apply the Multicultural Change Intervention Matrix (MCIM) to our discussion. After a brief outline of the model, we discuss the specific recommendations in which we overlay the MCIM with the two main theoretical frameworks discussed in this chapter (i.e., Astin's input-environment-outcome model and the contact hypothesis).

Drawing on the Multicultural counseling competence and organization literatures, educational policy scholar Raechele Pope (1993) and colleagues (2005) introduced the MCIM as a heuristic to guide institutional diversity strategies and interventions. According to MCIM (see Table 2), any multicultural change intervention efforts at institutions of higher education exist along two dimensions: the *target* of and the *type* of change desired by the intervention. Interventions could target the individual (e.g., student, faculty, and staff members), group (e.g., student or faculty organization), or institution (e.g., an entire division, department, or unit). Within each of the target interventions, Pope and colleagues propose one of two types of change: first order change, which refers to superficial change or changes that can occur within a system without changing the system itself, and second order change, which refers to structural changes that affect the values and/or operation of the system.

Thus, the MCIM consists of six different types of interventions. *Awareness* interventions are designed to increase the cultural awareness and multicultural competence of individual members in the university community (via workshops and short-term training) whereas the *paradigm shift* interventions are more intensive and encourage students,

faculty, and staff members to question and challenge preexisting understandings of social relationships (through course work, experiential learning experiences like study abroad). Interventions targeted toward *membership* tend to focus on changing the group membership of the organization or unit without a careful consideration of the larger goals or mission. *Restructuring* interventions such as planning retreats and study groups are designed to encourage a group entity to systematically examine its values and practices in making diversity changes. Both *programmatic* and *systematic* interventions target institutional change. The former focuses on the establishment of units, officers, and/or services to address multicultural issues (e.g., the creation of CDMS) and the latter on institutional policies and practices related to the implementation of diversity initiatives (e.g., connecting budget allocations or evaluations to the implementation of the initiatives).

Table 2
Raechele Pope's (1993) Multicultural Change Intervention Model (MCIM)

TARGET OF CHANGE	TYPE OF CHANGE	
	First Order Change	***Second Order Change***
Individual	**Awareness** Short-term diversity interventions (e.g., lecture, workshop, training, etc.)	**Paradigm Shift** Interventions to create new ways of thinking (e.g., elective diversity course offerings)
Group	**Membership** Programs designed to increase the diversity of committees, faculty, staff, students, etc.	**Restructuring** Interventions designed to reexamine core values of a unit/entity (e.g., retreat; required U.S. diversity course)
Institutional	**Programmatic** Establishment of units/ officers to address diversity issues	**Systematic** Institutional policies to promote/enforce diversity initiatives

We appreciate the fact that the MCIM accounts for both superficial and deep structural interventions, as both are needed to promote the adoption of multicultural competence (i.e., awareness, knowledge, and skills) and a commitment to social justice and democracy in an increasingly diverse society among college students. Although the MCIM has broad implications, to be consistent with the thrust of the chapter, we delimit our discussion of recommendations to individual, group, and institutional interventions and related research designed to increase students' multiracial democratic attitudes. The recommendations are provided by way of posing unanswered questions.

Why and under what conditions do co-curricular awareness type programs work? We know that attending co-curricular activities (e.g., Black History Month event) positively affects students' racial attitudes and openness to diversity. What we do not know is which type of activities are the most helpful (e.g., lecture, cultural exchange, etc.) for which students. Does the race of the student intersect with the focus of activity to produce a certain effect? For example, do Latino or African American students respond differently to the type of activity compared to White students or are precollege diversity attitudes more important than racial group membership in explaining this effect? Also, at this point we do not know about the appropriate "dosage" in terms of attendance at these activities; how many activities must students attend to see change occur or is it the combination of diversity activities and courses that are needed to produce the desired effect?

What is it about diversity courses that help promote a paradigm shift in students' understanding about race and diversity? Consistent data suggest that whether a student takes gender and women studies, ethnic (racialized community) studies, or intergroup dialogue courses, they will most likely benefit from the experience. To help guide instructors in their construction of such courses, we need more accurate information about the process of change—how do students respond to the readings, class discussions, and lectures? What appears to be most helpful in such courses in promoting deep structural change in students' thinking and what hinders the desired change? We encourage future researchers to use mixed methods designs to capture the complexity in not only the outcomes of participation in such courses but also the process in which change occurs for which students and under what conditions.

Why don't all universities require a U.S. diversity course as a restructuring method to encourage deep structural change in students' thinking about race and in communicating the institution's commitment to the democracy imperative outlined by the American Association of State Colleges and Universities and the National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges task force? Research findings suggest that completion of a required diversity course has a significant effect on students' attitudes above and beyond other diversity courses they take during their time in college. And, it appears that the courses that focus on the dynamics of race and diversity issues specifically in the United States are the most helpful. Given this information, it seems particularly prudent for institutions of higher education to review and evaluate their general education requirements and to examine the impact of a diversity requirement on racially diverse student outcomes.

In what ways can university units/departments foster interracial contact as another restructuring intervention? There is a significant body of research supporting the core principles of the contact hypothesis/intergroup relations theory in promoting attitude change in students, especially prejudice reduction in White students. Universities should identify ways they can systematically promote meaningful interracial contact among students and between students and faculty/staff/administrators. For example, the University of Illinois created a new living-learning community to help facilitate this goal (see chapter 10). In exploring the effectiveness of such interventions, researchers should be mindful of a range of developmental outcomes. Perhaps inclusion of racial and ethnic identity outcomes may be important to capture changes among students of color in addition to the traditional prejudice reduction outcomes in which White students have demonstrated change. Special attention should be given to the influence of the type (peer, faculty, etc.) and valence (e.g., positive or negative) of the relationship as well as the specific interracial pairing (Asian-Latino relationships, Black-Asian relationships, etc.). At this point, research is also needed on behavioral outcomes during the college years and the influence that these relationships may have on attitudes/behaviors when individuals enter the workplace after graduation.

What is the impact of existing programmatic interventions on campuses in promoting students' multiracial democratic attitudes? Most

colleges and universities have special units or officers that are designed to promote diversity issues on campus. There is some information about the effectiveness of the efforts in recruiting and retaining a diverse student body. However, very little is known about the impact that these efforts are having on student educational outcomes, including the adoption of multicultural democratic attitudes.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we reviewed data supporting Astin's input-environment-output model and Allport's contact hypothesis in promoting the adoption of multiracial democratic attitudes. We outlined the Illinois Longitudinal Diversity Project and results from several initial studies that provide further support for these theories. In general, research findings suggest that after controlling for the influence of input or precollege variables, including demographic factors and diversity attitudes at entrance into college, establishing close friendships with people who are racially different, and completing diversity courses/activities during college, promote a range of educational outcomes. On the outcomes considered in this review, it appears that White students were the largest beneficiaries of these types of experiences. We concluded the chapter with a discussion of the ways universities can further extend their intervention and research efforts by using the MCIM as a guiding framework which helps to ensure a multi-level approach (individual, group, and institutional).

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Virtual Racism, Real Consequences: Facebook, Racial Microaggressions, and Campus Racial Climate

Raina Dyer-Barr

Many predominantly White institutions (PWIs) have become more racially and ethnically diverse over the past several decades, and many seem to have embraced the ideals of diversity, equality, and inclusiveness, as is indicated by the inclusion of these terms as goals in their institutional mission statements. Yet, students of color (i.e., African Americans, Latinos, Native Americans, and Asian/Pacific Islanders) continue to be largely underrepresented at these institutions, and those who do gain access often experience overt and covert acts of racial discrimination on or around campus (Solórzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000; Yosso, Parker, Solórzano, & Lynn, 2004). In particular, minority students often encounter racial microaggressions—subtle or covert, verbal or nonverbal acts of racism (Solórzano et al., 2000). Although the negative impact of overt forms of racism on the campus racial climate, and, ultimately, minority students' collegiate experiences, can hardly be denied, the effects of more subtle forms of racism on the campus racial climate seem to be less understood or acknowledged by colleges and universities and far less frequently addressed as well (Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pedersen, & Allen, 1998). However, because covert forms of racism against minority students work to depress the academic and social experiences of both minority and majority students attending PWIs (Laird, Bridges, Morelon-Quainoo, Williams, & Holmes, 2007), as well as the overall campus racial climate of the institution, it is imperative that colleges and universities address these less blatant instances of racism when they occur as part of their commitment to and pursuit of a diverse, inclusive, and positive campus racial climate for all students.

Using the popular Internet social networking tool Facebook as an example, in this chapter I illustrate how virtual acts of racism serve as racial microaggressions against racial and ethnic minority students

and consequently negatively impact the campus racial climate for all students. I also provide specific recommendations for PWIs to address these "virtual" and more covert forms of racism and their negative impact on campus racial climate.

Racial Microaggressions

Social scientists have noted that racism in American society has evolved—changing from more overt and blatant expressions to forms that are more covert and ambiguous (Solórzano et al., 2000; Sue, Nadal, Capodilupo, Lin, Torino, & Rivera, 2008). Additionally, researchers have pointed out that covert forms of racism, because of their subtle, hidden, and often unintentional nature, often have a more harmful impact on those they are perpetrated against than blatantly racist acts (Kennedy, 1989; Solórzano et al., 2000; Sue et al., 2008). Racial microaggressions are one form of covert racism that may have serious effects on those they are perpetrated against (Solórzano et al., 2000; Sue et al., 2008).

The term racial microaggressions was first coined by psychiatrist Chester Pierce in the 1970s to mean "subtle, stunning, often automatic, and nonverbal exchanges which are 'put downs' of blacks by offenders" (Pierce, Carew, Pierce-Gonzalez, & Wills, 1977, p. 65). More recently, racial microaggressions have been defined as subtle verbal, nonverbal, behavioral, and/or visual insults, as well as other innocuous forms of racism, automatically or unconsciously directed towards people of color (Allen, Epps, & Haniff, 1991; Solórzano et al., 2000). For the purposes of this work, the definition of racial microaggressions as "brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioral and environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults toward people of color" (Sue et al., 2007, p. 271) is perhaps the most accurate because it highlights the frequent and cumulative nature of these often subtle racist acts.

Nevertheless, all of the abovementioned definitions highlight three important points about racial microaggressions:

1) they are insults or slights based on race; they convey racially charged meanings,

2) they can be verbal, nonverbal, behavioral, or environmental attacks, and
3) they are often perpetrated automatically or unconsciously by the perpetrator and thus can be committed intentionally or unintentionally.

Also, according to a taxonomy developed by Sue and colleagues (2008), racial microaggressions are generally expressed in three forms: microassaults, or "deliberate, conscious, and explicit" (p. 331) racial acts with the intention of hurting, oppressing or discriminating against people of color; microinsults—racial acts that are often unintentionally expressed by the microaggressor, frequently in the form of comments that are rude, insensitive or demeaning toward a person's racial identity or heritage; and microinvalidations—"actions that exclude, negate, or nullify the psychological thoughts, feelings, or experiences of people of color" (p. 331). In short, racial microaggressions are incessant racial assaults and indignities against members of racial minority groups that convey negative and denigrating messages to people of color (Sue et al., 2007; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Ladson-Billings, 1998; Pierce et al., 1977; Solórzano et al., 2000).

As the Internet has become more popular and more widely used by the general population, it has also increasingly been used as a forum to commit acts of "virtual" racism and racial microaggressions. In particular, on college and university campuses nationwide, online social networking tools such as Facebook have been used to perpetrate sometimes subtle and often overt acts of racism that serve as racial microaggressions for racial and ethnic minorities at these institutions.

The Use of Facebook as a Form of Microaggressions

Facebook is an Internet social networking tool that emerged on college campuses nationwide in 2004 to connect students, faculty, and staff through the creation of individual profiles where users can post pictures, list personal interests, send and receive private or public messages to and from other members, and create and/or join groups of interest. However, Facebook has also been used in less benign ways—such as to perpetrate virtual acts of racism and racial microaggressions.

When Facebook was originally created, it could only be accessed by college and university students, faculty, and staff, but it has since expanded so that anyone with a valid email address can create a profile and use the site; presently it is the second largest social networking site on the Internet. The massive impact of Facebook on college campuses is aptly highlighted by TechCrunch.com, which noted that in 2005 about 85% of students in supported colleges had a Facebook profile and, of those who signed up, 60% logged in daily, about 85% logged in at least once a week, and 93% logged in at least once a month (Arrington, 2005). Similarly, a 2006 study conducted by Student Monitor, a New Jersey-based company that specializes in research focused solely on the college student market, named Facebook as the second most "in" thing among undergraduates, tied for second place with beer, and losing only to the iPod ("Survey: College Kids," 2006). Thus, although Facebook has experienced enormous popularity among college and university students and has forever changed the way students interact with one another, it also often serves as yet another forum where racial microaggressions have been perpetrated against minority students.

The definition of racial microaggressions as "brief everyday exchanges" (Sue et al., 2007, p. 273) is especially relevant for categorizing racially charged Facebook postings as virtual forms of racial microaggressions for minority students attending PWIs; particularly, such postings embody the commonplace and frequent nature of racial microaggressions that this definition highlights. In fact, for many students, Facebook has become an online or virtual extension of the actual physical campus. Thus, these students log on to the forum on a daily basis and often numerous times a day to keep up with campus happenings and contacts. In effect, Facebook has become a commonplace activity and a normal part of everyday life for many college students—almost akin to attending classes. As such, by simply partaking in an activity that has become a normal extension of college life, minority students have increased chances of encountering racial microaggressions on a frequent and even daily basis in the form of racially charged and denigrating Facebook postings.

More specifically, these types of negative postings serve as virtual racial microaggressions for minority students at PWIs since they are not only affronted by the actual postings, but they also have to deal with the recognition that some of their White counterparts feel com-

pletely comfortable engaging in racially insensitive and racist activities that stereotype, mock, insult, and demean members of minority racial groups, as well as posting photos of themselves engaging in these acts on a public forum, such as Facebook. Additionally, frequent encounters with these virtual racial microaggressions send negative messages to minority students and may ultimately deter them from engaging in interracial interactions on campus. These encounters also may have detrimental consequences for their academic and social engagement and involvement on campus.

Racial Microaggressions and Campus Racial Climate (CRC)

In higher education, racial microaggressions are generally discussed in terms of their effects on students, faculty, and staff of color, as well as the overall campus racial climate (CRC), not only for people of color, but for all members of the institution. The CRC is broadly defined as "the overall racial environment of a college campus" (Solórzano et al., 2000, p. 62). More specifically, the CRC has been noted to be comprised of several interrelated dimensions such as an institution's historical legacy of inclusion or exclusion of people of color, its numerical representation of people of color on campus, intergroup relations on campus, a curriculum reflective of diverse people and experiences, and a serious commitment to the recruitment, retention, and graduation of students of color, among other things (Hurtado et al., 1998; Solórzano et al., 2000). Essentially, the CRC is the historical and present day state of racial relations on a campus as marked by the presence, treatment, and interactions of different racial groups. It plays an important role in the experiences of students, faculty, and administrators on college and university campuses (Cabrera, Nora, Terenzini, Pascarella, & Hagedorn, 1999; Hurtado et al., 1998).

Racial microaggressions occur in both academic and social spaces on campus and have been noted to have a particularly negative effect on the CRC (Solórzano et al., 2000). In fact, students of color, who are often marginalized at PWIs because of both their racial minority and underrepresented status, frequently report encountering a negative or hostile CRC (Allen, 1985; Jones, Castellanos, & Cole, 2002; Laird et al., 2007; Rankin & Reason, 2005; Solórzano et al., 2000; Yosso et al., 2004). For

example, Solórzano and colleagues (2000) found that due to frequent encounters with racial microaggressions in academic and social spaces on campus, African American students in their study described "a very tense racial climate both inside and outside their classrooms" (p. 65). For these students, racial microaggressions often play out in the form of lowered expectations for minority students by faculty and negative interactions with faculty; stereotypes and preconceived notions about racial minority groups and the resulting scrutiny of their "everyday actions" by White professors, students, and staff; assumptions that minority students entered the university via affirmative action policies, rather than their credentials and qualifications; and even as heavier scrutiny and regulation by campus officials and police at campus social functions hosted by minority students than those hosted by White students (Solórzano et al., 2000). In turn, these microaggressions often invoke general feelings of racial discomfort and tension for these students and contribute to their perceptions and characterizations of the CRC as negative and/or hostile.

Ultimately, incessant encounters with racial microaggressions can, and often do, have deleterious effects on students' academic and social outcomes (Pascarella & Terenzini, 2005; Rankin & Reason, 2005), including their psychosocial adjustment (Allen, 1985; Hurtado, Carter, & Spuler, 1996), engagement and involvement (Allen, 1985; Laird et al., 2007; Nora & Cabrera, 1996), grades (Smedley, Myers, & Harrell, 1993), and academic trajectories (Allen et al., 1991; Solórzano et al., 2000). These negative racial experiences also serve to perpetuate a negative CRC, which can have important effects on these students' overall collegiate experiences. Thus, it is important to consider the impact of racial microaggressions on the CRC of PWIs for minority students, because just as a negative and hostile climate often begets negative outcomes for these students, a positive CRC can play a significant role in their collegiate outcomes and experiences.

Facebook, Racial Microaggressions and the CRC

Minority students at PWIs have experienced increased contact with racial microaggressions as the emergence of social networking tools like Facebook have facilitated the spread of racially charged and racist acts beyond just the physical campus into the "virtual" realm. Whether committed in person or on an online site like Facebook—which, with

its popularity and widespread use by college students, could easily be considered a virtual extension of the campus—"virtual" acts of racism, especially those encountered on a daily basis, serve as racial microaggressions for minority students at PWIs and tend to have a noticeable impact on individuals, the CRC, and often even the local community.

Several incidents have taken place at PWIs involving White students participating in activities that mock, insult, stereotype, and demean minority groups and students. Specifically in 2007, racially themed parties at PWIs, several of which claimed to be "commemorating" Martin Luther King Day, were exposed through postings of photos of the events on Facebook by participants; these postings subsequently garnered campus-wide and even national attention because of the enormous popularity and reach of Facebook. For instance, White students at Tareleton State University posted to Facebook photos of themselves attending a Martin Luther King Day party in which they were wearing afro wigs and gang apparel, carrying fake guns, drinking malt liquor, and wearing t-shirts declaring "I Love Fried Chicken." One photo even included an attendant dressed as Aunt Jemima. Similar photos of Clemson University students attending a party dubbed "Living the Dream" also appeared on Facebook showing students wearing blackface, gold teeth, and duct-taped 40 ounce bottles of malt liquor to their hands. Also around Martin Luther King Day, photos of attendants at a "Bullets and Bubbly" party, held by law students at the University of Connecticut, surfaced on Facebook depicting White students engaging in similar acts.

Although these racially themed parties in and of themselves are examples of blatant forms of racism, postings of photos from these events also serve as virtual forms of racial microaggressions for minority students by sending strong, racially charged, stereotypical, and denigrating messages about racial minorities. Particularly, these photos are racial microaggressions in that they degrade the racial heritage and identity of African Americans by nonverbally conveying the message that they are criminally prone, malt liquor guzzling, fried chicken eating, and gold-teeth wearing degenerates. Such postings are also a prime example of "microinsults"—one particular form of racial microaggressions outlined in the taxonomy of racial microaggressions developed by Sue and colleagues (2008)—in that they demean and belittle a part of African American culture and heritage that is a source

of pride for many African Americans (i.e., Martin Luther King Jr.'s role in garnering civil rights for African Americans) by claiming to celebrate the national holiday through the use of insidious racial stereotypes of African Americans.

Similar to students at other PWIs, students at the University of Illinois have also used Facebook in a way that served as racial microaggressions for minority students and in turn fostered a negative CRC. For instance in 2006, photos were posted on Facebook of a racially themed "Tacos and Tequila" party co-sponsored by a campus sorority and fraternity. The photos showed students wearing clothing and using props that stereotyped and mocked Latinos by pretending to be pregnant mothers and gardeners, as well as wearing sombreros and hitting piñatas. This party was not an aberration at the University, but actually an ethnic variation on a "Big Booty Hoes and Ghetto Bros" party held earlier in the year. An even more recent incident occurred at the University of Illinois in 2007 when four White students posted photos on Facebook of themselves donning Halloween costumes as Jamaican bobsledders, complete with blackface and bobsled outfits fashioned after the Jamaican flag. The pictures also showed one of the students making an obscene gesture (e.g., pointing to his crotch) with a caption underneath the picture that read, "I'm supposed to be black." These types of postings serve as racial microaggressions for minority students by conveying constant nonverbal negative and insulting racial messages about minority groups that are based largely on racial stereotypes.

Also at the University of Illinois, in the midst of contentious discussions of retiring Chief Illiniwek as the symbol/mascot of the University, a slew of Facebook groups cropped up—the overwhelming majority of which supported keeping the Chief and disparaged those who disagreed. The Facebook group called "If they get rid of the chief, I'm becoming a racist" became the center of one particular controversy when students posted racially inflammatory messages that stereotyped and even threatened violence against American Indians. Specifically, one student wrote: "Now I hate redskins and hope all those drunk, casino-owning bums die." Another student wrote a message directed toward a University student who had been particularly vocal in opposing the Chief stating, "Apparently the leader of this movement is of Sioux descent…the Sioux Indians are the ones that killed off the Illini

Indians, so she's just trying to finish what her ancestors started. I say we throw a tomahawk into her face" ("University of Illinois," 2007).

Not only do these incidents exemplify racial microaggressions for minority students in that they demean and insult members of minority groups, but they also exemplify the microassult form of racial microaggressions defined by Sue and colleagues (2008). Particularly these postings are examples of "explicit racial derogation characterized by a verbal or nonverbal attack meant to hurt the intended victim through name-calling, avoidant behavior, or purposeful discriminatory actions" (Sue et al., 2007, p. 274). In addition, while microassaults are "conscious and deliberate" (p. 274) manifestations of racial microaggressions, they are most commonly expressed in situations where the microaggressor feels "relatively safe to engage in microassaults" (p. 274). The microaggressors in these cases definitely exhibit some sense that it is safe and socially acceptable to post such racially offensive and even threatening comments to a Facebook group in support of the Chief, despite the fact that the group is a public forum accessible by anyone—particularly those being maligned by the postings (i.e. minority students).

Ultimately, virtual acts of racism perpetrated by students via Facebook are particularly important to address because they serve as another form of racial microaggressions which minority students encounter that can depress not only their individual academic and social experiences at PWIs, but also the overall CRC. Virtual racism—in the form of photos and other postings on Facebook like those mentioned above—are racial microaggressions in that they work as subtle, nonverbal, and visual insults that white students direct towards minority students automatically or unconsciously. In fact, white students seem to give very little thought to the reactions and feelings of their fellow students to these acts, especially those who are members of the groups being stereotyped, mocked, demeaned, and insulted with such photos and comments.

It is especially peculiar that when many of these incidents are exposed as racially insensitive or racist, the response of the perpetrators is often that there was no intention to be mean-spirited or offensive, but that it was all in jest or "fun." This is consistent with the extant literature on racism which indicates that Whites tend to associate "real" racism with blatant acts like racially-based hate crimes. This association greatly impedes many Whites' abilities to recognize the subtle, but still detri-

mental, nature of the racism, discrimination, and bias of today, as well as their own role in perpetuating it (Sue et al., 2008; Sue et al., 2007). However, as racial microaggressions go, it is unimportant whether these slights are intentional or unintentional; they still communicate to minority students a hostile, derogatory, or negative CRC and can have a potentially harmful impact on these students as well (Yosso et al., 2004). In particular, since racial microaggressions, even in their virtual form, often cause minority students to feel discriminated against, unwelcomed, and further marginalized at PWIs, these feelings undoubtedly affect their academic and social integration into the campus environment, as well as various learning outcomes.

Moreover, these forms of virtual racial microaggressions via Facebook, along with all other forms of covert and overt racism, contribute to and perpetuate a negative and hostile CRC for all students and members of the institution. The responses that the aforementioned incidents elicited are a prime example of how virtual racism exits the "virtual" realm, and has a much larger effect on the campus climate and even the local community. For instance, after the "Tacos and Tequila" party at the University of Illinois was exposed via Facebook photos, students protested outside the Greek houses that sponsored the event to express their anger and frustration. The negative effect of this incident on the CRC is also illustrated by an undergraduate student's response to the incident in an opinion article in the *Daily Illini* (Miller, 2006) expressing frustration with the University's response to the racially insensitive and racist incident, which the student felt was inadequate. Similarly, an editorial in the *Daily Illini* ("Blackface a black mark," 2007) also condemned and expressed frustration with the behavior of those involved in the Jamaican bobsled Halloween costume incident, which it characterized as irresponsible and ignorant. A letter to the editor about the incident also appeared in the local newspaper, *The News-Gazette* ("Herman's defense," 2007), which illustrates how these incidents often make larger waves—transcending the virtual realm, and spilling over into the physical campus, local community, and beyond.

Similarly, in response to the threatening "tomahawk" comment posted on Facebook, a coalition of concerned citizens, faculty, and staff of the University wrote a letter to the editor of *Indian Country Today*. The letter was written not only to call attention to the incident, but also

to call on University leadership and the community to "express public and unequivocal outrage" at the act, and to take disciplinary action against those involved for violation of the student code and the University's policy on acts of tolerance ("More university racism," 2006). It also illustrates that not only is the CRC negatively affected by these incidents for students, but faculty, administrators, and staff as well.

In addition, many of these incidents are documented and appear in national forums such as insidehighered.com, campusprogress.org, and thesmokinggun.com. Both insidehighered.com and campusprogress.org document such incidents as they occur across the country and also provide an online forum for open discussion and dialogue on these issues. Thus, the effect of these incidents on the CRC can often be witnessed through the dialogue or debate that ensues around them. The conversation that stems from these incidents is often between two groups. One group is comprised primarily of White students arguing that such posts are little more than fun and games that others (including the University) have taken too seriously. The second group is usually comprised of minority group members who find the acts blatantly racist, demeaning, and discriminatory, and believe there should be serious consequences for those involved. This debate becomes a source of contention on campus that divides students, faculty, administrators, and staff instead of bringing them together in serious efforts to reflect institutional commitments to inclusiveness, equality, and diversity.

Institutional Responses to Virtual Racism and its Effects on CRC

Many PWIs have played an important role in addressing virtual acts of racism perpetrated via Facebook, as well as in recognizing their impact not only on minority students, but on the overall CRC. Specifically, in many of the previously mentioned incidents, the respective institutions responded in a swift manner, which suggests a commitment to working towards institutional goals of fostering and maintaining a positive, diverse, and welcoming CRC. For instance, in each of the incidents above, University officials denounced the photos or comments and launched investigations into the incidents to determine whether students had violated student conduct codes or other school policies for which they could be appropriately punished.

These incidents have also led to broader responses by institutions as well. For example, in response to the racially-themed party at the University of Connecticut, university officials held a university-wide roundtable discussion about racial insensitivity. Similarly, in response to the "tomahawk" threat at the University of Illinois, the chancellor not only sent out a letter to the campus community denouncing the remarks, but also promised legal and disciplinary actions against those involved in sending threatening messages. Members of the campus community were also invited to a forum entitled, Racism, Power, and Privilege, which was aimed at creating a more welcoming institutional environment. Likewise, in response to the "Tacos and Tequila" party, the Cultural and Minority Affairs Committee wrote a resolution recommending that the student code be revised (Rodriguez, 2006), apparently as a way to provide guidance to students on expected and acceptable conduct, as well as to the University on handling such incidents when they occur.

Although most PWIs have taken action when these incidents occur, not everyone considers their responses to be adequate. For instance, in response to the "Tacos and Tequila" party, a student wrote an opinion published in the *Daily Illini* expressing the belief that the University failed to adequately address the problem by citing the students for violating the student code for underage drinking rather than punishing them for the racist nature of the party (Miller, 2006). Many PWIs have been criticized for their handling of these virtual acts of racism committed through Facebook and their subsequent impact on the CRC. However, it should be noted that students' use of Facebook to commit these acts poses particular challenges to institutions of higher education, for which there are currently few, or no, established rules for addressing. Thus, such incidents and actions are especially difficult because of their unfamiliar nature—largely due to the effects of the rapid pace of technological innovations and development on institutions of higher education—leading institutions to determine the proper and best way to handle these incidents.

In attempting to address covert racism perpetuated through virtual forums like Facebook, institutions of higher education are confronted by the enormous challenges of their limited control over the domain, as well as free speech considerations. Most institutions of higher education express a commitment to academic freedom and freedom of speech,

and therefore many seem hesitant to interfere with what they perceive to be students' rights to freedom of speech. This hesitancy was aptly demonstrated by the chancellor of the University of Illinois when he reversed the ban on the use of the Chief Illiniwek logo on homecoming floats, even though the Chief had been retired months prior. Specifically, on behalf of the University, Chancellor Herman stated, "The university values free speech and free expression, and considers homecoming floats, decorations, costumes and related signage all representations of such personal expression" (Saulny, 2007, p. 4). However, not all agree that such divisive and covertly racist acts are justified on college campuses in the name of free speech. This particular view is expressed in a staff editorial in the University of Houston's student newspaper, which countered, "To exploit one's race and cultural heritage as the mascot of the school is debasing and inferior, and should not be characterized as legitimate on the mere claim that it is our right to do so under the Constitution ("Freedom of expression," 2007, p. 1).

Ultimately, it is becoming increasingly more challenging for institutions to adequately address the perpetuation of a hostile or negative CRC for racial and ethnic minority students, as the racial acts become less overt and much more subtle. In fact, not only are some of the acts covert, but they may also be well within students' First Amendment rights. Yet, because of the negative role these acts play in fostering an uncomfortable and hostile climate for minority students, and actually all members of the campus community, institutions must look to take action if they intend to realize the goal of becoming inclusive, equitable, and democratic institutions for all students.

Recommendations for PWIs

As students' use of online forums like Facebook to commit virtual acts of racism increases, so does the subsequent negative effect of these acts on the CRC. As such, institutions of higher education, especially PWIs—where minority students continue to be largely underrepresented—must seriously consider various avenues for addressing these incidents in their attempts to foster and maintain a diverse, inclusive, democratic, and equitable institutional climate.

The rapid pace of technological developments and innovations like the Internet, has had, and presumably will continue to have, a major

impact on the way students interact with one another, as well as with the institution. Many of these developments have significantly improved and advanced these interactions, but as certain instances with Facebook have illustrated, some have been used as new forums to perpetuate and exacerbate racial tensions on campus. As technology develops, the role and responsibilities of institutions must evolve as well. Colleges and universities must begin rethinking and redefining their role in monitoring and intervening in student interactions, as well as their responsibility in the socialization of students, in order to fully achieve the end goal of providing a democratic and egalitarian campus environment.

In response to the particular challenges that PWIs face with the emergence of technological innovations like Facebook and their impact on the CRC, various strategies are available for PWIs as they strive to represent inclusive, democratic, and equitable spaces for all. First, many institutions should take a hard look at their student conduct policies and consider revising them to include specific guidelines and expectations, especially in terms of tolerance and sensitivity issues, for students who choose to use Internet forums such as Facebook. In addition, colleges and universities could also consider indicating to students that they are representatives of the institution, and will be treated as such, in much the same way as student athletes, who are expected to behave and conduct themselves in a manner reflective of this status, and should also expect consequences when they fail to do so. These tasks could be accomplished through the creation of diversity statements and student honor codes that strike a healthy balance between respecting students' free speech rights and taking a strong position on issues of tolerance and respect for all members of the institution.

Moreover, PWIs should also begin to publish the results of their investigations into student conduct when virtual acts of racism via Facebook, or other forums are committed and exposed. Specifically, while most institutions denounce the incidents when they occur and promise to investigate, far less often is the campus community made aware of the findings of those investigations, or the punishments doled out, if any, to those involved. Making the results of these incidents known would provide some assurance for minority students that when virtual racial microaggressions and other covert and overt racist acts are perpetrated against them, these incidents are taken seriously by the

university and are dealt with appropriately. Similarly, publishing such results would also inform other students, potential future perpetrators of similar acts, and the entire campus community of the consequences of these types of actions, and might ultimately serve to deter individuals or groups from engaging in these acts.

Real and significant change, in terms of eradicating racism, racial discrimination, and the perpetuation of racial microaggressions on college and university campuses, will only take place at the institutional level. Thus, institutions must establish comprehensive policies that support proactive training for all members of the institution to reduce insensitivity on campus, create strong disciplinary guidelines that hold members accountable for their actions when they engage in such acts, and provide access to a safe space for students, faculty, and staff to report acts of racism and discrimination that occur on the physical campus or online. Particularly, because microaggressions are subtle, yet commonplace, forms of racism that are often difficult to detect (and even more so when perpetrated in a virtual arena), institutions must be all the more vigilant in addressing them, especially since they impact not only individuals, but interactions between members of the institution, and the overall CRC as well.

Creating and maintaining a positive CRC is indeed a challenge for colleges and universities, especially as acts of virtual racism and racial microaggressions increase on campus. Nevertheless, Hurtado and colleagues (1998) outlined several broad strategies for institutions to consider and pursue in order to accomplish these goals. One major first step is for institutions to articulate a clear expectation that all members of the campus community, as well as interaction and dialogue among and between groups, are highly valued on campus. In an effort to put this expectation into practice, institutions should create and foster regular and ongoing opportunities, inside and outside of the classroom, for members of different racial/ethnic groups to interact in ways that are structured so that all participants reap the positive benefits from the activity.

Additionally, according to Hurtado et al. (1998), institutions must also recognize and support the important role of faculty in encouraging and promoting positive interracial interactions through the incorporation of diverse curriculums and course content. Colleges and universities

must also be equally committed to providing students with access to faculty members who are diverse not only ideologically, but also racially as well. Moreover, campus leaders' support of campus multicultural centers and the programming and activities they offer to enhance and support the educational experiences and success of minority students is also a necessary and crucial element.

Furthermore, the role of institutional leaders in fostering and striving to maintain a positive CRC must not be underestimated. As Hurtado et al. (1998) noted, this role is complicated by the fact that "campuses are complex social systems" (p. 296). Consequently, efforts bent on improving the CRC of PWIs necessarily must be "comprehensive and long-term" and the success of these efforts "to achieve institutional change will rely on leadership, firm commitment, adequate resources, collaboration, monitoring, and long-range planning" (p. 296). Ultimately, it is possible that when all members of PWIs engage in activities geared towards creating and maintain a positive and inclusive CRC sponsored and strongly supported by the institutions and institutional leaders, that the perpetration and perpetuation of overt and covert racial acts on campuses—including "virtual" racism and racial microaggressions—will decline.

Conclusion

It is important that institutions understand, recognize, and address not only blatant forms of racism that impact the CRC, but also more innocuous racial microaggressions which have real consequences for the CRC and for individuals, institutions, and society. Although PWIs are striving to become more diverse and inclusive, racial minority students are still largely underrepresented on these campuses (Jones, Castellanos, & Cole, 2002). The racial climate of these campuses has been linked to these students' experiences of alienation, isolation, low persistence, retention, and graduation rates at these institutions. Thus, it is important that the CRC becomes more conducive to the needs of racial minority students already on these campuses by addressing overt and covert forms of racism (e.g., virtual racism and racial microaggressions) that they experience, as well as by increasing the representation of racial minority students at these institutions. Fostering and maintaining a positive CRC will certainly aid in achieving both of these goals.

Furthermore, addressing issues of CRC is also important because of the larger role institutions of higher education play in preparing students to enter society. Allowing students to commit unchallenged covert acts of racism prepares them to enter the larger society where they will undoubtedly commit these same acts. Similarly, institutional complacency, as indicated by failing to address covert acts of racism and racial microaggressions, teaches racial minority students to be suspicious of their interactions with members of the majority group. Ultimately, neither lesson is conducive to a multicultural society that is seeking to move closer to representing the true meanings of democracy and equality.

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How Do We Deal with Incidents of Noose Hangings on College Campuses?: Its Legal and Educational Implications

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A society that protects free speech values a diversity of opinions and views about philosophical, religious, and political issues. Freedom of speech supports the search for truth, individual fulfillment, and a more tolerant and democratic society. However, some types of speech—specifically those which do not support the ideals of truth, fulfillment, and tolerance and that target groups of individuals who have been historically oppressed and marginalized—is referred to as hate speech. Whether hate speech should be considered protected speech remains the topic of debate, but the impact of its harm—particularly threatening in an educational environment—is certain. Beyond the spoken word, hate speech also includes such symbols as burning crosses, hanging nooses, and Nazi Swastikas.

In light of the Jena Six incident in 2006, noose hangings have received a great deal of attention across the United States. Two nooses found hanging in a tree on school property in the small town of Jena, Louisiana, sparked racial tension between white students and black students. Following this incident, six black teenagers beat a white teenager in Jena. This Jena Six incident demonstrated the well-established and historically significant emotional symbolism engendered by a noose, including experiences in which the very survival of African Americans was threatened. Nooses symbolize violence, including systematic lynching of African Americans throughout U.S. history.

Even after Jena Six, *Washington Post* staff writer Darryl Fears (2007) reported numerous additional incidents of noose hangings across the nation. Many took place on college campuses, such as the University of Maryland and Columbia University; some were taken to be a joke or

prank. However, because of the violence that noose hangings symbolize, especially to African Americans, there is a need to pay special attention to such incidents, particularly in educational settings. At their core, universities have an obligation to create an environment in which the many ideas that could spark intellectual controversies are freely exchanged and explored. Each member of a college community has a constitutionally-protected right to express his or her ideas and defend them. Because every member of a college community has a constitutional right to free speech presupposes that each member is treated equally and that he or she is provided with an environment free from fear of sanctions related to his or her unpopular views. Therefore, the prerequisite for the rule of freedom of speech is the principle of equality.

The main objective of this chapter is to investigate how university communities and university administrators should deal with incidents of noose hangings on college campuses from legal and educational perspectives. In this chapter, I investigate how noose hangings should merit a unique status in the study of freedom of speech. As several Supreme Court cases demonstrate, freedom of speech is not an absolute rule. There are kinds of speech that do not enjoy full protection of the First Amendment. The investigation of noose hangings as an expression of free speech will generate legal implications regarding the policy against noose hangings on college campuses.

In my analysis of the impact of noose hangings, I adopt J. L. Austin's (1962) speech act theory, which provides an analytic tool in which the historical weight of violence that noose hangings represent as perlocutionary effects would be construed as an act of violence. Based on these theoretical speculations, I argue that the harms represented by noose hangings are real and immediate and, therefore, call for special attention. In this chapter, I also explore possible institutional responses toward incidents of noose hanging on college campuses based on legal and educational implications.

Freedom of Speech and Effects of Harmful Speech

Speech is commonly recognized as an activity that differentiates human beings from other creatures. It is a means that humans use to communicate with each other. Speech is often taken to be a verbal expression of cognitive processes. The legal definition of speech goes

beyond the commonsensical definition of speech, which includes various modes of expressive activities, such as wearing, presenting, or displaying symbols, slogans, or drawings. Speech, in its broader sense, expresses the thoughts and ideas of individuals. As such, speech is recognized as an important aspect of human life and autonomous thinking; therefore, ways to protect freedom of speech have been developed since the rise of classical liberalism and the formation of modern nation-states. Constitutional protection of freedom of speech and expression is one such device.

The cardinal rule of freedom of speech is that it is constitutionally protected, especially from the government and from fellow citizens. The First Amendment to the Constitution of the United States protects freedom of speech, expression, press, and association and freedom of religion. The First Amendment reads as follows:

> Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievance (U. S. Constitution, 1st Amendment)

The First Amendment enforces the premise that the government cannot be engaged in law-making activities, which possibly prefer or suppress thoughts and opinions of the people since it grants the freedoms of speech and religion.

The notion of freedom is directly related to being free from coerced conformity, which is one of the fundamental principles of a liberal society. A liberal democratic society does not endorse any kind of "pall of orthodoxy" (*Keyishian v. Board of Regents*, 1967, p. 603). This constitutionally-protected freedom of speech is a device which permits a diverse range of ideas and thoughts to be freely exchanged, expressed, and protected. As clearly illustrated by the metaphor of the "marketplace of ideas" (*Abrams v. U. S.*, 1919, p. 630), the underlying principle of free speech is that many ideas are in competition for the selection of the best. Therefore, freedom of speech is duly protected while speech of a diverse nature is even encouraged.

However, according to the Supreme Court, not all types of speech deserve the same degree of protection from the government. Despite the important reasons why freedom of speech should be protected, the Supreme Court allows exceptions to constitutional protection of speech. Historically, the Supreme Court has provided criteria as to the type of speech that should or should not deserve special constitutional protection. Those categories of speech are viewed as bad speech, which carry harmful social consequences as deemed by the Supreme Court and society. Sunstein (1993) argued that we should recognize the embedded tiered system of speech. Speech of higher value, such as political speech, should enjoy more protection than speech of low value, such as obscene speech. His main criterion for deciding whether the speech is of high value or of low value centers on the touchstone of democracy. In support of this concept, he argued that freedom of speech is valuable because it is essential to the process of democratic deliberation.

The categories of speech that receive restrictions and regulations from the Supreme Court are: 1) obscene speech and 2) pornography. The Supreme Court excludes obscenity and pornography from full First Amendment protection, although there has been debate regarding the nature of permissibility of sexually explicit communication. Most feminist scholars argue more actively for punishment of pornography. MacKinnon (1993), for example, argued that the images and the messages portrayed by pornography are abusive and extremely harmful to women and, therefore, pornography should be banned. Other doctrine upheld by the Supreme Court as unconstitutional are defamation and libel. The matter of defamation and libel might be one of the most difficult cases of free speech, due to the false nature of the statements created about an identifiable individual and the resulting harm to the individual. The issue of defamation and libel cases forms the very core value of the search for truth.

Due to the greater burden on the government related to its obligation to uphold freedom of speech, some attempts to regulate speech have failed even though the government viewed the type of speech as socially harmful. The case of *R. A. V. v. St. Paul* (1992) is an excellent example of the failure of governmental regulation of speech, based on content. In this case, the petitioner was arrested for setting a burning cross on a black family's lawn in St. Paul, Minnesota. After

the petitioner was charged under St. Paul's hate crime ordinance, he challenged the constitutionality of the ordinance on a First Amendment basis. Even though the city ordinance intended to regulate hate crimes that attack the victims based on their race, ethnicity, or religious beliefs, the case itself invoked freedom of speech issues because the petitioners claimed they were expressing their ideas by setting a burning cross on the family's lawn.

The Court found the city ordinance to be content-based and exercising viewpoint discrimination. According to the Supreme Court, creating an ordinance based on race, color, creed, or gender is content discrimination, as well as viewpoint discrimination; the government cannot knowingly favor one viewpoint over the other. In this case, the government cannot discriminate against specific ideas that contain racial and religious prejudices even though it believes those ideas are morally wrong. The Supreme Court found that the City of St. Paul did not have the authority to favor or suppress one side of the debate in terms of expressing ideas and opinions when competing ideas were present. In enacting an ordinance that would criminalize some activities arousing hate and alarm, such as presenting burning crosses or Nazi Swastikas, the St. Paul city government violated the First Amendment rule that governmental regulations on speech must be neutral among competing viewpoints. The Court ruled that the government intended to suppress politically unpopular viewpoints, which is unconstitutional. From this case, it became clear where the Supreme Court stood on the issue of speech that could be viewed as hate speech. In this case, the intention of the petitioner was transparent, given the historical significance of burning crosses, particularly as a sign of intimidation and threat for African Americans. Even considering this historical significance, the Court struck down the ordinance as unconstitutional, citing the language of the ordinance as overly broad and vague.

Many scholars, including critical race theorists such as Delgado (1993), assert that hate speech which targets historically marginalized groups such as people of color, women, and religious minorities, should be regulated. Even after weighing speech's harm to historically marginalized groups, the Court's rulings have been limited in interpreting the harms of hate speech, favoring the side of free speech. The Supreme Court did acknowledge the historical significance of cross burnings to

African Americans as it upheld the Virginia statute that bans and punishes cross burnings (*Virginia v. Black*, 2003). The significance of the *Virginia v. Black* case is the Court's realization of the historical magnitude of a specific symbol, viewing the act of burning a cross as a form of speech with the expressed intent to intimidate and terrorize. In this case, the government's argument was more focused on the harm that cross burnings cause. Charles (2005) argued that the *Virginia* case portrayed a "fundamental doctrinal shift" (p. 575), which legitimized the state's effort to prevent the harm caused by cross burnings. The Court made a distinction between the harm a state could recognize and the harm that a state could not legally recognize.

In the same way as burning crosses, hanging nooses represent the violence, racial terrorism, and institutional oppression that African Americans have historically sustained. Therefore, acts involving hanging nooses carry a similar significant historical weight, which the Supreme Court recognized in the *Virginia v. Black* (2003) case. Although people may argue that in some cases the hanging of a noose was done as a joke or a prank, the ways in which African Americans interpret the incident will most likely be completely different from its "jocular" intention. Some individuals might attempt to hide behind the disguise of freedom of speech. However, the harm of noose hangings outweighs the benefits that freedom of speech serves because the harm of noose hangings is terrorizing and intimidating, especially to African Americans.

When we discuss the implications of the hanging of nooses, especially in the educational environment, the harm and historical significance should be actively taken into consideration. Thus far, I have argued that freedom of speech is not an absolute rule and some types of speech are harmful. I also have argued that the hanging of nooses can be viewed as a type of speech, yet it carries historical importance that represents violence and terror suffered by African Americans; therefore, it requires special attention. Next, I examine the nature of the harm that noose hangings can cause.

The Nature of Harms Caused by Hate Speech

I use J. L. Austin's (1962) speech act theory to support the assertion that certain types of speech cause substantial harm. Austin's theoretical contributions to the study of language are remarkable because he demon-

strates that human utterances do much more than simply communicate and can result in more than literal understandings. Austin (1962) contended that speech not only delivers messages and meaning, but performs certain functions, which is why some kinds of speech are referred to as performatives. The theory of performatives is significant and useful in analyzing the effects of a type of speech that expresses prejudiced hatred against various groups of people. Certain types of speech can carry some effects that can actually cause harm and damage to the audience. If the speaker intends harm in his or her speech, speech actually performs the intension of the speaker and causes harm to the audience.

Scholars such as Altman (1994; 1997), Butler (1997), and Rangton (1993) have adopted Austin's theories in their attempts to analyze the effects and the harm of hate speech. They argued that the effects on the audience actually degrade, subordinate, discriminate, and intimidate. According to Austin's speech act theory of perlocution, the communicating act of speech could psychologically wound the listener, possibly with the same effect as physical assault. This kind of situation is equivalent to a perlocutionary act with non-conventional effects because it brings about consequences resulting from this particular speech. These consequences are characterized as nonconventional because they do not convey a message or meaning; rather, they bring about some consequential effects on the listener. In addition, Pratt (1977) contended that a speaker could perform a perlocutionary act as she performs an illocutionary act because of certain unintended effects on the listener, which indicates that some of the intentions of the speaker might generate unintended effects on the listener. In other words, the meaning of a speech act can be interpreted drastically differently depending on the identity and particular experiences of the audience or the listener.

Perlocutionary effects are most relevant in analyzing the harm that noose hangings cause. Because of the collective historical experiences, the impact of noose hangings on African Americans can be much more serious than the impact on non-African Americans. Perlocutionary effects linger after the act of expression, depending on to whom the act was directed. Many people could underestimate the powerful impact of noose hangings because they do not share a history of racial terrorism through violent lynchings.

Although not directly involving the impact of the hanging of nooses, empirical studies involving the effects of harmful speech, such as anti-Semitic and anti-gay speech, have been conducted. For example, Leets (2002) found that the effects of speech expressing hate and prejudice against the audience group could be tantamount to other kinds of emotionally traumatic events experienced by participants of the study. By the same token, the hanging of nooses can promote a reliving of the painful and tragic history of racial violence, producing traumatic effects among African Americans. As another study on the effects of hate speech on Asian American students by Boeckmann and Liew (2003) demonstrates, the effects of such speech vary from emotional reactions to reliving traumatic experiences. As I establish the harms caused by incidents of hate speech that target the identity of the listener, I can argue that university administration and college communities need to pay special attention to the incidents of noose hangings on college campuses.

The Importance of Institutional Response to the Incidents of Noose Hangings

It can be argued that the hanging of nooses is a harmful expression of hate speech and should be banned. The question arises whether educational institutions are obligated to respond to the incidents of noose hangings that occur on college campuses. I argue that university administration has a unique obligation to create a bias-free educational environment for all members of the community. Although noose hanging can be considered a mode for students to express racist ideas—an act protected by the First Amendment of the Constitution—I argue that the harm it causes is more significant than its benefits. Many institutions implemented speech codes in the eighties and nineties to respond to racially-motivated incidents on college campuses, but they failed to meet the standards of freedom of speech. Even with these failings, I strongly maintain that university communities still need to put active effort into battling bigotry and prejudice on college campuses.

Because many institutions, especially colleges and universities, recognized the harmful effects of certain forms of speech, their administrations implemented speech codes, such as the "anti-discrimination policy," "anti-harassment policy," and "hate speech codes." These types of policies were struck down as unconstitutional under the principle

of freedom of speech in the late eighties and early nineties. University administration hoped they could reduce the level of racial tension and hostility by having implemented codes to regulate student speech, but could not overcome the entanglement with the rule of freedom of speech.

In the same vein, the hanging of nooses might be protected by the shield of the First Amendment, especially on college campuses, given that the earlier attempts to regulate certain forms of speech viewed as degrading, intimidating, and discriminatory to students of marginalized groups failed. The active attempts of colleges and universities to create a bias-free educational environment that cultivates tolerance and mutual understanding are reflected in various policies and programs. Yet, such programs and policies could invite criticism that university administration attempts to instill politically correct ideas into young adults, which is in opposition to the kind of independent and autonomous thinking that should be actively encouraged in the process of education. The question asks which position university administration should hold regarding the two-fold mission of the institution.

Scholars such as Shiell (1998) and Gould (2005) examined "speech codes" that were popular in the late eighties and early nineties. Colleges actively responded to racially-motivated incidents by implementing speech codes that would limit racially discriminatory remarks made by students and faculty of the university. The intent of implementing these speech codes was to prevent the hostile learning environment fostered by hate speech. Speech codes were viewed as an active attempt to create a more tolerant and, ultimately, diverse college atmosphere. However, even with all the good intentions behind these speech codes, such codes have been ruled as unconstitutional by many courts.

In *Doe v. University of Michigan* (1989), a graduate student sued the University, arguing that the school's anti-discrimination policy created an atmosphere in which he was fearful of making certain statements in the classroom and that the policy of the University violated his constitutional right to free speech. Although Judge Cohn expressed a strong preference for the freedom of speech, he underscored how two fundamental values of a liberal society are in conflict in the matter of hate speech. Judge Cohn began his ruling with the following statement:

> [it] is an unfortunate fact of our constitutional system that the ideals of freedom and equality are often in conflict. The difficult and sometimes painful task of our political and legal institutions is to mediate the appropriate balance between these two competing values (*Doe v. University of Michigan*, 1989, p. 853)

The judge recognizes the predicament of university administration—placed between the value of freedom, which protects all forms of speech for the sake of the search for truth and the marketplace of ideas, and the value of equality, which protects historically marginalized groups of students.

Other universities, such as the University of Wisconsin and Stanford University, faced similar challenges after adopting speech codes that would regulate racially discriminatory remarks. Their speech codes were found in violation of the rule of free speech. Along with the courts' decisions in *Doe v. University of Michigan* and *UWM Post v. Board of Regents of University of Wisconsin*, many opponents of college speech codes have argued that the implementation of speech codes would generate a chilling effect to the environment where the exchange of diverse ideas is meant to occur. Their argument went hand in hand with the underlying values of the free speech doctrine and it seemed to comply with the missions of higher education, which strive for academic freedom for the sake of the pursuit of knowledge and truth.

Despite the arguments against the implementation of speech codes, many universities implemented these codes to actively respond to racially motivated incidents. Speech codes were intended to assist universities in the creation of a positive and welcoming learning environment for those who had not felt welcome to the campus. Although the attempts to regulate bias-charged speech on college campuses were futile, it is significant that the harmful nature of such speech has been recognized at an institutional level. Such speech was judged as harmful enough for the administration to take actions to impede the speech.

Could assuring the allowance of free speech be enough to foster such an environment, which equally protects every member of the community? If that is the case, why did college administrators decide to create a policy that might be viewed as an attempt to regulate speech

on college campuses? O'Neil (1997) argued that a paradox exists in the matter of free speech. That is, freedom of speech should be even more cherished and upheld in the context of higher education. On the other hand, some forms of campus speech might be subject to higher ethical standards and, therefore, less free than the speech of the larger society due to the very special mission of higher education. It is true that college campuses provide a context where students from diverse backgrounds gather, pursuing knowledge and a deeper and more sophisticated understanding of truth. In order to achieve this goal, more latitude regarding freedom of speech should be guaranteed. At the same time, the process of attaining the paths to knowledge and truth should not compromise the rights of other people.

The implementation of speech codes was a way of addressing problems that prevailed on college campuses. University administrators hoped to resolve serious problems that might have threatened the fostering of a warm learning environment for every member of the university community. According to court rulings, legal hands are tied in the matter of hate speech on college campuses. Colleges cannot adopt codes of conduct that would regulate racist, sexist, homophobic, or anti-Semitic speeches, even though those speeches apparently cause harms.

However, university administration can act promptly when such an incident that presents substantial harm appears. For example, when bias-driven incidents happened on college campuses, such as a Facebook incident regarding Chief Illiwek on the University of Illinois campus, the university administration could not penalize the student who had written the violent threatening messages because the student's speech right is protected by the First Amendment. However, the university administration responded to the incident by issuing an official letter bringing deserved attention to the harm of hate speech. Chancellor Richard Herman wrote in a mass e-mail sent to the university community on January 9, 2007,

> The Student Code guarantees that members of the campus community should be able to discuss issues and express views, but it does not allow speech that threatens to harm other members of the campus community.… But far less extreme actions and words can traumatize and frighten those targeted, as well. The right of free speech, no matter how thoughtless, rude or dumb, is a hallmark of the

> American system. Yet as future leaders and as citizens of our campus community and later as citizens of a nation and world, we must engage in a far deeper dialogue about how we are to agree to disagree. Vigorous debate is good and it is constitutionally protected—but debate should be based on ideas, not empty-headed slurs or vicious threats.

Such an immediate response from the university administration well establishes the fact that they acknowledge the harms of hate speech, which could threaten the audience.

Many scholars who argue against the implementation of speech codes believe that there should be an alternative way of alleviating racial, religious, and ideological tensions on campuses. O'Neil (1997) also suggested an approach of education, which he claimed as the major mission of the university. Speech with an intention to cause harm should not be tolerated, especially in educational settings. However, freedom of speech protects even the most socially repulsive ideas. This might be characterized as an irony of freedom of speech because the rule of freedom of speech is deeply rooted in moral principles, but it protects the expression of immoral and abhorrent ideas. Freedom of speech is required in order to provide the backdrop for open discussion of issues, but it also risks the emergence of unhealthy, dangerous, prejudicial, and injurious ideas. Freedom of speech can be upheld as a principle, but it is not a perfect one.

The analyses that have been discussed so far can generate implications on how to address incidents that involve noose hanging on college campuses. Although a noose can be interpreted as a symbol expressing racist ideas that should be protected under the First Amendment, the immediate harm that a noose represents cannot be ignored. Austin (1962) theorized the actual effects that speech can produce and many researchers have conducted studies on the effects of prejudicial speech, which targets racial and religious minorities. The harm caused by such speech, including noose hangings, is tangible. For African Americans, noose hanging brings back painful and violent experiences from the past and cannot be considered a joke or prank.

Because of the violent nature that the hanging of nooses signifies, university administration should recognize the immediate harm

that such incidents carry and act promptly to avoid further harm. University administration might not be able to discipline and penalize a student who hung a noose in front of the door of an African American student's dorm room, but the student might go through a certain type of program in which he or she would be educated on what a noose signifies to African Americans in terms of African American history. As an educational institution, especially one that should pursue creating a bias-free and welcoming learning environment for all students regardless of their background, the incidents of noose hangings need to be closely monitored, should not be tolerated, and immediate actions should be taken to address each incident.

Even though the harms and the threatening nature of noose hanging are immediate and severe, the road to declaring noose hanging as an exception to the protection of free speech might be distant. Legally, the implementation of explicit speech codes by various university administrations failed. Yet, the rationale behind such an action by university administration should be duly noted. Colleges and universities have a two-fold obligation. While they uphold the values of freedom of speech, they should also create an environment in which every member of the community feels welcome. The incidents of noose hanging threaten the process of realizing the latter obligation.

Simultaneously, university administrators should be well aware that there is constitutional challenge involved in an attempt to regulate and even punish a specific type of speech on college campuses, even though the action of the administration is deemed morally right. The action might be educationally justified, but it will be very difficult to survive legal scrutiny. Some of the actions that university administration might be able to take to address the harms of noose hanging can be to establish well-defined standards for responsible communication that would exercise mutual respect among members of the university community in the Code of Conduct. University administration can actively strengthen some initiative programs that would enhance the awareness of certain forms of harms that can be caused by the incidents of hate speech, including noose hangings.

Some incidents of harmful expressions, such as noose hanging, should be thoroughly investigated because the intent to cause harm is critical in the First Amendment jurisprudence. If the intent to harm us-

ing such expressions is present and proved, disciplinary actions can be taken. Additionally, any discourses and discussions initiated by such incidents can be used as an opportunity to educate about the harms of such harmful expressions and how those harms have been formulated through history.

University administrators are in a complicated situation when involving the incidents of harmful and hateful expressions such as hanging of a noose, because of the rule of free speech. However, accumulated historical evidence on the violence of nooses on African American students can help university administrators shape the directions in which their actions can be taken, although any forms of sanction on the incidents of noose hangings have not been tested on the First Amendment grounds. A good first step would include programs to alert the university community about specific harms of hate speech.

Conclusion

Freedom of speech is an important right provided in a liberal democracy. However, in order to exercise one's freedom of speech, there should be boundaries because speech impacts other people. If the resulting impact harms others, then the exercise of that freedom is depreciated and devalued, even though freedom of speech should still continue to be cherished and protected as one of the pivotal values of a liberal democracy. As we continue to live in a liberal democracy, the question of whether we should allow all kinds of speech, no matter how harmful, or whether we set parameters to regulate such harmful speech with a support from legitimately principled justifications will remain. A close examination of harmful speech, such as the hanging of nooses, especially in the context of higher education, will help us engage in this larger question pertaining to freedom of speech and its boundaries in every aspect of a liberal democratic life.

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Perpetuating Racism Through the Freedom of Speech

Edelmira P. Garcia and Tarnjeet Kang

In 1862, the Morrill Land Grant Act was signed by President Abraham Lincoln. The Act provided states with land to establish a formal flagship institution of higher education which would "provide advanced education for the mass of working people in Illinois rather than for the privileged few" (www.ece.uiuc.edu). Given this outline, the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (UIUC) was envisioned to prepare students for societal needs through the creation, transfer, and application of knowledge. Additionally, these land grant universities, as scholars (Daxner, 2003, p. 1; Lyons, J. 1973; Lyons, M. 1973) have argued, were designed to be centers that promote diversity and the exchange of ideas. Two underlying assumptions are inherent in this model: 1) the university should provide students with an education that allows them to become members of a society that embraces diversity, and 2) through freedom of speech, students engage in debate, develop critical analytical skills, and further their knowledge. Historically, the exchange of ideas has also been an important mechanism for students to initiate institutional change that advances civil rights. It has been a challenge to ensure students with the constitutional right to freedom of speech while also promoting, as well as protecting and respecting, all students.

In this chapter, we argue that the creation of an atmosphere infinitely open to freedom of speech, regardless of its content, cultivates racism on college campuses. We draw on specific examples from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (UIUC) to illuminate our points, including the former Chief Illiniwek mascot and recent racially themed parties on campus.

In order to explore the role of the university in perpetuating racism, we examine how discriminatory values and ideologies are constructed and maintained, and we question what happens when freedom of speech discourse is limited to legal terminology. Furthermore, we

seek to examine the manner in which the university selectively interprets and reinforces freedom of speech for students, and how this practice perpetuates racism.

Institutional Racism

Freedom of Speech and the University

Universities are confronted with constitutional and ethical challenges when ensuring and protecting students' freedom of speech. Although the first amendment to the United States Constitution guarantees freedom of speech, it does not always warrant full protection. Fundamentally, the Supreme Court has final ruling regarding constitutionality and limitations of mandates. Universities are also powerful institutions due to their autonomy to interpret, regulate, and even impose sanctions on acts of expression. Through these actions, or inactions, universities monitor the rights of students while establishing standards. Few universities have implemented speech codes because they are recognized as violations of free speech and, therefore, are unconstitutional. As a result, institutions such as UIUC have instead provided a general and broad statement in which "discussion and expression of all views is permitted" as long as the expression does "not disrupt the operation of the University nor interfere with the rights of others" (Student Code 1, 1, 1-103).

It is imperative to explore and challenge the selective and strategic use of freedom of speech in relation to the mission of the university. The structure and intent of the university is questioned when statements and actions contradict the values and mission of the university. Systematic manipulation of freedom of speech maintains and legitimizes a dominant ideology that promotes racism at every level. For example, at UIUC the justification of the constitutional right for freedom of expression is contradicted by its mission of "preparing students for lives of impact, and addressing critical societal needs through the transfer and application of knowledge" (www.uiuc.edu).

Numerous examples demonstrate how freedom of speech has become a controversial issue on college campuses. Culturally-themed parties, stereotypical representations, and indigenous iconography, to name a few, have been re-enactments of racism obscured in the public sphere as a legal right—a freedom of expression. Focusing on expression in legal terms restricts discourse and disempowers individuals

and groups from challenging the dominant ideology and structure. By not challenging racism or providing additional opportunity for critical analysis of these continuous and historical demonstrations, they are normalized or institutionalized by students and faculty alike with the legal support and justification to participate in racist acts. For example, on the first day of classes in Fall 2006, Chancellor Herman sent a mass email to students in which he commented on the protection of "free speech." In this email, he clarified that if speech did violate any laws or "[disrupted] the operation of the University or [interfered] with the rights of others," the acts were no longer justified (Herman, mass mail, Aug. 23, 2006). In October 2006, Zeta Beta Tau fraternity and Tri-Delta sorority held a social exchange on campus called "Tacos and Tequila." Members from both predominantly White organizations dressed in clothing that portrayed Mexicans in stereotypical and derogatory roles, including as landscapers, gangbangers, or constantly pregnant. In addition, these students cut the Mexican flag and religious iconography to wear as dresses and skirts. After seeing images of the event on Facebook, several students gathered and met with representatives in the Office of the Dean of Students to report the event as an "act of intolerance" which contradicted the rights guaranteed in the Student Code. It also called into question the Chancellor's previous statements regarding his admonishment of the use of free speech when it interfered with another person's rights or disrupted the university's operations.

The selective protection of freedom of speech became evident by the administrative response to this racially themed party. It was not until thirteen days after the party that the university administration issued a response. It was not a mass email as had been done with similar situations. Rather, the email clearly stated that it was only "sent to cultural/ethnic student organizations, fraternities and sororities, Student Affairs staff, Cultural Center directors, and others." Recipients were requested to forward the email to "anyone else whom you think would be interested" (Romano, organization email, Oct. 18, 2006). Unlike previous responses to insensitive or offensive acts, university officials did not acknowledge this event to be a legitimate reason to hold individuals and organizations accountable. As a result, students protested, rallied, and marched to the Greek organizations' houses and the main administration building.

Chancellor Herman responded by issuing a statement in which he argued that although the behavior on the part of the organizations was "insensitive, thoughtless, and quite frankly, juvenile" he was not "in the business of telling students what to think" (Herman, mass mail, Oct. 31, 2006). His response was disappointing in that he diminished the significance of the event and how such incidents undermine the creation of a safe campus climate. His narrow adoption of freedom of speech as one's right to legal expression failed to acknowledge how these acts can infringe on the rights of others by marginalizing those advocating for respect, justice, and an inclusive environment. Little consideration was given to the values and rights of equal protection set forth not only in the university's Student Code, but also in the U.S. Constitution. Scholars have challenged this approach to responding to racist incidents on campus. For example, noted sociologist Norman Denzin (2006) has urged that institutions "no longer [tolerate]" such acts at the individual level, explaining that such 'minstrel performances' manifest prejudice and racism which ultimately "supports White racist practices" (Denzin, personal email, Oct. 31, 2006).

It is important to clarify that speech codes are not necessarily the appropriate way to curtail racist acts. Instead, such acts must be explored and defined beyond legal terms and constitutional rights. As a university community, students and faculty should be encouraged to examine not only the values being reflected through acts of racism, but, most importantly, the impact of these acts on limiting discourse. University administrators can begin this dialogue as did former UIUC Chancellor Nancy Cantor, who argued that an institution impacts the lives of students through what it does and "stands" for (Cantor, 2004, p. 46). Moreover, a liberal education should constitute a "willingness to examine ideas" as well as responsibility in 'connecting to the world' by breaking apart from the 'conventional' way of thinking and thus, reducing the socialization of students through a narrow perspective (Cantor, 2004, p. 46).

In order to fully comprehend the importance of proactively addressing these concerns on college campuses, one can examine Tatum's conveyor belt analogy, which consists of the concepts of "active" and "passive" racist (Tatum, 2000, p. 81). An "active" racist is an individual who engages in White supremacist views or actions, thus moving active-

ly towards racism on the symbolic conveyor belt. Someone who adopts a "passive" racist stance often stands on the conveyor belt "inactive," being a bystander and not challenging racism; the individual moves along the conveyor belt supporting White supremacy. In other words, unless an individual is actively walking away from White supremacy by confronting these dynamics, the individual is actually supporting the dominant ideology and its re-enactments. Thus, one can argue that events and icons such as stereotype parties, blackface costumes, and Chief Illiniwek, combined with institutional, social, and cultural inaction, further perpetuate the subordination of groups through cultural (mis)representations.

Decline of the Community

Implications for Campus Climate

Permitting racism to continue with limited institutional analysis maintains unequal power systems by shaping world views of students, controlling resources and access, as well as constraining opportunities for change (Goodman, 2001, p. 13). When power is introduced to prejudicial stereotypes through the policies and practices of an institution, such as "a system of images, messages, media roles and coverage, narratives, scripts, jokes, and code words," it provides the conditions for racism to develop (Delgado, 2004, p. 5).

Power is not only represented in terms of positions of authority, but also appropriated through voice and language. When students and faculty have challenged the dominant ideology, free speech has not been equally "free." Speech that questions morality, ethics, and justice does not carry the same weight as that shared and protected by the dominant group given the power structure. For instance, when individuals or groups mobilize against the dominant structure through protests, rallies, forums, or public statements, their efforts and ideas are discredited and overlooked as merely emotional. Drawing on the work from Young (1971) and Bernstein (1975), Gibson (2006) explained that "valid knowledge is socially constructed, emerging from the values, attitudes, opinions and/or ideas of the dominant social group" (p. 317). By placing a value on the type of free speech being used it may also

"[target] vulnerable minority groups by silencing, marginalizing, and causing some to underperform or drop out" (Delgado, 2004, p. 1).

As the dominant group does not genuinely analyze and listen while "[ceasing] to exist as [themselves] for a moment," the realities of racism are reduced and the voices of the oppressed silenced (Delpit, 1993, p. 594). The contradictory interpretations and realities of free speech hinder the socio-consciousness of the non-dominant group through psychological domination. This results in internalized oppression, and having the effect of influencing the non-dominant group to believe in their subordinate state, which can lead to complacency, lack of motivation, and self-doubt (Goodman, 2001, p. 15).

An aspect of internalizing negative societal messages is also reflected in stereotype threat (Steel, 1997; Steel et al. 1999) which occurs when an individual experiences feelings of heightened anxiety and pressure to perform when completing a task "on which they are socially stereotyped" (Brown & Pinnel, 2003, p. 626). By extrapolating and applying the theory of stereotype threat to broader contexts, such as the daily performance of being a (racialized) student, one can argue that individuals experience moments of heightened pressure to perform and this pressure, in turn, actually impedes performance. Internalization of stereotyped messages may lead some to believe in their subordinate role and become complacent and unmotivated. Thus, individuals from targeted groups not only suffer from internalized oppression, but also stereotype threat which can impact student performance as a result of negative identity perceptions, images, and appropriations.

Those in the dominant group are also affected by permitting racism to continue, masked as free speech. In not identifying themselves as White, Whites "uncritically assimilate" and maintain "dominant racist values and practices" (Leistina, 1999, p. 67). Thus, referencing Macedo's (1994) work, Leistina (1999) argued that a distorted reality can result from a lack of consciousness, reason to be, or identify (p. 75). Moreover, conscientization or critical consciousness (Freire, 1970), a process which entails developing an awareness of one's social position(s) in relation to the world, is hindered while also ultimately limiting an individuals' ability to challenge the recognized oppressive forces. Therefore, students are unable to "analyze, problematize (pose questions), and affect the sociopolitical, economic, and cultural

realities that shape" institutions and lives (Leistina, 1999, p. 45). It is the processes of internalized oppression, stereotype threat, and the unconscienzation of Whites, that present the conditions for a "culture of silence" to develop in the UIUC community. Culture of silence was presented by liberation education theorist Paulo Freire (1985) to describe the process in which "the masses are mute, that is, they are prohibited from creatively taking part in the transformations of their society and therefore prohibited from being" (as quoted in Gibson, p. 320).

It is imperative to examine the culture of silence that is created on college campuses, particularly when students do not feel they have a voice to counter predominant views on race. After being immersed in institutionalized racism and its legitimizing ideologies and mechanisms, students and faculty are stuck in a 'culture of silence.' As these dynamics take place throughout the university, students and faculty are in "fear of speaking out" and to freely express ideas on the basis that they risk "being labeled a seditious cavalier" (Gibson, p. 321). In addition, by failing to engage in dialogue or discussion, the opportunity of empathizing and creating a shared responsibility for the campus community is lost. For example, the preamble of the Student Code for UIUC guarantees the freedom to learn, as well as expression "within the limits that do not interfere with the rights of others" through "intellectual honesty, sustained and independent search for truth," in addition to "the exercise of critical judgments" (Student Code, 2007). This selective use of free speech does not meet the standards and values of respect, dignity, and constructive change expressed through the Student Code, which consequently perpetuates a culture of silence. Critical Race Theory (CRT) can shed additional insights into the perpetuation of the culture of silence on college campuses. CRT is a framework, emerging from legal scholars in the 1980's, developed to demonstrate how race and racism are embedded throughout society, laws, policies, and history, as well as to present the experiences of 'People of Color' (Morfin, Perez, Parker & Arrona, 2006, p. 251;Yosso, 2006, p. 7). From a CRT perspective, "hate speech silences its victims, contributes to a climate of disrespect for women and minorities, and undermines the very democracy that free speech is said to undergird" (Delgado, 2004, p. 3). Racism in the forms of hate speech or other sorts of expressions is able to exist unconsciously (Freire, p. 50) "as a result of structural relations between the dominator and the dominated social groups" (as quoted in Gibson, p. 321). The dominant group legitimizes

their actions and ideology by framing it in terms of values and ideals (Freire, p. 50), possible through free speech discourse, resulting in their unconscious perpetuation of the culture of silence (Gibson, p. 321). As for the dominated, they comply with the power structure and participate in the silencing process by remaining complacent, thus consenting through silence. For example, the values guaranteed in the mission of UIUC, along with the Student Code preamble, and campus-wide diversity programs, such as Inclusive Illinois, are to create a welcoming environment towards diversity. Yet, scholars warn against taking these programs at face value as the existence of a program does not guarantee its effectiveness, and the practice of an administration does not always reflect the reality of the campus climate. Furthermore, identifying these discrepancies becomes difficult when a culture of silence prevails (Fulcher, 1989; Booth, 2000; Armstrong, 2003 in Gibson, p. 323).

The culture of silence is both created and perpetuated through the selective use of the freedom of speech argument, as well as through legal limitations. In comprehending the selective use of freedom of speech and its legal justification, it is imperative to reconsider how legitimate knowledge or information is given its power vis-à-vis institutionalized dominant ideologies. Through the denial of or objection to recognize the consistent expressions of racism, history is omitted, which discredits the experiences and identities of students, faculty, and community members. When "historical amnesia" or the loss of collective memory of the racial oppression of the past (Leistina, 1999) is combined with lack of critical consciousness, it does not allow individuals with the capacity to connect reality, history, and their experiences while considering all of the social, political, and cultural dynamics at play. This process prevents individuals from understanding their own social positions and influences, and for Whites specifically, the process can create a sense of complacency with the status quo and thwart any effort to challenge racism. Furthermore, the plague of historical amnesia is so embedded in the U.S. that when oral and institutional history is presented, it is "limited, often distorted, and uncritically assimilated as fact" (Leistina, 1999, p. 74).

The broader and principal question asks the type of institutional memory being created by permitting these acts of racism to continue. Comprehending the impact certain acts of expression can have for campus climate is the initial step, followed by exploring the critical

options to address and correct such behavior and ideology. In terms of campus climate, the historical amnesia and contemporary denial of racism creates a dichotomy of perspectives represented in liberal and conservative ideologies. Conservative ideology and practices can relate to what Saunders and Williamson (2001) referred to as *traditional history*, in which this body of knowledge supports the status quo and tends to be Eurocentric. Liberal ideology is often represented through *critical history*, which is a combination of multiple perspectives. Free speech depicts a struggle and resistance in challenging the dominant ideology and its structures promoted by a conservative ideology that perpetuates privilege and oppression. Failure to evaluate acts of expression through proper historical context creates a sense of fragmentation in which events, actions, policy, and beliefs are irrelevant from one another.

To challenge free speech is perceived as an attack on American ideals and values. Just as critical history has been criticized for being anti-American, anti-Western, and divisive, one can argue that there is similarity in how the challenge to freedom of speech is framed. On the other hand, critical historians, just as those who challenge free speech, do so in order to integrate a different perspective, a non-traditional ideology, which could be more inclusive and representative of others' opinions. To challenge free speech does not translate to limiting speech, but rather presents a more critical approach to analyzing acts of intolerance in conjunction with the forces of racism, power, and privilege. Furthermore, it is important to frame free speech beyond its constitutional right and value in order to demonstrate how a particular act, event, or comment is interpreted differently by different people at different times in hopes to generate effective contributors for society (Sanders & Williamson, 2001).

Changes in Student Activism

It is imperative to consider the intricate dynamics surrounding free speech in relation to changes in student activism. In order to foster a true commitment for respect and social justice, needed for an inclusive community, it is particularly important to advocate and promote activism through free speech. Student activism in relation to race, diversity, and campus climate has changed in the last 50 years. The 1960's saw the rise of student activism to gain rights for minorities, particularly in educational institutions. Ideas and practices, such as desegregation

and equality in institutions, were considered radical and controversial ideas at the time. The practice of racism was seen as an ordinary ideal that was a part of everyday life. To overturn these discriminatory practices, students resorted to radical measures to pressure those in power to change policies and implement them forcefully. Sit-ins and protests were just some of the methods that were used to promote a cause.

According to the Freshmen Survey conducted by the Higher Education Research Institute (HERI), the number of students who have participated in political campaigns has declined from 16.4% in 1969 to 8.2% in 1997 (CIRP, 1998). In 1968, 29.9% of college freshmen stated that they frequently discussed politics but this proportion declined to 14% in 1998 (CIRP, 1999). In contrast, the proportion of freshmen who reported feeling that being well-off financially was "essential or very important" increased from 40.8% in 1968 to 74.1% in 1996 (Astin, 1997, p. 56-57). Even more startling is the lack of impact that the college experience has on students' views of racism that still occurs in the United States today. A HERI 2005 report indicated that while 17.5% of freshmen students surveyed felt that "racial discrimination is no longer a problem in America," this number had only declined to 16.7% by the time they left college (Barrera & Saenz, 2007, p. 18). A mere 43.9% surveyed felt that "Helping to promote racial understanding is "essential" or "very important" (Hurtado et al., 2007, p. 16). The apathy towards social justice issues and racism issues may be one contributing factor to the decrease in student activism. Although universities often claim to prepare students to become active and educated citizens, studies have shown that civic engagement sharply declines after graduation (HERI).

Not only has the level of student activism changed over the past five decades, but the methods used have changed as well. The prevalence of Internet use has allowed for the development of groups committed to specific causes on websites such as Facebook, online petition, and the ability to spread information and announce events through a more immediate and widespread medium. The 2003 protest against the Iraq war took place not just across numerous campuses throughout the U.S., but also in many countries around the globe. Creating this event would not have been possible without the advantages of the Internet. Publicizing the impact of the event and the fact that millions of people participated was also assisted through online sources. However, this event was an exception and not the norm. In particular, activism that

focuses on race and diversity issues is still lacking, despite the fact that these issues are still prevalent in society today.

At UIUC, student activism is also waning compared to previous years. In 1992, Latino students, with the support of other campus organizations, staged large protests and sit-ins asking the administration to meet certain demands. In 2002, a decade after the protest, the university commemorated the event by hosting a forum/workshop called *Delivering Empty Promises: The Struggle of the Latina/o Experience at the University of Illinois, 1992-2002*. Subsequently, a report titled *Latinas/os at the University of Illinois: A History of Neglect and Strategies for Improvement, 1992-2002,* was published. The follow-up to the 1992 protest analyzed how effectively the university had met the demands of the student. The findings and the conclusions of this report indicate that much work remains. The university has been ineffective in addressing enrollment, retention, and academic issues for Latino students (Chancellor's Committee on Latina/o Issues, 2003), and this passive response has continued in the current academic year.

In Fall 2007, UIUC administration launched a campaign for the Inclusive Illinois program. Students responded by organizing a protest as a venue to address their perspective on the lack of progressive and proactive administrative actions. The protest, as with other student demonstrations, was designed to demand true and genuine diversity and equity as well as an expression to challenge the current attempts of the university to create or promote diversity through propaganda. This event was poorly attended by students on campus, was not addressed by the administration, and subsequently did not bring much publicity to the issue. The selectiveness of the university in addressing inequity issues when and how it sees fit as it promotes an elite agenda, leads to the disempowerment of students, and also allows the university to continue promoting discriminatory policies at its own discretion. This, in turn, perpetuates the culture of silence that is detrimental to the campus' climate. This example from the UIUC campus illustrates how the selective interpretation of freedom of speech also has an impact on student activism and its potential to impact campus climate in a positive and effective manner. As Paulo Freire (1993) wrote, "The leaders [should not] treat the oppressed as mere activists to be denied the opportunity of reflection and allowed merely the illusion of acting, whereas in fact they

would continue to be manipulated—and in this case by the presumed foes of the manipulation" (p. 107).

As a pinnacle of knowledge and a space for institutional change, it is vital for the progress and growth of a diverse society that students be engaged in critical reflection and activism. In addition, it is important that institutions encourage students to utilize free speech to promote and enact such change through the open and free exchange of ideas, grassroots movements, and policy reformations. Moreover, it is necessary for institutions to acknowledge the importance and impact of such demonstrations and other forms of free speech for campus climate. Such opportunities for policy changes through student effort are an empowering process that transcend beyond the collegiate career.

Administration Taking a Stand

As a means to ensure that institutions contribute to a positive and collaborative campus climate while upholding their mission and responsibility to society by shaping the development of productive citizens, it is vital that the administration consistently addresses issues of racism. By selectively enforcing and interpreting freedom of speech with respect to racist acts on campuses, the administration indirectly gives students permission to continue developing and perpetuating racism and stereotyping. This selected application of freedom of speech tends to promote and protect the safety of a privileged group of students over another, and responds to issues of racism in a manner that advocates for the beliefs of students that are perpetuating racism. To rectify this situation, administrators need to adapt their strategies so that their stance consistently and immediately addresses such issues. Such a strategy is currently lacking in the administration at UIUC, which submitted such statements as the following in their Inclusive Illinois campaign:

> …The University's goal is to heighten awareness and engagement about issues of identity and importance of examining and respecting differences based on race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation and gender identity, age, physical ability, religion, as well as the multiple and intersecting ways we see ourselves and others. In addition, to enhance the working, living, and learning environment for faculty, staff, and students, the University will encour-

> age a standard of conduct and behavior that is consistent with the values of inclusivity. In an environment of inclusivity, there is no place for acts of hatred, intolerance, insensitivity, bigotry, threats of violence, harassment, or discrimination. (http://www.inclusiveillinois.uiuc.edu)

While also sending out contradictory statements in mass emails to the community in response to stereotype themed parties:

> Students who took part in such behavior were being insensitive, thoughtless and, quite frankly, juvenile. Although I'm not in the business of telling students how to think, I expect more of our Illinois students. They are the best and the brightest of the next generation, and such callous behavior is beneath them (Richard Herman, mass email, Feb. 16, 2007).

Conflicting statements such as these send minority students and their allies the message that their concerns, feelings, and safety are not important. It also implies that the university is more concerned with protecting its image by labeling acts of racism as anything but what it is. This statement also diffuses the responsibility of the university in helping students develop into citizens of multicultural society.

The UIUC administration can learn from positive examples of leadership shown on other campuses around the country. For example, the president of Dartmouth, James Wright, released a statement following racist events on campus, with some of the following statements:

> There will always be individuals—including some who are members of this community—who empower themselves by disrespecting others. They are few in number but this is not about numbers. Some who have engaged in the incidents of the last few months may be unaware of the disrespect that is entailed and the hurt that is felt. That should no longer be an excuse. The rest, those who know of the hurt and disrespect and persist nonetheless, are simply bullies. Free speech rights are regularly asserted by the latter.

> Certainly, freedom of expression is a core value of this institution. The College is not going to start a selective dress code and we do not have a speech code. Free speech includes the right to say and to do foolish and mean-spirited things. We have seen several examples of this exercise this fall. But free speech is not a right exclusively maintained for the use of the mean and the foolish—it is not unless we allow it to be, and then the free part has been minimized.
>
> Let me exercise my right of free speech: I take it as a matter of principle that when people say they have been offended, they have been offended. We may apologize and explain, we may seek to assure that offense was not intended, but it is condescending to insist that they shouldn't be offended, that it is somehow their fault, and that they are humorless since they can't appreciate that what was perceived as offensive is merely a 'joke.' And it is the worst form of arrogance for anyone to insist that they will continue to offend on the basis of a 'right' to do so. Communities depend upon rights. But they also thrive upon mutual respect. This community thrives because each generation of students understands and advances this principle, which finally is more effective than any administrative sanctions or speech codes…. (James Wright, mass email, Nov. 20, 2006).

This correspondence with the campus community leaves no doubt that the administration at Dartmouth are behind minority students, advocate for their rights and safety, and will not tolerate acts of racism. It also clearly acknowledges that the racist acts committed were wrong, and have no place on the Dartmouth campus.

The University as a Corporation

The way in which the university both interprets and enforces policies of freedom of speech are dependent on the context within which the university defines itself. Throughout this chapter, we have illustrated how the university's reactions to events on campus show a changing relationship between university administrators and students. The manner in which the university addresses issues of racism and

diversity becomes even more vital as higher education institutions move from entities that serve students by assisting them in turning into enlightened and educated individuals, to a corporate structure that views students as customers and commodities. It is important that universities reject the idea of marketing diversity and defining the identities students develop as commodities. When this approach is taken, it de-humanizes the experience and also minimizes the space for student activism, which has historically proven to be an extremely important tool in working towards eliminating racism. As Giroux (2002) stated:

> …as corporate culture extends even deeper into the basic institutions of civil and political society, there is a simultaneous diminishing of non-commodified public spheres…that address the relationship of the self to public life and social responsibility to the broader demands of citizenship, as well as provide a robust vehicle for public participation and democratic citizenship (p. 427).

As the author points out, the corporate culture eliminates a space in which people can develop an identity that allows them to connect with what is going on in the world and recognize social injustices. He also goes on to write that,

> Without these critical public spheres, corporate power often goes unchecked and politics becomes dull, cynical, and oppressive…Public space is portrayed exclusively as an investment opportunity, and the public good increasingly becomes a metaphor for public disorder (p. 428).

When applied to higher education institutions, Giroux's theory implies that the regulated forums held by the university are in fact not spaces for free speech or open dialogue. Instead, it becomes an opportunity for the university administration to use diversity as a marketing mechanism and avoid being held accountable for discriminatory policies.

By having Town Hall forums and similar events in which the location, length, topics, and availability are all regulated at the discretion of the university, the key components of activism are lost. The reflection and learning though critical analysis, necessary for all participants in the process, cannot take place. A prime example of this involved a student at the Town Hall Meeting: Discussing Campus Climate who

made a comment supporting stereotypes. Not only did the panel fail to address the comment, the response of the moderator was to simply move on to the next topic. Both the administrators and students lost this opportunity to critically reflect and analyze the basis of this statement, as well as how such beliefs lead to the perpetuation and tolerance of racism on this campus. In line with the conveyor belt analogy, the lack of support of the university in addressing this statement by the student shows support for racism on campus, even if it was not directly stated.

Conclusion

Undoubtedly, there are challenges that will arise when trying to create a campus climate that supports diversity and freedom of speech, as well as eliminates racism. There will also be resistance from community members, particularly those who feel that new campus policies make them feel uncomfortable and challenge their beliefs, or even threaten the privilege they receive from a culture of silence. However, it is important for the university to remain firm in its stance and continue to advocate for an inclusive community. The University of Delaware was recently forced to end its programs in residence halls that allowed students to discuss and reflect on issues such as diversity in race, sexuality, and morality, due to resistance from students who did not feel comfortable with the situation and some of the topics that arose. The administration at the University of Delaware has not given up on its goal to continue educating students on pertinent issues (Hoover, 2007). Instead, they aim to learn from their mistakes, reform their program, and continue to foster an inclusive community in their campus. This is an important lesson. The University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign continues to struggle with issues related to racism and freedom of speech, with both the student body and administrators needing to work toward the elimination of the culture of silence and practices of discrimination and prejudice. As it moves forward as an institution, UIUC also needs to contemplate whether it really wants to maintain a corporate atmosphere that views its students as commodities and diversity as a marketing campaign. As numerous studies have shown, leaving racism unaddressed has a dire effect on students as individuals, as well as their academic performance, giving universities an incentive to improve their campus climate and protect their students. The selective interpretation and enforcement of the freedom

of speech to benefit certain students over others is no longer acceptable in an institution that aims to prepare the future citizens of this country.

The university also needs to continue to foster diversity and student activism, since they not only promote a learning environment, but also provide a mechanism for creating a campus climate that protects and nurtures all students. Changing and improving society so that it provides equal opportunities for all has usually come after long struggles and high costs. There was a point when racism was seen as a social norm, and that unequal opportunities based on race and gender were commonplace, however, we now know better. We understand that every person deserves the right to equal opportunities. Racism is alive and thriving in higher education institutions, and cannot be properly addressed until we begin to fully comprehend what racism is, the dynamics that accompany it, and how it is being managed by the university. Such institutions can continue to protect freedom of speech, as well as meet genuine diversity goals by maintaining integrity and keeping true to their mission through a plethora of activities and actions (see Appendix). Higher education institutions have played an immense role in these changes, and have the responsibility to continue to do so.

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APPENDIX

Policy Suggestions

Recommendation	Description
Annual State Report on Bigotry in Higher Education	The last Illinois State Report on Bigotry in Higher Education was published in 1991. Producing similar reports on a regular basis would be beneficial for higher education institutions in the state of Illinois, allowing information to be shared and analyzed openly.
Student Codes	A Student Code could align expectations of students with the university's mission to give students a clear indication of the kind of campus climate the university is trying to promote. It also gives administrators and students guidelines for resolving situations that involve students engaging in discriminatory/harmful behavior.
Pro-active Dialogue/ Discourse	To make dialog more effective, discussions should focus on being proactive so that what is exchanged is not only words, but also a commitment for progressive change and accountability. Discourse surrounding issues on campus should aim to outline a plan of action that includes all members of the campus community and further discourse.
Courses	Courses put the discourse in a context in which students can actively participate on a daily basis. Emphasis should be placed on encouraging students to critically analyze their surroundings and actions, instead of merely testing on the definitions of words.

Extra-curricular activities	Extra-curricular activities, if designed appropriately, could contribute to building an inclusive and less hierarchical community. These activities allow students to share a common cause and ideology surrounding the kind of campus climate in which they want to live and learn.
Forums/Conferences	Safe spaces for open dialogue should be comprised of members from various community groups to encourage an inclusive environment. To avoid power imbalance, spaces, topics, settings, length, as well as the frequency of events, should be mutually developed in conjunction with students.
Workshops	For all members of the university community, workshops can create a space for dialogue, to ask questions regarding resources and services, as well as a mechanism to actively participate in the discourse surrounding diversity.
Consistent Evaluation of Progress	New programs and policies should also include a method of regular and thorough evaluation of progress towards meeting these targets. By tracking progress, the university can more efficiently and effectively identify areas for concern in current policies as well as create initiatives for addressing any problems that may arise.
Initiate Change and Diversity within the Student Body, Faculty and Administration	Diversity cannot be truly accomplished until the student body, faculty and administration of the university reflect the larger society. All three components of the university's population play a role in the campus climate that is created. If the students, faculty and administration continue to act and speak in such a way that contributes to racism and enhances the culture of silence, the university will always be a place that harbors racism rather than fights against it.

Changing Classrooms, Changing Climate: An Examination of Diversity at 12 Midwestern Research Universities

Yolanda Zepeda

Campus climate is woven throughout the student experience. It embraces the curriculum and pedagogy, interpersonal interactions activities, and institutional infrastructure. There are many approaches to improving campus climate in support of diversity. Some strategies focus on increasing access for underrepresented students, such as targeted recruitment and student financial aid programs. Others focus on student development for all students, employing campus life and co-curricular programming to promote diversity goals. A growing body of research on the benefits of diversity, however, makes it clear that structural diversity—the presence of individuals from diverse groups—is a necessary first step, but is not sufficient to accrue educational benefits associated with diversity. Beyond increasing access for students from underrepresented groups, higher education institutions must provide a context for positive student engagement in order to produce cognitive and social development gains (Chang, 2007).

The Committee on Institutional Cooperation (CIC) is the academic consortium of twelve research universities whose mission is to advance the academic excellence of its member universities by sharing resources and promoting collaborative activities. Recognizing that diversity is a core element of academic excellence, the CIC supports collaborations that expand research and teaching opportunities to create inclusive learning environments. While there remain significant barriers to full access and participation of underrepresented minorities in higher education, CIC universities are working to nurture a diverse pipeline of the underrepresented students. Collaborative efforts target undergraduate preparation for graduate study, and collaborative support of curriculum areas to promote faculty success and program develop-

ment in critical areas of scholarship. Locally, some academic programs are reshaping their curriculum and teaching practices to make them more attractive and relevant to underrepresented students, while others have implemented specific training initiatives to help faculty hiring committees successfully recruit and hire diverse candidates. Working together, CIC universities can create positive learning environments that promote student engagement and strengthen educational outcomes for all student groups.

In this chapter, I will review patterns and trends in the structural diversity of undergraduate and graduate studies bodies and among the faculties of CIC universities. I will highlight initiatives, both inter-institutional and campus-based, that are creating inclusive academic environments and nurturing the success and engagement of students and faculty who reflect the diversity of today's society.

Educational Impact of Diversity

The growing body of research on the educational impact of diversity documents a range of benefits that derive from diverse learning environments. Among the outcomes associated with racial and ethnic diversity and documented for all student groups are enhanced academic and social self-concepts (Astin 1993; Gurin, Dey, Hurtado & Gurin, 2002; Chang, Astin, & Kim, 2004; Hurtado, 1999); cultural knowledge and awareness (Hurtado, 1999; Antonio, 2001; Milem 1994); openness to diversity and challenge (Pascarella, Edison, Nora, Hagedorn & Terenzini, 1996); level of civic interest (Chang, Astin, & Kim, 2004); and complex civic values and attitudes (Antonio, 2004; Astin, 1993; Hurtado, 1999).

Gurin (1999) identifies three key drivers of diversity impact: structural diversity, classroom diversity, and student interactional diversity. Structural diversity refers to the racial and ethnic composition of the student body, and is generally considered a precondition for the other two drivers of diversity effects. Classroom diversity is achieved through the incorporation of knowledge and perspectives of diverse groups into the curriculum. The emergence of ethnic studies during the 1960s is frequently cited as a prime example of such curricular change. The third dimension of diversity is student interactional diversity, which includes cross racial contact that occurs through informal peer groups (Astin, 1993; Terenzini, Pascarella, and Blimling, 1996; Milem, 1994).

Achieving compositional diversity is a critical first step in creating diverse learning environments, but should not be considered an end in itself. Rather, it is student encounters with differences in viewpoints and opinions that lead to learning outcomes (Astin, 1993; Chang, Astin, & Kim, 2004; Chang, Denson, Saenz, & Misa, 2006; Terenzini, Pascarella, & Blimling, 1996). Opportunities for student encounters with diverse perspectives depend on the composition of the student body. Institutions with high proportions of White students provide few opportunities for cross racial interaction (Hurtado, Dey, & Trevino, 1994), but as compositional diversity increases, students are more likely to engage with diverse others (Chang, 1999). Thus, a more racially and ethnically diverse student body is likely to provide greater exposure to a variety of perspectives, ideas and opinions and, therefore, to promote intellectual development (Chang, 2002).

Structural diversity is positively associated with minority student retention (Chang, 1999; Hurtado, 1999). A strong presence of underrepresented students sends a message that diversity is a high priority, and that the university values multiculturalism. Such messages can enhance the experience of underrepresented students on campus (Hurtado, et al., 1999). By contrast, a narrow presence of minority students can produce stressors associated with tokenism and stereotypes (Hurtado, Milem, Clay-Pedersen, & Allen, 1999).

Structural diversity in the student body also complements goals to diversify the faculty. A diverse student body can influence decisions about which courses are taught and how they are taught, as evidenced by the origins of ethnic studies programs (Antonio, 2003). The presence of diverse students on campus also reduces alienation and loneliness of faculty of color at predominantly White institutions, and relieves pressure on faculty of color to informally manage minority affairs for their department or college (Antonio, 2003). Thus, compositional diversity of the student body and the faculty are interdependent.

This interdependence is heightened when considering classroom diversity. Classroom diversity refers to curricular content that integrates knowledge about diverse groups and exposes students to diverse perspectives (Gurin, 1999). Strategies for integrating diversity into the curriculum involve designing courses specifically aimed at diversity goals and incorporating knowledge about diverse groups and

diverse perspectives into the core curriculum (Hurtado, et al., 1999). These strategies rely on the presence of faculty who have an interest in incorporating perspectives and knowledge of racial and ethnic minority groups. Antonio (2003) points to the central role that faculty of color play in expanding ideas about scholarship, which make higher education more inclusive, with diverse student groups contributing to this process.

Compositional Diversity at CIC Universities

CIC universities have become more diverse in their student enrollments in recent decades. Progress has been uneven, however, and has not kept pace with the rapid expansion of minority participation in college. Diversity among the faculty shows the slowest progress. The following section examines patterns of minority participation at CIC universities among the student bodies and faculty over the past two decades.

Undergraduate Trends

National college participation rates of underrepresented minorities (URMs) have surged in recent decades, with minority enrollments expanding much faster than undergraduate enrollments overall. Between 1986 and 2004, full-time undergraduate enrollments at U.S. colleges and universities grew by 46 percent, while enrollments of underrepresented minorities more than doubled, increasing from 1,031,776 in 1986 to 2,141,727 in 2004. By 2004, URMs represented 22.7 percent of the total, full-time undergraduate population (National Center for Education Statistics, n.d.). During this time, aggregate CIC enrollments expanded more slowly. Enrollments of full-time undergraduates of all races increased just 20 percent, while enrollments of URMs grew 87 percent, increasing from 15,785 in 1986 to 29,425 in 2004 (ibid.). Despite steady gains in minority student enrollments throughout this period, growing from 6.2 percent of the undergraduate total in 1986 to 9.6 percent in 2004, there remains a substantial gap between CIC universities and national enrollment patterns.

CIC universities share important institutional characteristics. They are large, predominantly White, research universities located primarily in the Midwest. Many CIC universities are in non-urban settings that lack a strong, local minority presence. They are primarily residential institutions whose undergraduate populations enroll on a full-time basis.

Yet, as Table 1 shows, there are differences among CIC institutions in minority participation patterns. For example, the University of Illinois at Chicago, located in a large and historically diverse city, enrolled the largest minority presence in 1986, with URMs representing nearly 20 percent of its full-time undergraduates. By 2004, underrepresented minorities comprised one quarter of its undergraduate enrollments. By contrast, the smallest minority cohort was enrolled at the University of Chicago, a private institution, where 165 URMs were enrolled, representing 5.4 percent of the undergraduate population. The University of Chicago did demonstrate the largest percentage increase (240 percent) over the 1986 figure, and by 2004, 12.5 percent of its undergraduates were from underrepresented minority groups. Northwestern University, also a private university and located just north of Chicago, enrolled the second largest proportion of underrepresented minorities in 1986 with 9.8 of its undergraduates from URM groups. In 2004, this figure increased one percentage point to 10.9 percent.

The University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, located in a non-urban setting, showed the largest gain in the number of minority students enrolled, increasing 116 percent from 1,783 to 3,850 students. Similar gains were made by the University of Michigan, with the URM representation at each university exceeding 13 percent of total undergraduate enrollments by 2004. Michigan State University, also located in a non-urban location, enrolled 3,693 minority undergraduates in 2004, surpassed only by the University of Illinois in absolute numbers. These divergent patterns suggest that minority student enrollments are impacted by factors beyond institutional characteristics, such as size and location.

Trends in degree completions suggest that URM students at CIC universities are more likely to complete a baccalaureate degree than URM students nationwide. Table 2 presents degrees earned by minorities at CIC universities and at all U.S. universities. In 1986, CIC universities awarded 2,080 baccalaureate degrees to URMs. This number grew nearly threefold to 6,097 by 2005. Nationally, the number of baccalaureates earned by minorities grew one and one-half times over the same period. While minority enrollments grew faster nationwide than they did at CIC universities, increases in the number of degrees earned by minorities at CIC universities outpaced national gains. Pennsylvania State University showed the sharpest gains, awarding 719

Table 1

Percent Minority (URM) of Undergraduate Enrollments by CIC Institution, Selected Years 1986-2004

	1986	1988	1990	1992	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004
Indiana Univ	5.4%	5.5%	5.8%	6.2%	6.4%	6.0%	6.1%	6.2%	5.9%	6.5%
Michigan State Univ	7.8%	8.6%	9.6%	10.0%	10.7%	10.8%	11.4%	11.7%	12.2%	11.7%
Northwestern Univ	9.8%	9.4%	9.6%	8.9%	9.0%	9.4%	10.0%	10.9%	10.9%	10.9%
Ohio State Univ	5.4%	5.9%	6.9%	7.8%	8.9%	9.6%	9.8%	10.2%	10.7%	10.5%
Penn State Univ	4.9%	5.6%	5.0%	4.6%	4.9%	5.6%	6.7%	7.2%	7.5%	7.5%
Purdue Univ	—	5.2%	5.7%	6.4%	6.3%	6.2%	6.3%	5.5%	5.8%	6.4%
Univ of Chicago	5.4%	6.2%	7.0%	7.8%	8.2%	9.1%	10.2%	11.5%	11.7%	12.5%
Univ of Ill at Chicago	19.5%	21.0%	23.4%	26.6%	28.8%	28.6%	27.4%	26.6%	25.4%	24.6%
Univ of Ill at Urb-Ch	6.8%	9.2%	11.8%	12.4%	12.8%	12.9%	13.0%	13.0%	13.3%	13.4%
Univ of Iowa	3.8%	4.0%	4.3%	4.1%	4.7%	4.8%	4.9%	5.0%	5.0%	4.8%
Univ of Michigan	7.2%	8.6%	10.7%	12.8%	14.1%	14.4%	13.5%	12.4%	13.4%	13.0%
Univ of Minnesota	3.4%	3.6%	4.2%	4.8%	5.5%	5.8%	6.2%	6.3%	6.4%	7.1%
Univ of Wisconsin	2.9%	3.3%	3.7%	4.0%	4.5%	4.4%	4.6%	4.6%	5.0%	5.6%
CIC Percent URM*	6.2%	6.8%	7.8%	8.4%	9.1%	9.2%	9.4%	9.3%	9.5%	9.6%

Note: Underrepresented Minorities (URM) includes African American, American Indian, and Hispanic. Counts include full-time students.

Source: The Higher Education General Information Survey (HEGIS) and the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS) conducted by the Department of Education's National Center for Education Statistics (NCES).

Table 2
Bachelors Degrees Awarded to Minorities (URMs) by U.S. Institutions and CIC Institutions, Selected Years 1985-2005

	1985	1987	1989	1991	1993	1995	1997	2001	2003	2005
All US institutions										
US Degrees to URMs	196,400	194,330	204,330	237,044	280,172	316,864	348,750	411,762	456,492	498,596
US Percent to URMs	9.9%	9.7%	9.9%	10.7%	11.9%	13.5%	14.7%	16.3%	16.7%	17.1%
CIC Institutions										
CIC Degrees to URMs	2,080	2,512	2,869	3,214	3,928	4,122	4,456	5,213	5,626	6,097
CIC Percent to URMs	3.5%	4.1%	4.6%	5.0%	5.9%	6.7%	7.4%	8.0%	8.0%	8.4%

Note: Underrepresented Minorities (URM) includes African American, American Indian, and Hispanic. Counts include full-time students only.
Source: The Higher Education General Information Survey (HEGIS) and the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS) conducted by the Department of Education's National Center for Education Statistics (NCES).

baccalaureates to minorities in 2005, an increase of nearly 400 percent over the 1985 figure of 147. This increase is remarkable, considering that minority enrollments increased 85 percent during approximately the same time frame (U.S. Department of Education, n.d.).

CIC universities are similar along many dimensions, yet differences in their progress toward diversity suggest that common barriers to minority participation, such as regional demographics and location, can be attenuated through local policies and campus practices.

Graduate Education

Minority participation in graduate education reveals a more complicated picture than undergraduate education. Table 3 presents aggregate graduate enrollment figures for all U.S. universities and for CIC universities. Between 1986 and 2004, minority expansion in graduate education nationwide outstripped the pace of undergraduate growth, with enrollments increasing 274 percent. URM graduate enrollments within the CIC experienced more limited growth, increasing 124 percent over the same period. Aggregate graduate minority enrollments in the CIC showed steady increases from 1986 until the mid-1990s, doubling in size from 2,439 in 1986 to 5,072 in 1996. They then declined until 2002, when enrollments increased once again, reaching 5,460 by 2004. Total CIC graduate enrollments, regardless of race, show a similar decline, but only in 1998 and 2000.

Legal challenges to affirmative action brought against the University of Michigan and other universities may have had a negative impact on CIC enrollments, yet it is worth noting that the chilling effect did not extend to URM enrollments nationwide. Thus, while graduate enrollments at CIC universities have grown more diverse since 1986, CIC universities have been enrolling a declining share of the nation's URMs. In 1986, for example, 6.1 percent of the nation's URMs enrolled in graduate education were enrolled at a CIC university (Table 3). The CIC share climbed until the mid-1990s. Since then it dropped steadily, reaching 3.6 percent of the nation's minority enrollments in 2004. As demand for graduate education increases, higher education is providing more options for earning graduate degrees, particularly part-time and online programs. CIC universities must pay particular attention to issues of access if they seek to increase or even maintain minority graduate enrollment rates.

Table 3
Graduate Minority (URM) Enrollments at U.S. Institutions and CIC Institutions, Selected Years 1986-2004

	1986	1988	1990	1992	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004
All US institutions										
Grad URMs Enrolled	39,852	43,279	49,083	60,911	75,084	88,705	92,092	102,212	120,263	149,912
Percent URM of Total Grad Enrollment	7.0%	7.6%	7.8%	8.2%	9.1%	10.6%	11.9%	12.1%	12.4%	12.8%
CIC Institutions										
Grad URMs Enrolled	2,439	2,930	3,416	4,251	4,916	5,072	4,725	4,649	4,871	5,460
Percent URM of Total Grad Enrollment	4.1%	4.8%	5.6%	6.6%	7.3%	7.8%	7.3%	6.9%	6.6%	7.2%
CIC Share of URMs Enrolled in US institutions	6.1%	6.8%	7.0%	7.0%	6.5%	5.7%	5.1%	4.5%	4.1%	3.6%

Note: Underrepresented Minorities (URM) includes African American, American Indian, and Hispanic. Counts include full-time students only.
Source: The Higher Education General Information Survey (HEGIS) and the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS) conducted by the Department of Education's National Center for Education Statistics (NCES).

Table 4
Doctoral Degrees Awarded to Minorities (URM) by CIC Institutions, Selected Years 1986-2006*

	1986	1988	1990	1992	1994	1996	1998	2000	2002	2004
Indiana Univ	18	16	6	18	18	12	14	23	19	20
Michigan State Univ	26	21	13	20	25	36	29	34	32	29
Northwestern Univ	13	11	9	7	7	19	27	27	28	18
Ohio State Univ	33	38	30	27	35	58	38	44	44	19
Penn State Univ	16	23	20	18	24	29	40	36	39	34
Purdue Univ	12	10	11	18	12	17	20	18	17	21
Univ of Chicago	7	13	9	17	18	13	21	18	20	5
Univ of Ill at Chicago	7	6	6	12	10	10	21	8	12	22
Univ of Ill at Urb-Ch	17	19	24	25	28	27	37	41	37	31
Univ of Iowa	8	14	10	8	12	17	18	22	13	20
Univ of Michigan	37	25	26	33	47	53	51	55	55	53
Univ of Minnesota	12	5	15	18	11	17	21	29	17	12
Univ of Wisconsin	15	18	21	26	24	36	31	38	32	24
CIC Total	221	219	200	247	271	344	368	393	365	308

Note: Underrepresented Minorities (URM) include African American, American Indian, and Hispanic. Counts include US citizens and Permanent Residents only.
Source: Survey of Earned Doctorates, conducted annually by the University of Chicago National Opinion Research Center.

Reflecting their similarities as research institutions, CIC universities are less divergent in the composition of their graduate student bodies than their undergraduate students. In 2004, underrepresented minorities exceeded 10 percent of graduate enrollments at only one university, the University of Illinois at Chicago. Likewise, URMs comprised fewer than five percent of graduate students at only one university. All CIC universities experienced shifting patterns from the mid-1990s through 2004, but minority enrollment rates did not differ greatly among universities in the consortium.

Trends in doctoral education show a mixed pattern. The number of doctoral degrees awarded to minorities declined slightly from 221 degrees awarded in 1986 to 200 degrees awarded in 1990. They increased between 1990 and 2000, peaking at 393, and dropped again in 2002 and 2004. Degrees awarded to all domestic recipients, regardless of race, follow a similar pattern at CIC universities. The national trend for all domestic recipients reflects the trends observed at CIC universities. Nationally, however, doctorates awarded to minorities show a steady increase throughout this period (National Opinion Research Center, 1986-2004).

CIC universities as a group play a significant role in producing the nation's doctoral degrees in science, technology, mathematics and engineering fields (STEM), and minority doctoral education is no exception. Table 5 presents doctoral degrees awarded to minorities in engineering, life science, mathematics and computer science, and physical science for the CIC and the nation. In 2004, CIC universities granted 18.6 percent of all doctoral degrees awarded to U.S. minorities in engineering, and in 2003, 19 percent of doctoral degrees awarded to minorities in the physical sciences were granted by CIC universities. According to the Survey of Earned Doctorates (National Opinion Research Center, n.d.), however, actual numbers of degree recipients in these fields have not shown significant growth over the last ten years, neither within the CIC nor across the nation. While CIC universities do have substantial impact on the production of the nation's minority scientists and engineers, the relatively flat patterns in the numbers of doctorates they awarded in STEM fields in the past decade suggest that CIC universities are not contributing to *increasing* the diversity of the nation's scientific and technical community.

Table 5
Doctoral Degrees Awarded to Minorities, Selected Years 1995-2004

	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
US Institutions										
Engineering	156	187	211	204	193	171	189	189	192	188
Life Sciences	393	385	416	463	464	477	459	462	471	550
Math. and Comp. Sciences	39	52	49	79	62	64	60	62	63	68
Physical Sciences	123	132	130	119	138	149	132	138	131	126
CIC Institutions										
Engineering	17	29	34	37	24	32	28	25	24	35
Life Sciences	59	58	55	68	60	66	49	58	60	46
Math. and Comp. Sciences	5	7	9	4	8	10	7	4	5	5
Physical Sciences	18	14	17	17	16	18	18	20	25	15

Note: Underrepresented Minorities (URM) include African American, American Indian, and Hispanic. Counts include US citizens and Permanent Residents only.
Source: Survey of Earned Doctorates, conducted annually by the University of Chicago National Opinion Research Center.

Taken together, enrollment and degree completion trends suggest that CIC universities are making measured progress toward greater diversity. Given the substantial growth in minority student pipelines, there is much opportunity for CIC universities to significantly increase the participation of students from underrepresented minority groups. Nonetheless, with many more educational opportunities available to minority students nationally, CIC universities must be strategic and intentional in order to make their universities attractive and accessible options for students in this diverse pipeline.

Faculty Diversity

CIC universities are making slower progress in diversifying their faculties than they are in student enrollments. Table 6 presents minority faculty counts and percent minority patterns aggregated across the consortium. In 1993, there were 1,317 underrepresented minorities on the faculties of CIC universities, comprising 4.4 percent of the total. By 2007, the number of minority faculty members increased 73 percent to a total of 2,288. This total represents 6.2 percent of all faculty members at CIC universities in that year. The greatest gains in absolute numbers were among tenured faculty. This group gained 436 faculty members, an increase of 81 percent. It is notable that during this time frame the total number of tenured faculty, regardless of race, decreased slightly (National Center for Education Statistics, n.d.). The number of non-tenured, minority faculty on tenure track showed the smallest increase, gaining only 152 faculty members, or 35 percent. These data do not indicate how much of the gain in tenured faculty was due to minority faculty promotion and tenure versus increased senior faculty hires. Nonetheless, they do suggest that the limited expansion of an untenured, tenure track faculty pool will pose challenges to increasing or even sustaining faculty diversity in coming years.

Table 6
Minority (URM) Full-Time Faculty at CIC Universities by Academic Rank, Selected Years 1993-2007

	1993	1995	1997	1999	2001	2003	2005	2007
Total Count								
All Faculty	1,317	1,443	1,529	1,644	1,838	1,818	2,026	2,288
Tenured Faculty	534	604	668	700	768	849	901	970
Non-tenured, tenure track	436	438	399	440	488	504	553	588
Not on tenure track	347	401	462	247	582	465	518	616
Percent of all Faculty								
All Faculty	4.4%	4.8%	5.0%	5.3%	5.5%	5.7%	6.1%	6.2%
Tenured Faculty	3.1%	3.5%	4.0%	4.2%	4.6%	5.0%	5.4%	5.7%
Non-tenured, tenure track	7.6%	8.3%	8.4%	9.0%	8.9%	8.9%	9.5%	9.9%
Not on tenure track	5.1%	5.3%	5.3%	2.5%	5.2%	4.9%	5.3%	5.4%

Note: Underrepresented Minorities (URM) include African American, American Indian, and Hispanic. All Faculty category includes faculty without faculty status.
Source: Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS) conducted by the Department of Education's National Center for Education Statistics (NCES).

Working Together to Create Diverse Learning Environments

The following section reviews several programs at the consortium and individual university level. The programs described here were selected to illustrate the multifaceted and interconnected ways that CIC universities are working to create learning environments that reflect and support perspectives of diverse communities of students and scholars. Featured are programs designed to promote the expansion of scholarship and the systems of support to promote integration of underrepresented students and faculty. They include mentored research experiences, inter-institutional networks, transformation of the curriculum, and training for faculty hiring committees.

CIC Summer Research Opportunities Program (SROP)

The CIC Summer Research Opportunities Program (SROP) provides faculty-mentored research experiences to underrepresented students nationwide with the goal of creating a diverse prospective graduate pool. The program pairs advanced undergraduates with faculty mentors at CIC universities for an eight-week, paid research internship. In addition to their research, students participate in enrichment workshops that help maximize the benefits of their research experience: workshops on writing, research ethics, preparing and delivering oral and poster presentations, and networking with other student researchers and faculty in similar disciplines of study. The research process connects students with their field of study in a meaningful and personal way, affirming their academic self-concept and their aspirations for advanced study. Students interact with other student researchers at their host university, and they network at an annual conference that convenes SROP students from the other CIC universities, building networks of peers who share similar academic goals and reflect the many dimensions of diversity.

The collaborative program infrastructure provides the benefit of an established and trusted reputation, a twenty-year investment in outreach and relationship building with minority-serving institutions, and a collective pool of the nation's top talent. Through a single application process, students gain access to the many participating programs across the consortium, and they are relieved of the burden and cost of completing

multiple applications. As department-based or more narrowly-focused programs are initiated on CIC member campuses, they have the opportunity to join a network of experienced professionals and a strong administrative infrastructure for recruiting and supporting summer interns.

The goal of SROP is to recruit diverse pools of students to graduate programs in the CIC. Through their mentoring experiences, faculty work closely with prospective students whose skills might not otherwise be well represented by traditional admissions measures. Students, many of them first generation college students, gain a better understanding of the graduate admissions process and of the opportunities available to them at their host university. Faculty are also invited to participate in the annual research conference where they can interact with SROP students who are conducting research at other CIC universities. All of these activities are directed toward helping students transition successfully into graduate education and research careers, and they support the localized recruitment efforts of individual CIC universities and graduate programs.

Since its inception, SROP has sponsored 11,000 research internships. Tracking student outcomes is a challenge for the decentralized program. To date, the program has tracked 290 completed PhDs among program alumni, with two-thirds of these earned at CIC universities. Recognizing that the SROP summer experience is only the beginning of the student relationship, in recent years program staff have started implementing measures to extend recruiting efforts beyond the summer. Among such efforts are early admissions, GRE support, post-summer campus visits, and bridge programs to ease the transition into graduate school.

Making a Difference in Mathematics

At the University of Iowa, the Department of Mathematics has undergone a dramatic transformation and is now playing a central role in the production of mathematics PhDs awarded to women and minorities nationally. Nearly one quarter of their graduate students are underrepresented minorities, and 40 percent are women. This achievement is notable in any field, but in mathematics where only 5 percent of PhDs are awarded to underrepresented minorities (Medina 2004), their record is extraordinary. This transformation happened because the department began to think strategically and proactively about recruitment. After successfully recruiting students from groups they had not previously served,

the faculty realized that to successfully retain and graduate their students, they needed to do more than simply enroll them. They redesigned their curricular content and teaching practices, and transformed the overall "culture" in the department.

The faculty developed minority outreach activities as part of their recruitment plan, building partnerships with minority-serving institutions and building bridges to high schools. Admissions committees began rethinking their traditional application procedures and employing more holistic practices. The department examined retention issues and implemented structured opportunities for study groups, peer networking, faculty mentoring, and developed activities to create a welcoming social climate in the department.

While the department continues to offer a traditional program in mathematics, it has also launched a new, interdisciplinary program in Applied Mathematical and Computational Science. This program provides a base in mathematical science, but also enables students to develop skills in another area of their own interest—from the behavioral, biological, business, engineering, medical, physical, or social science areas. This expansion of the curriculum creates intellectual space for diverse perspectives and interests, producing a more inclusive culture in the department and the discipline.

AESEDA: Building Partnerships, Building Capacity

The Alliance for Earth Sciences, Engineering and Development in Africa (AESEDA) is an infrastructure supporting multidisciplinary, multi-organizational, and multinational partnerships for research, education, and outreach aimed at sustainable, georesource stewardship. Developed by the College of Earth and Mineral Sciences at Penn State University, AESEDA seeks "to support and build opportunities for historically disadvantaged populations in Africa and the USA and ensure intellectual and cultural diversity in all areas of Alliance activities" (www.aeseda.psu.edu/). The focus on Africa, poverty alleviation, and development issues gets the attention of minority students, particularly African Americans. A range of activities and support structures engages and develops students throughout the educational pipeline, from high school to undergraduate and graduate study.

Before AESEDA was established, the college already had substantial faculty interest in Africa. They recognized that this could be a valuable advantage in its goals to increase the diversity of its faculty, staff and students. Building on the shared faculty interests, the college implemented outreach efforts to K–12, summer experiences for high school and college students, and developed partnerships with HBCUs—including a joint degree program with Jackson State University. Numerous curricular innovations, including an undergraduate minor and a graduate master's degree program, were developed to integrate the sciences and humanities in the context of the natural resource development of Africa. Collaborative and team-taught courses bring PSU students together with students at African partner institutions. AESEDA now involves more than seventy faculty members at Penn State, ten U.S. minority-serving institutions, and more than twenty universities and organizations in five African countries.

Like the Department of Mathematics at Iowa, AESEDA recognized the importance of opening up the curriculum to affirm and encourage diverse interests and perspectives. The pipeline of students that AESEDA is building finds a welcoming environment where students can pursue research that they find relevant and affirming. These programs are broadening the scope of their disciplines and their classrooms, and they model commitment to diversity and to academic excellence.

Enriching Curriculum and Scholarship Areas

CIC universities recognize there are areas of scholarship that are particularly important to diversity goals, but which are not yet fully institutionalized at their universities. For example, ethnic studies programs play an important role in creating classroom diversity and in supporting compositional diversity among students and faculty. Yet scarce resources pose a challenge for developing these programs. Moreover, faculty in smaller and emerging programs may feel isolated, both academically and socially. CIC universities collaborate to provide a stable infrastructure for supporting faculty networking and mentorship, scholarly exchange and best-practice sharing in targeted curriculum areas.

The CIC American Indian Studies Consortium convenes workshops and conferences to share research and to foster a supportive network among member universities. Annual research symposia, graduate student conferences, and team teaching are among the activities sponsored by the consortium. More recently, a faculty group was established in Asian American Studies. This group meets regularly, sharing information about program development and student support services, in addition to scholarly exchange and professional development. This group has sponsored leadership seminars to develop administrative and program development skills, and sponsored writing workshops for reviewing authors' works in progress.

One of the frustrations experienced by faculty who want to teach new courses or develop new curricular programs is that they must show student demand. New courses focusing on underrepresented groups are often challenged by low student demand. A tool available to both the CIC American Indian and Asian American studies groups is CIC CourseShare, an initiative to increase access to specialized and low-enrollment courses. Through CourseShare, technology-facilitated courses can be offered across the CIC consortium, giving students opportunities to benefit from offerings not available at their home institution. CourseShare also gives faculty opportunities to partner with colleagues at other CIC universities, offering support while stimulating their own research agendas. Examples of recent courses offered through CourseShare include:

- American Indian Studies: Indigenous Critical Theory (MSU/UIUC)
- Readings in Asian American History (OSU/PSU)
- Imagining an American Indian Intellectual Tradition (OSU/MSU/Mich)
- Asian American Cultural Criticism (MSU/OSU)

Working together, CIC universities have greater capacity to offer an enhanced set of courses and opportunities for students. Through their collaborative networks, faculty and students find more support from colleagues who share their interests and who share the challenges of building programs in areas that are not well established on their own campus.

Diversifying the Faculty

All CIC universities point to faculty diversity as a priority. Intellectual rigor requires diverse perspectives and varied insights to stimulate a vibrant, academic community. As student demographics become more diverse, the need for faculty who can respond to this diversity becomes all the more critical. The University of Wisconsin's Women in Science and Engineering Leadership Institute (WISELI) has taken on those sometimes subtle and sometimes not-so-subtle biases and assumptions that challenge the faculty hiring process. WISELI has established a training workshop specifically for hiring committees. The workshop entitled "Searching for Excellence and Diversity," provides guidance on running effective searches, diversifying the applicant pool, making offers, and hiring new faculty. These workshops are tailored to be most relevant to specific colleges, e.g., Engineering, Arts and Sciences, Medicine, etc. Program evaluation data indicates participating departments have experienced an increase in the number of offers made to women candidates and an increase in the presence of women assistant professors in the participating departments (Pribbenow et al., 2007).

The WISE Leadership Institute is helping its campus community directly confront biases to ensure that the brightest and most diverse talent is actively sought out and successfully recruited. Instructive materials are freely available for download and hard copies are available from the WISELI website: http://wiseli.engr.wisc.edu/initiatives/hiring/training_hiring.htm

Conclusion

Inclusive learning environments lie at the heart of a healthy climate in higher education, and are essential to maintaining a vibrant and rigorous intellectual climate. Structural diversity is a necessary first step toward creating inclusive learning environments. Transforming the curriculum and creating a climate where students engage across differences are also critical. The member universities of the CIC are making measured progress toward increasing the compositional diversity of their student bodies and faculty, but gains in minority participation have not kept pace with demographic changes in national higher education, particularly at the undergraduate level. CIC universities play an important role in graduate education and, in this arena, have the opportunity

to significantly impact the diversity of the nation's doctoral degree recipients and to diversify the candidate pool for faculty positions. Yet, recent patterns suggest that without more strategic and aggressive recruitment efforts, CIC universities will not realize this opportunity. Through their collaborations and local campus efforts, CIC universities are working to create more inclusive learning environments that nurture diverse perspectives and broaden the scope of scholarship. Such programs send a message to the campus community that diversity is important and that academic excellence requires diverse scholarship.

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Diversity at Central Michigan University: A Case Study of Achieving Diversity at a Predominantly White Public University

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Central Michigan University (CMU) provides an excellent case study for achieving diversity at a predominantly White institution (PWI) of higher learning. Efforts to achieve diversity at CMU date back to the early 1980s with the establishment of the Minority Affairs Office. Currently, CMU has several offices and programs which come under the umbrella of an Associate Vice President for Institutional Diversity, well-established curricular requirements in diversity for all undergraduates, a prominent diversity statement in the vision, mission and strategic planning documents, plus a newly revised "Strategic Plan for Diversity" calling for additional curricular and co-curricular programs that will enhance the cultural competence of students, faculty, and staff. Nonetheless, like many PWIs, CMU continues to struggle to truly achieve diversity partly because of its location and demographic profile and partly because of the lack of information about diversity-related topics characteristic of its students, staff, and faculty.

In this paper, we start by reviewing the components of a comprehensive plan for achieving diversity followed by an institutional profile. The main section is a detailed examination of diversity initiatives at CMU preceded by a discussion of challenges faced by PWIs and of a framework for considering the factors that affect the campus climate for diversity. Diversity initiatives at CMU are discussed in reference to: (1) how they are included in the documents related to the vision and mission of the university; (2) how they are reflected in the institution's policies; (3) the specific initiatives and offices responsible for

carrying them out; and (4) the process for assessing these initiatives. The concluding section focuses on lessons we have learned about essential components for achieving diversity at a predominantly White institution in the Midwest.

Inclusive Excellence

The model used as the framework for this paper comes from the American Association of Colleges and Universities' October 2008 conference focusing on "institutional models that enable higher education leaders to develop, implement, assess, and continually learn from the experience of fostering diverse learning environments" (AAC&U, 2008). AAC&U researchers assert that achieving inclusive excellence requires intentional efforts in four key areas:

- **Vision:** Re-envisioning diversity and inclusion as comprehensive processes through which institutions achieve excellence in learning
- **Policy:** Essential to move campuses from isolated diversity programs and course offerings to a comprehensive process
- **Design:** Designing the curriculum and co-curriculum programs with intentionality and coherence
- **Assessment:** Measuring the impact of diversity and inclusion on student learning and institutional effectiveness

Achieving inclusive excellence also calls for monitoring key points of the planning process. Among the most essential are ensuring: (1) that diversity goals are included in the institution's strategic planning and priorities; (2) that strategies with measurable outcomes are developed and that the desired outcomes are clearly articulated; (3) that budget decisions are aligned with diversity priorities; and finally, (4) that progress is monitored continually, with an eye to formulating updated priorities and outcomes.

Central Michigan University has been making significant progress in each of these four areas through strategic initiatives occurring simultaneously in all major divisions of the institution. Instead of taking a traditional approach where the unit bearing the word "diversity" in its title is solely responsible for leading inclusive change efforts, CMU

has ensured accountability by integrating diversity efforts throughout the institution.

For example, faculty within CMU's College of Humanities, Social and Behavioral Sciences have recently led a multi-faceted diversity climate study. Results indicate that most Central Michigan University students, faculty, and staff value diversity (Senter, 2008; Senter, Haddad, & Owens, 2007). Valuing it alone, however, is not enough to ensure that individuals from diverse backgrounds find the campus to be a welcoming environment. In fact, research demonstrates that to make diversity work or to tap the educational benefits of diversity, it must be engaged in a meaningful way.

That there are strong educational benefits to diversity and inclusive excellence has long been a basic value held by colleges and universities. In addition, this view was endorsed in 2003 by the United States Supreme Court when it affirmed in the *Grutter* case that diversity in its many forms enhances and benefits the educational enterprise (Green, 2004). The social science research, along with amici briefs from higher education associations, retired military generals, American corporations, and government officials, provided evidence to the U.S. Supreme Court supporting the notion that racial/ethnic diversity, as well as other forms of diversity, is a compelling societal interest that yields social and educational benefits (Green, 2004). Since that decision was announced, higher education leaders across the country have reaffirmed the value of diversity and have sought to reap its benefits. But while the Supreme Court has affirmed the value of diversity, institutions continue to face challenges to improve diversity on their respective campuses. Clearly, CMU is not alone in facing these challenges.

Institutional Profile

Established in 1892 as a normal school, CMU is fairly typical of mid-size public universities in largely rural areas. Although it is the fourth-largest public university in Michigan and there are close to 20,000 students on campus, less than 9% identify as students of color. Similarly, fewer than 8% of staff members are people of color. Though the percentage of faculty of color is around 17%, it should be noted that this figure includes relatively recent immigrants. Of the 154 minority faculty at CMU in 2007-2008, 9 (6%) are American Indian/Alaskan

Native; 83 (54%) are Asian American; 37 (24%) are African American and 25 (16%) are Hispanic. Though faculty of color are represented in all six academic colleges, there are some clusters. For example, 4 of the American Indian/Alaskan Native faculty are in the College of Humanities and Social & Behavioral Sciences, as are 9 of the African American faculty. Close to half of the Asian American faculty are in the College of Science and Technology (35), with another 17 in the college of Business Administration. And seven of the Hispanic faculty are in the College of Science and Technology.

In August 2007, *US News & World Report* published a diversity index score for institutions of higher education across the nation. This index, ranging from 0.0 to 1.0, is designed to identify the likelihood of students encountering undergraduates from racial or ethnic groups different from their own at these institutions and is based on the ratio between white and minority students on a given campus. The formula used to calculate this index factors in the total proportion of minority students—leaving out international students—and the overall mix of groups. For example, CMU's diversity rating of .19 indicates a lower likelihood of meeting people different from oneself than would be found at University of Illinois with a diversity rating of .45. Rutgers University earns the highest diversity rating with .73. In other words, a student attending Rutgers has a 73% chance of interacting with a person from a different racial or ethnic background.

If students attending CMU have less than a 20% chance of interacting with people different from them, chances are even less when venturing off-campus: the city of Mount Pleasant, where CMU is located, is 89% White. The major community of color in the surrounding area is the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe, with which the university has a close relationship because of its athletic nickname—Chippewa. Other than the tribe, the closest large communities of color are in cities like Saginaw and Lansing, an hour or so away by car. Though almost all Michigan counties are represented in the student body, a significant proportion of students come from the south-eastern part of the state—either from the predominantly African American city of Detroit or from the predominantly White suburbs surrounding it. The other major area of origin for students is north of Mount Pleasant, an area with an extremely low minority population.

The Campus Climate Framework

Central Michigan University, similar to other predominantly White institutions, must find ways to counter institutional history, limited campus diversity, a remote location, and negative attitudes/behaviors (i.e. campus incidents) that work against building a diverse environment. In addition to CMU's specific challenges, the state of Michigan is "the third most segregated state in the nation [and] it has one of the most segregated educational systems" (Michigan Civil Rights Commission, 2007, p.10), which means CMU has students and members of its workforce that potentially have had very limited exposure to racial/ethnic diversity. Furthermore, Michigan, for the third consecutive reporting cycle, has had the third-highest number of hate crimes as reported by the FBI (Parker, 2007), with racial/ethnic, religious, and sexual orientation bias-motivated incidents at the top of the list (FBI, 2007). As one of Michigan's public institutions, it is Central Michigan University's responsibility to create opportunities to educate and engage students, faculty, staff, and Mount Pleasant community members with respect to diversity—in its many forms.

To make diversity work for Central Michigan University, advancement of diversity must begin with recognition of the campus climate framework and its several dimensions: (1) compositional; (2) inclusive/exclusive practices; (3) psychological; (4) behavioral; and (5) organizational/structural (Milem, Chang, Antonio, 2005). These dimensions must be taken into account when developing vision and policy statements, as well as initiatives and programs.

Compositional diversity "refers to the numerical and proportional representation" of various diverse groups on campus (p. 15). Compositional diversity is the most apparent and simplest to address because campus demographics clearly measure the number and proportion of international students, women, students with disabilities, and underrepresented minorities who are students, faculty, staff, administrators, etc. For example, as noted above, as of fall 2007, less than 9% of CMU's on-campus student population was comprised of underrepresented minorities.

An institution's historical legacy of inclusion versus exclusion contributes to the campus climate. While many predominantly White

institutions (PWIs), including Central Michigan University, have attempted to build a tradition of inclusion in recent years, the tradition of exclusion is difficult to redirect without intervention strategies and initiatives.

When considering the *psychological dimension*, viewpoints, perspectives, and perceptions of community members are at the heart of this aspect of the campus climate framework. The way in which members of that community view diverse groups, institutional responses to diversity and related incidents, perceptions of discrimination and conflict (racial/ethnic, GLBT, religion), and attitudes towards diverse groups (such as individuals with disabilities, gays and lesbians, racial/ethnic groups, international students) comprise the psychological climate (Milem et al, 2005, p. 17). According to the recent climate surveys,

> faculty and staff of color are more likely than their White counterparts to have negative views about CMU as a place to work. For example, more than half of minority employees do not believe that CMU employees support and promote diversity and do not believe that there are many opportunities for minorities to advance at CMU. (Senter, 2008, p. 31)

The *behavioral climate* reflects how members of the community interact with one another along the lines of race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, etc. This dimension speaks to the quality and type of intergroup relations, (i.e. negative versus positive; continuous, structured engagement or superficial contact) across diverse groups. For example, key findings from a gay, lesbian, and bisexual (GLB) 2005 focus group study indicated that GLB students reported most negative experiences occurring in the residence halls (Humiston, 2005).

Self-segregation is often used as a way to describe minority or international students who isolate themselves from White students; "however, the empirical research that examines student interactions reveals that students of color are much more likely than White students to report that they interact across racial and ethnic groups" (Milem et al., 2005, page 17). CMU's recent climate study also supports the same results, indicating that "students of color at CMU have more varied and intimate contact with ethnically and racially diverse people than their white peers" (Senter et al., 2007, p. 68).

> In addition, research indicates that students from different racial and ethnic groups view same-group interactions differently. For example, Loo and Rolison (1986) found that White students viewed ethnic group clustering as an example of racial segregation or separation, whereas students of color viewed this clustering as a means for finding cultural support within a larger environment they felt was unsupportive. (Milem et al., 2005, p. 17)

The combination of psychological and behavioral climate dimensions serve to expose the patterns of attitudes and social interactions in the campus and local communities that need to be addressed to engage diversity and create more constructive, social interactions that break these negative psychological and behavioral patterns.

Organizational and structural diversity reflects how advantages for some groups versus others are built into the organization structure and processes. For example, some institutions have maternity leave policies that stop the tenure clock to allow women an opportunity to have children while not harming their chances of achieving tenure. Traditionally, men did not need a maternity leave, and therefore stopping the clock as a policy was unnecessary. In this case, the absence of a maternity policy advantaged men and disadvantaged women. Another simple example is to communicate everything via email/internet. In doing so, one disadvantages those families and individuals who do not own a computer, cannot afford email access, or have limited access to dial-up service.

> The organizational/structural dimension of climate is reflected in the curriculum; in campus decision-making practices related to budget allocations, reward structures, hiring practices, admissions practices, and tenure decisions; and in other important structures and processes that guide the day-to-day "business" of our campuses. For example, recent research by Smith and others (Smith et al., 2004) indicates that racially homogeneous faculty search committees are not likely to hire candidates from different racial groups unless deliberate steps are taken to require the committees to seriously consider such candidates (Milem et al., 2005, p. 18).

Given the campus climate framework, it is clear that a multi-pronged approach is needed to make diversity work at CMU and other PWIs. As such, this approach needs to address these universities' compositional diversity, structural/organizational diversity, behavioral and psychological climate concerns, and its historical legacy of exclusion as vision statements, policies, and initiatives are being developed. The development of a multi-pronged approach will afford multiple opportunities at these universities to tap the educational benefits of diversity and set a course for an institutional transformation that embraces the changing demographics across the nation and the globe. As the nation and the world becomes more diverse, it is imperative that CMU and other PWIs create and maintain a healthy, effective learning environment among students, many of whom have had few opportunities to develop familiarity with other cultures and/or diverse groups. CMU and similar universities must prepare students to be culturally competent so that they are able to live and work in a diverse, global society. Cultural competency is essentially having the capacity to function effectively in other cultural contexts. To achieve cultural competency and/or proficiency relies heavily upon having: (1) cultural knowledge and understanding of diverse groups; (2) the appreciation for cultural differences; and (3) skills to demonstrate the appropriate behaviors when interacting with different groups, either nationally or globally (Sue & Sue, 2008).

Vision

Developing a vision for inclusive excellence in the context of the institution's history and current state of diversity is an essential first step toward achieving diversity at any PWI. According to AAC&U (2008), we must re-envision "… diversity and inclusion as comprehensive processes through which institutions achieve excellence in learning." Central Michigan University has developed, communicated, and institutionalized this vision through its strategic planning processes at institution, division, and unit levels. The ideals of diversity are incorporated in CMU's mission and vision statements, and are prominently evident in strategic planning initiatives.

Educational goals related to diversity figure prominently in CMU's mission statement. The second sentence reads: "The University is committed to providing a broad range of undergraduate and graduate

programs and services to prepare its students for varied roles in a democratic and diverse society." Furthermore, a commitment to promoting civic engagement is evident in the push to include a service-learning component in many courses.

CMU's vision statement, originally adopted by the Board of Trustees in spring 2004, states that "CMU will be a nationally prominent university known for integrity, academic excellence, research and creative activity, and public service." While the Board believed that diversity was an important goal for CMU, it was also seen to be an essential component of everything the university does. For that reason, diversity was not singled out in the vision statement. By summer 2005, when the Strategic Planning Steering Committee was developing CMU's goals for *CMU 2010: The Vision Plan*, campus leaders became convinced that unless diversity was identified as a clear and prominent priority, it might fail to receive enough attention to ensure its infusion throughout the institution.

CMU 2010: The Vision Plan, the institution's five-year strategic plan, articulates five institutional priorities. The *CMU 2010* priorities are:

I. Create an environment that supports teaching and learning
II. Provide educational experiences and programs that enhance diversity and global perspectives
III. Enhance the infrastructure for research and creative activities
IV. Provide service for the public good
V. Strengthen the institution's culture of integrity

Priority II, diversity and global perspectives, echoes the need for cultural competency. The description for Priority II states, "preparing students for productive lives within today's multi-cultural society and the global community necessitates providing them opportunities to be exposed to and to cultivate an appreciation for perspectives, customs and beliefs different from their own" (CMU Vision Plan, 2005, page 11). The strategies identified for achieving Priority II include: increase the diversity of faculty, students, and staff; develop and better integrate international programs into the curriculum and campus life; and enhance programs and activities for students, faculty, and staff that foster better understanding across diverse groups.

The remaining priorities also have implications for diversity and reinforce its importance. Priority I, teaching and learning, implies that a pluralistic academic community enriches the teaching and learning of the university community by fostering equal access and respect for all groups. Priority III, research and creativity, conveys that it is important to develop a world-class environment that supports research and creative activities that embrace power and growth from exploring cultural differences. Priority IV, service for the public good, supports diversity by underscoring the importance of expressing the value of global community service and ethical reflection in the personal and professional lives of the University community. And finally, Priority V, culture of integrity, implies that we develop campus-wide trust, respect, and civility for all.

Strategic Plan for Diversity

Collectively, the five institutional priorities, campus climate framework, and institutional mission, informed the development of the 2008 Strategic Plan for Diversity. CMU adopted its first version of the *Strategic Plan for Achieving Diversity* in 2001; though the plan included a comprehensive set of goals that addressed the five dimensions of a campus climate, it was not widely discussed. Also, there were countless action steps and objectives, but few measurable targets identified. Furthermore, budget cuts in 2003 prevented implementation of many of the objectives. The current plan has been revised to incorporate stronger assessment measures, achievable goals, needed resources, and accountability. The revised plan titled *Strategic Plan for Diversity: Blueprint for the 21st Century and Beyond* addresses five major diversity priorities: climate, workforce, student body, curriculum, and institutional structure. By sharpening and narrowing the plan's focus, implementation, although still a challenge, is no longer such a daunting task.

Policy

Once the institutional priorities have been determined, policies and strategies need to be developed, sometimes based on comparisons with other institutions. These policies need to include a statement of who is accountable for implementing the strategies. Sometimes, policy

changes result from unexpected events. In the fall of 2006, students of color became active while trying to prevent the passing of Proposal 2 in Michigan (banning preferential affirmative action for minorities and women) and remained active because of their concern about the effect the proposal might have on CMU. Preferential affirmative action is defined as "affirmative action programs that give preferential treatment to groups or individuals based on their race, gender, color, ethnicity or national origin for public employment, education, or contracting purposes" (Michigan Civil Rights Commission, 2007, p. 6).

As a result of conversations with students, President Michael Rao issued a series of charges calling for both a review of CMU's diversity initiatives and plans for improving them. All of the senior administrators charged by the President submitted their reports and plans. One of his charges was to update the diversity strategic plan which includes five diversity priorities:

1) Fostering a welcoming and inclusive climate
2) Recruiting, hiring, retaining, and promoting faculty and staff who will enhance diversity across all levels and areas of the university
3) Recruiting and retaining students from a diversity of backgrounds
4) Infusing diversity into the curriculum and promoting pedagogical strategies that encourage student involvement and facilitate respect of diverse perspectives
5) Supporting the administrative and organizational structure needed to coordinate and monitor campus climate progress

Key Performance Indicators

Having identified the priorities of the university, it is essential to make decisions about the specific metrics used to measure success. These Key Performance Indicators (KPIs) ultimately guide policy decisions, particularly as efforts to reach KPI targets are intensified. It has been extremely important to decide where we want to be as an institution and to establish clear targets for these KPIs. The process of establishing targets included researching peer institutions, determining the current

situation at CMU (see Assessment on p. 138), and gathering input from various campus constituencies. Ultimately, it was essential to get the endorsement of the President and other senior officers. Though there is widespread acknowledgement that neither the KPIs nor the targets are perfect, they do provide the necessary focus to help us establish baseline measures of our success. Stated succinctly, the targets for each KPI for Priority II of *CMU 2010* are as follows:

- By 2010, we expect that a minimum of 18% of our faculty will be members of underrepresented groups.
- By 2010, we expect that a minimum of 8.5% of CMU staff will be members of underrepresented groups.
- By 2010, we expect that 44% of students from underrepresented groups that attend CMU will graduate within six years.
- By 2010, we expect a minimum of 550 students to participate in our study abroad program.
- By 2010, we expect to have at least 500 international students on campus.

Design

Policies guide the development or revision/reorganization of academic and co-academic curricular programs that will enable meeting the objectives and KPIs resulting from the planning process. At CMU, these include general education requirements and other curricular initiatives, offices whose mission specifically addresses diversity, cultural celebrations, and initiatives resulting either from *CMU 2010* funding or from the diversity charges issued by the President in 2006. Though these programs, offices, and initiatives have been developed through different avenues, they form a comprehensive design because most are coordinated by the associate vice president for institutional diversity. This senior officer is a member of the Academic Senate and of the Council of Deans, as well as several other upper-level administrative committees.

Since the early 1990s, all undergraduates are required to take both a course on global cultures and a course on racism and diversity in the United States. The Academic Senate is completing a revision

of the general education program and these two requirements will be maintained. Two proposals for enhancing the opportunities for learning about diversity are being presented to the Senate this spring. One of these calls for the development of an intergroup dialogue course along the model developed by the University of Michigan (Schoem and Hurtado 2001). The other proposal would result in a "recognition of cultural competency" being noted on a student's transcript. To get this recognition, a student would complete six diversity-related courses (including two on global cultures) and submit a portfolio of reflection papers on 12 different diversity events or activities.

A number of offices charged with promoting diversity report to the Associate Vice President for Institutional Diversity—Minority Student Services, Multicultural Education Center, Native American Programs, Office for Gay and Lesbian Programs, and two off-campus college preparation programs. Though the Affirmative Action Office, Student Disability Services, Women's Studies Program, and the Office of International Education report elsewhere, they play prominent roles in achieving CMU's diversity goals.

Throughout the year, these offices and other units on campus sponsor a variety of cultural celebrations. These celebrations include Hispanic Heritage Month, Coming Out Week, Native American History Month, MLK Week, Black History Month, Women's History Month, Pride Week and Asian Heritage Month. Though the events vary, each celebration features one or more invited speakers, a lunch-time presentation, sometimes a movie series, and a food taster. Faculty teaching diversity-related courses often require students to attend one or more events during the cultural celebrations to augment the materials covered in class. In addition, the Annual Campus Diversity Forum focuses on a specific racial/ethnic group or a specific diversity-related topic and usually includes a panel discussion plus break-out sessions related to curricular development. Forum topics have included curricular transformation, the anniversary and implications of the Brown v. Board decision, Native American issues in education, and cultural competence.

Several programs help prepare students for the transition to college. CMU sponsors college preparation programs with Upward Bound funds in Detroit and with GEAR-UP funds (plus state King-Chavez-Park Program funds) in Flint. An additional program in Flint is funded through

CMU 2010. Students participate in activities that improve their study and test-taking skills, as well as tutoring. All of the programs also include parents to give them a better understanding of the preparation their children need for college. Students who graduate from high school but do not completely meet CMU's enrollment criteria have the opportunity to take summer courses and participate in a series of tutorial activities; depending on their success, they can then enroll as full-time students. Those students who come in with a very successful high school record and receive scholarships have the opportunity to participate in a residential college, which offers supplemental tutorial and other activities.

Staff and faculty have a number of diversity workshops and professional activities in which they can participate. The last two years have seen a special emphasis on providing diversity workshops for staff in part because of the diversity charges issued by President Rao in 2006. The first part of the program focused on raising the awareness of diversity issues and included stories by CMU staff of color. Virtually 100% of the staff participated in these workshops. The second phase built on the cultural programming mentioned above and provided opportunities to learn about various cultures in the United States. The ongoing third phase is based on "Ouch! That Stereotype Hurts" (Aguilar 2006) with additional activities developed by CMU staff. All of these activities have been very well received with scores averaging around 4 on a 5-point scale, with 5 as the highest score. A recently launched poster and bookmark campaign visually reminds the university community of the topics covered in these workshops.

As part of the *CMU 2010* process, CMU's President committed $1 million for each year of the plan to support projects that would bring the priorities to fruition. Now, at the halfway mark of the strategic plan, more than $540,000 has been committed to support projects under Priority II: diversity. Among the funded diversity proposals are an audit of the curriculum for diversity content, a pre-college program, and an assessment of the diversity climate at CMU and in the community.

Assessment

Diversity-related programs and initiatives are assessed in a number of ways: The Office of Institutional Research keeps track of application and enrollment trends, as well as persistence and graduation rates,

in correlation with race and gender. Participants are asked to complete customer satisfaction surveys at the completion of workshops and other events. Minority Student Services tracks the academic success of students in its mentoring and other academic programs. Offices keep statistics on participation in events and programs. Human Resources regularly analyzes differences in workplace satisfaction in correlation with racial and ethnic background. More recently, surveys of students, staff and faculty have been conducted to assess campus climate as part of *CMU 2010*.

To date, three annual "diversity report cards" have been compiled by the Diversity Campus Climate Committee. These are intended to give a yearly snapshot of the state of diversity on our campus. The reports focus on information related to student enrollment and persistence to graduation, the retention of faculty and staff of color, plus the results of surveys of students, staff and faculty about their satisfaction with CMU and the campus climate. Results are presented to the Academic Senate and to senior staff, as well as being available on the web. Some changes have been seen as a result of disseminating this information. For example, there is a greater focus on student retention, including new staff positions. The revision of the diversity strategic plan and the development of new initiatives are being tied directly to the information in these reports.

A recent audit of the diversity and international content of the curriculum identified areas for improvement. One of the main recommendations was that departments discuss how diversity can be infused into their courses before the next revision of master syllabi, which is required every five years. Not surprisingly, the study showed that majors and minors in the humanities, social sciences, and education programs are required to take the highest number of courses on diversity and/or international topics.

Like all other higher education institutions, CMU collects data related to institutional performance for a variety of purposes. In the past, this activity has been driven primarily by a need to meet reporting requirements for accreditation and governmental requirements. However, as a result of strategic planning efforts, both at the institutional and unit levels, it has become increasingly clear that we have at our disposal a significant compilation of statistical and other data that can be analyzed to assist with managing change. Some of the data is quan-

titative and some is derived from survey information. Together, these multiple measures present a picture of how the institution is doing in a variety of areas—including diversity.

For example, CMU participates in some nationally normed survey activities like the National Survey of Student Engagement (NSSE) and the Faculty Survey of Student Engagement (FSSE). Both these instruments contain campus climate-related questions which can be analyzed to see how perceptions differ between white and underrepresented minority students. In addition, CMU's Institutional Research and Human Resources units have collaborated with other units to develop a variety of surveys to support marketing, recruitment and retention efforts. These include:

- CMU Awareness/Familiarity Survey of Michigan Residents
- Graduating Student Exit Survey
- Admitted, Non-enrolling Student Survey
- Withdrawing Student Survey
- Alumni Outcomes Survey
- Staff Satisfaction Survey

In addition to these regularly administered surveys, *The Project to Explore Racial/Ethnic Diversity at CMU* (Senter, 2008; Senter, Haddad, & Owens, 2007) explores the nature of the diversity climate using telephone, mail, and the web for data collection, as well as focus groups and interviews. The project is partially funded through a grant from the *CMU 2010 Vision Fund* and explores the experiences of students, faculty, and staff, as well as perceptions of individuals in the surrounding county—the area where most university community members live and shop. Since preliminary findings indicate that most students, staff, and faculty value diversity, it would seem that all that is needed is to put those values fully into action. However, survey results also show that despite these common values, the experiences of minority versus White students and staff differ. This difference translates to differing perspectives on the level of racism on campus as well as levels of satisfaction among different racial groups.

These assessment efforts are essential to continual monitoring of institutional and unit activities that support the creation of an inclusive environment. As we track our progress toward improved organizational diversity and campus climate, we have the opportunity to publicly celebrate our successes, while strategically focusing on those areas that continue to need intervention.

Conclusion

When embarking on the development of a strategic plan for diversity, it is important to include the voices of key stakeholders, including faculty, staff, students, senior-level administrators, and the community. By having all major stakeholders buy into the process and plan development, greater support for implementation and assessment will be easier to sustain. Achieving diversity on a college campus is a collaborative endeavor that requires support from the top down as well as from the bottom up. However, to affect sustainable change, efforts must be supported by the president, board of trustees, and senior administration. Support is expressed in several ways, including the allocation of resources and documentation of diversity as a core value.

Though diversity is often the responsibility of units in the student affairs division or area, both the academic division and administrative divisions should be engaged in the process, otherwise diversity efforts can easily become marginalized, remaining outside the core operation of the institution. As strategic planning for diversity is developed, there needs to be an acknowledgement that budgets must be in alignment with institutional priorities, including diversity priorities. In order to redirect the institution, start-up funding can be a useful way of testing particular lines of research, programming, or projects that show potential for institutional advancement along specified priorities.

Oftentimes, strategic diversity plans are only as good as the public relations campaign that supports and/or advances the plan. This is a critical component of the process that cannot be ignored. Use of appropriate technology, dedicated websites, monthly updates—printed or electronic—newsletters, open forums, department/college-wide presentations, and annual board of trustee reports all work towards communicating the institutional messages regarding the core priorities and targets.

Finally, after all is said and done, the institution needs to establish a means of following through to achieve the targets it has set for itself. This requires monitoring funded start-up projects, utilizing annual surveys and evaluations, aligning priorities with performance management systems, and again realigning the budgeting process with institutional priorities.

The success of the proposed initiatives and the continuation of existing programs depend on keeping the momentum going. Student organizations are planning to continue actively promoting the need for change in collaboration with faculty and staff from underrepresented groups and in support of the new initiatives. Traditional advocates for diversity need to keep diversity on the agenda and provide support for senior administrators. A key factor here is reminding the community of the benefits of diversity for everyone, especially given the state fiscal crisis. CMU has a long road ahead, but has made significant progress in a relatively short period of time despite external pressures (Proposal 2, state budget shortfall) that have led to perceived diminished support for students, faculty, and staff of color. Through a variety of initiatives, including explicit support for diversity as evidenced in the institutional strategic plan, CMU is working to change that perception.

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Campus Climate Race Relations: It's All about Change

Melodie S. Yates and Njeri Nuru-Holm

During 1990–1991, Cleveland State University (CSU) drew citywide and national attention because of protests and a summer long sit-in focused on the non-renewal, after only one year, of the contract for the first Vice President for Minority Affairs and Human Relations. With the hiring of a new vice president in 1992, planning for a climate survey was initiated as a top priority and implemented in 1994. Learning the state of race relations at CSU was deemed essential for purposes of assessing the status quo, establishing the administrative planning for baseline improvement, initiating positive action to address institutional needs, strengthening what was working well and producing positive outcomes, and building strategic steps for an intentionally inclusive campus (Harper & Antonio, 2008).

This chapter is organized into five sections. The Review of the Literature section discusses some of the literature concerning campus climate and the context of climate research at CSU. The Methodology section describes the research project, methodology, evolution of the individual surveys, and adjustments made for each survey administration. The Results section is organized around two basic research questions: 1) How do students, faculty, and staff perceive the campus climate for race relations at CSU? and 2) What are the perceptions of the academic classroom experience by students and by faculty and staff? The Discussion section addresses the two research questions and provides take home lessons: 1) What recommendations for change and/or improvement emerge from the data analysis? and 2) What are the differences in the experiences of students, faculty, and staff and what do those differences mean? The Implications section explores how the findings connect to the larger context of research regarding campus climate and race relations on predominantly White campuses.

About Cleveland State University and the Division of Institutional Diversity

CSU is the most diverse public university in Ohio. People of color comprise 22% of faculty, 33% of staff and 28% of students. A large proportion of students require financial aid, juggle school and work (not necessarily in that order), and many are first generation college goers. The Division of Institutional Diversity[1] (DID) has as its mission to advance a culturally and intellectually rich campus for diversity, supporting the educational success and personal development of diverse students, and promoting positive race and community relations.

To that end, DID has engaged in systematic assessment of campus climate race relations for over 11 years. The baseline survey research of students, faculty, and staff was conducted in 1994 and provided the first detailed university-wide picture of campus climate race relations at CSU. Subsequent surveys were conducted in 2001 and 2005 with the next administration scheduled for 2009–10.

The primary significance of the research is that it laid the foundation for institutional program planning, provided confirmation of some suspected issues, indications of areas of strength and areas of challenge, and gave credence to the nature of anecdotal information. For example, the aggregate 1994 survey data suggested that the campus climate for race relations was highly neutral or positive. However, by disaggregating the data and looking specifically at the responses of students, faculty, and staff of color, a different picture emerged. These groups reported a lower level of satisfaction and described the environment in more negative terms than their White counterparts.

This finding is confirmed by Harper and Hurtado (2007) in their extensive review of campus racial climate research published since 1992. They found that the studies could be grouped into three categories: 1) differential perceptions of campus climate by race; 2) racial/ethnic minority student reports of prejudicial treatment and racist campus environments; and 3) benefits associated with campus climates that facilitate cross-racial engagement. The first category, 'differential perceptions,' is the most relevant to our results. According to Harper and Hurtado, Black students tend to report less satisfaction with the racial climate and

attribute differential treatment to race more frequently than any other group—other students of color and Whites (Harper & Hurtado, 2007).

Review of the Literature

Higher education researchers have explored the campus climate for at least 50 years. An historical perspective identifies pioneers and their early work of climate assessment and builds the context for the initial campus climate survey administered at CSU in 1994. Baird's 1990 chapter in *New Directions for Institutional Research* reviews the state-of-the-art regarding the development and evolution of campus climate research and lessons learned. A brief description of his findings identifies the work of Pace and Stern in 1958 as the first effort to formally measure the college climate or "to assess students' perceptions of the campus climate or its press" (Baird, p. 36). It is within this historical context that the initial administration of the campus climate surveys for Cleveland State University was developed.

Baird (1990), Kuh (1990), Hurtado (1992), and Shenkle et al., (1998) also explored the types of research methodology that might best fit the inquiry. For example, in the case of Cleveland State University, it was determined in 1994 that the climate survey on race relations could best be administered using a *paper and pencil* instrument *mailed directly* to a *stratified randomized sample* of students and the *total population* of faculty and staff. This method met the *economic and manageability criteria* suggested by Shenkle et al. (1998). In addition, consideration was given to the pros and cons of a general climate approach versus a more specific inquiry about race relations and the decision was made specifically to investigate climate relative to race relations. Baird suggested that the "clearer the relation between the climate measure and the issue, the more useful the measure" (p. 42-43).

Twenty years later, the advice given to the institutional climate researcher is still valid (Clements, 2000; Sedlacek, 2006; Harper & Hurtado, 2007). What has emerged, however, is research designed to investigate more specific aspects of campus life, including the rapidly emerging form of campus inquiry related to diversity studies (Mallory as cited in Skenkle et al., 1998). Assessing the environment for diversity is critical for the development of a campus climate that fosters learning for all types of students and allows all employees to make their best

contributions (Hurtado, Carter & Kardia, 1998). Ultimately, this survey research form of inquiry is designed to be utilized as a tool for campus climate change (Harper & Hurtado, 2007; Wade-Golden & Matlock, 2007; Harper, 2008).

Methodology

The development and implementation of the 1994 Campus Climate Race Relations Survey was a collaboration commissioned by the Office of Minority Affairs and Human Relations with the Communication Research Center[2]. At that time, the models of campus climate surveys focused on race relations and/or diversity were limited (Baird, 1990; Hurtado, 1992; Harper & Hurtado, 2007). Therefore, the first survey was based on two existing university surveys (University of California-Berkley and Franklin University) and the Citizens League of Greater Cleveland's annual survey component on cross-cultural/cross-racial friendships and interactions. Additionally, a comprehensive series of CSU focus groups were used to ascertain what some of the issues on campus might be and items were constructed based on that data. The completed questionnaire was presented for review to the President's Advisory Council on Human Relations and Campus Unity (PACHRCU) which was comprised of faculty and professional staff. The survey was then piloted in the *Growing Beyond Prejudice* course and with graduate assistants in the Division of Minority Affairs and Human Relations.

The decision to engage in further survey administrations and the length of time between survey administrations was purposeful. Surveying every four to six years allows for a significant percentage of the student body to change and for programs to be piloted, executed, assessed and allowed to take root and become institutionalized.

Each survey year, changes were made in the questionnaire to improve efficiency, while maintaining some level of comparability between survey results. For example, in order to improve efficiency in the *2001 Campus Climate Race Relations Survey*, considerable changes were made in the number of survey items and statistical methodologies used. In the *2001 Campus Climate Race Relations Faculty and Staff Survey*, there were an insufficient number of responses from individual racial/ethnic groups for analysis so they were collapsed into two groups: White and minorities. The response scales for many items also had to

be collapsed due to insufficient data[3]. The student data was analyzed with White, Black and other minority group results.

The process of 'paring down' items that began in 2001 was continued with the 2005 survey. In addition, the 2005 survey was web based. A higher number of responses were received but comprised a smaller return percentage than previous surveys (Trumpower & Yates, 2005). Only those items with statistical significance have been reported in the comparison across the three surveys.

Sample

The first two surveys used a stratified random sample for students and had response rates of 15% (624 responses out of 4,059 sample or 26% of 15,804 in 1994) and 13% (4,035 out of 15,998 or 25% in 2001). The web-based survey for 2005 used the total population of 15,550 students with a 6% response rate. For faculty and staff, the total population was used for all three surveys. The response rate for the first survey was 35% of the 1,469 full time employees. In subsequent surveys, the response rate was much smaller, 18.7% out of 1,555 in 2001 and 12% out of 1,667 in 2005.

Questionnaire

The original questionnaires in 1994 were comprised of seven sections of close-ended questions focused on General Climate, Perceptions of Faculty and Academics, Student Interaction and Social Life, Attitudes and Opinions, Departmental Climate, Possible Solutions and Experiences at CSU. For the faculty/staff survey, Perceptions of Faculty and Academics was replaced with Perceptions of Faculty and Staff. Each survey also included sections for demographics and open-ended questions. Subsequent administrations of the surveys utilized a shortened questionnaire and the 2005 on-line survey required more re-design and shortening for compatibility with web technology.

Results

Multiple perspectives make up the campus climate and the perception of race relations. There is the *majority minority view*—are they in congruence? There is the *student versus faculty and staff perspec-*

tive—are they having similar campus climate race relations experiences? What are the voices of the CSU community telling us about their experiences related to race relations and diversity? To truly examine the state of race relations at CSU, we must survey students; faculty and staff across racial groups to have all the dynamic voices present (Quaye, 2008; Wade-Golden & Matlock, 2007). According to Harper and Hurtado (2007), without reporting the difference in perceptions and experiences between groups, the true environmental picture will fail to emerge and the goal of building inclusive climates for learning will not be achieved.

Students

Question One: How Do Students Perceive the Campus Climate for Race Relations at CSU?

Common perceptions. Aggregate student responses to the 2005 survey were overwhelmingly positive. Over 80% of students described the CSU race relations climate as either being stable or improving, neutral to relaxed or neutral to open. The large majority of students were satisfied with CSU (70%) and felt a part of the CSU community.

In addition, almost all students reported that it is typically easy making interracial friendships, even though ease varies depending on the group, and at least 80% of them were comfortable socializing with any racial/ethnic group. Literature concerning attitudes of millennial students supports a similar pattern (Broido, 2004). Students also reported that only occasionally or never have they heard insensitive/disparaging remarks about racial/ethnic minorities (80%); neither have they been harassed or discriminated against since coming to CSU (79%).

Differential perceptions. Response patterns are complex and a slightly different response pattern emerges when separating the responses by racial/ethnic group. Despite the majority of minority and White students reporting the climate as being neutral or inclusive, differences in the responses between minority and White students were statistically significant. Although comprising less than 20% of either group, more minority than White students characterized the University as racist.

The primary difference between minority and White student responses was the percentage of minority students who indicated a neutral response. Nonetheless, in the area of differential treatment, the experiences of minority students and White students differ. While a majority of minority students indicated never having been treated differently based on race or ethnicity, there were still over 40% of minority students who reported differential treatment either frequently, sometimes, or occasionally. Conversely, approximately one-third of the White students reported differential treatment while two-thirds indicated none. What is striking is that over 50% of both minority and White students either do not know or are not certain of where to go for help or guidance with racial issues.

Survey comparisons. A review of the responses over time shows that the campus climate for race relations has been improving. Some of the more dramatic variations of positive campus change included: a 31% change from 1994 to 2005 in students indicating that the CSU administration is committed to promoting respect for group differences; from 2001 to 2005, a 14% change in students agreeing that their department is committed to promoting respect; and a change of 21% reflecting fewer students disagreeing that CSU was doing enough to improve race relations on campus.

Question Two: What are the Perceptions of the Academic and/or Classroom Experience for Students?

The vast majority of the items that focus on academics elicited responses that were statistically significant between White and minority students. Most of the discussion in this section will focus on those items. Two items were common across the two groups: 1) not preferring to take classes from faculty of similar racial/ethnic backgrounds as their own and 2) engaging in interracial study.

Differential perceptions. The primary difference in perceptions concerning the academic and classroom experience between minority students and White students tended to be the size of the percentage. Both groups tended to respond in the same direction, although smaller percentages of minority students did so. For example, while most students agreed that there are role models in their departments, a smaller percentage of minority students indicated the same. Extending that

perception to faculty treatment, a strong majority (81%) of the minority students responded that of the faculty they had taken courses from were approachable outside of the classroom, appeared to be sensitive to students in general and were sensitive to the issues of racial/ethnic minority students. Correspondingly, over 90% of White students indicated the same. Nonetheless, between one fifth and one third of minority students experienced low faculty approachability outside of the classroom, low sensitivity to the issues of racial/ethnic minority students and indicated that none or a few appeared to be sensitive to students needs in general.

In a related item, a majority of minority and White students indicated that they do not feel that they get more personal attention from faculty who are the same racial/ethnic background. Nonetheless, at least one quarter of minority students and slightly less than one fifth of Whites did feel they received more personal attention.

Academics. According to the majority of both minority and White student respondents, their academic experience included exposure to different cultures in their classes and receptivity on the part of their department to integrating racial/ethnic issues into relevant courses.

Agreement that the Human Diversity and African American Experience requirements enhance understanding of race related issues was strongest among over half of minority students while only two fifths of Whites agreed. These findings of minority/White differences are consistent with findings reviewed by Jones (2008) in her *Creating Inclusive Campus Environments* chapter about student resistance to cross-cultural engagement.

Survey comparisons. The majority of items related to academics suggest improvement over the survey years. For example, there was improvement in terms of faculty approachability, presence of role models, faculty sensitivity, integrating minority perspectives, increase in interracial study, and exposure to different cultures through classes. However, one item related to perceptions of rude treatment by faculty or staff members showed improvement in 2001 but reverted to 1994 levels in 2005. The greatest change from 1994 to 2005 was in the approachability of faculty outside the classroom. In 1994, 49% of the respondents

indicated that faculty were approachable out of the classroom, however, the percentage had grown to 67% by 2005.

Faculty and Staff

Question One: How Do Faculty and Staff Perceive the Campus for Race Relations at CSU?

The survey findings suggest that minority faculty and staff generally perceive the racial climate less positively than their White colleagues. In fact, there are a number of areas where minority and White faculty and staff responses are almost mirror opposites of each other. This is particularly true concerning affirmative action, hiring of more minority scholars, approachability of faculty outside the classroom, and sensitivity to both minority student and general student issues.

Common perceptions. In the 2005 survey, faculty and staff shared some common perceptions about the general environment. For example, approximately 90% of the faculty/staff indicated that there was exposure to different minority groups/cultures; that the ease of making interracial friendships varied depending on the group but was typically easy, and that they were comfortable socializing with African Americans/Blacks, Asians, Latinos/Hispanics, Native Americans, and Whites. A majority also agreed that their departmental administration is genuinely committed to promoting respect for and understanding of group differences at CSU, infrequently feel socially isolated, feel a part of CSU, and are satisfied with CSU. A smaller majority are in agreement that the racial climate is socially integrated and that minority faculty do not separate themselves from White colleagues. Finally, close to three fourths of faculty/staff report having only infrequently heard insensitive or disparaging remarks about racial/ethnic minorities since coming to CSU.

Differential perceptions. More minority faculty/staff than Whites indicated that the racial/ethnic climate is worsening, racist, and/or guarded. More Whites than minority faculty and staff feel that the University administration is genuinely committed to promoting respect for and understanding of group differences at CSU. Fewer minorities than Whites disagreed that the University is doing enough to improve

race relations and more minorities agreed that greater effort needs to be made at CSU to increase understanding of diverse cultural values. Experientially, minority faculty and staff report encountering more negative treatment such as being treated differently because of their race, and/or indicating that they had been racially harassed or discriminated against since coming to CSU.

A large majority of the minority respondents (83%) felt that greater training in the area of race relations should be provided compared to less than half of the Whites (42%) responding similarly.

Communication among colleagues of different racial/ethnic groups is perceived as more positive by a larger number of Whites than minorities. Perceptions of communication among colleagues for minority faculty and staff was almost evenly divided between those who felt it was relaxed, neutral, or not relaxed. The majority of Whites reported that communication was relaxed while the majority of minorities felt it was not. The perceptions of White colleagues making an effort to get to know minority colleagues differs between the White and minority respondents; 48% of the minority faculty/staff disagreed and 43% of the Whites agreed while most of the remaining respondents were neutral (Whites, 44%, minorities, 32%).

Not surprisingly, there are differences in responses between minorities and Whites concerning affirmative action. Seventy-two percent of the minority faculty and staff respondents agreed that affirmative action does not give minorities an unfair advantage over Whites while less than a majority of White respondents agreed. A considerable majority of minority faculty and staff respondents compared to less than half of Whites agreed that affirmative action does not lead to the hiring of less qualified individuals at CSU. The response patterns and distribution are very similar for both items and reflect the racial differences in the national debate related to affirmative action programs (Wade-Golden & Matlock, 2007).

By looking at treatment of various racial/ethnic groups, an interesting picture emerges. The only group for which both Whites and minorities described treatment as being worse was African-American/Black. For all other groups, the highest response rate for worse treatment was only 3% by both White and minority respondents for Asian and Hispanic/

Latinos. For the Native American faculty/staff group, the majority of Whites and minorities indicated that they did not have enough experience to know what kind of treatment Native Americans may receive.

Survey comparison. A review of the general climate items indicates that aggregate responses characterize the 2005 racial climate as more guarded compared to 2001 and fewer agreed that there is sufficient contact among various racial/ethnic groups at CSU. However, there is a trend toward more positive perceptions of the climate since the 2001 survey. For example, the vast majority of faculty/staff respondents indicated that there is more exposure to different minority groups/cultures from 2001 to 2005 and an increase in comfort socializing with African Americans, Asians, Hispanics, Native Americans and Whites. Interestingly enough, the largest percentage of change (13%) relates to increased comfort socializing with Whites.

There is a dramatic difference in perceptions of the racial climate between minority and White respondents from 2001-2005. It should be noted that although only representing a small percentage of respondents, the differences in perceptions were statistically significant and merit exploration. Minority faculty/staff indicated that the racial climate was worsening and more racist. Probing within the employment categories of faculty and staff, the findings show that it is the classified staff who are reporting the most negative responses in terms of the environment. Additionally, fewer minority respondents agreed that communication among colleagues of different racial/ethnic groups is relaxed, from 42% in 2001 to 32% in 2005. It is noteworthy that at the same time that respondents are reporting comfort socializing across racial/ethnic groups, a small majority of minority respondents are describing the racial climate as racist and that they are almost evenly split in their opinion about whether communication among colleagues of different race/ethnicity is relaxed.

On a slightly more positive note, there was an increase in the number of minority respondents that agreed White faculty make an effort to get to know minority colleagues; fewer disagreed that the University is doing enough and fewer feel that minorities are treated worse. Despite the decrease in perception by minority groups of worse

treatment, African Americans/Blacks are still perceived to receive worse treatment than the other racial/ethnic groups.

Question Two: What are the Perceptions of the Academic and/or Classroom Experience for Faculty and Staff?

Common perceptions. Although most of the survey items related to academic and/or classroom experiences have differential responses, one item indicated common perceptions. Three quarters of the respondents agreed that faculty should promote racial interaction in their classes.

Differential perceptions. Minority and White faculty and staff reported different perceptions; many mirror opposites, on many academic and classroom factors. More White faculty and staff indicated that faculty are approachable outside of the classroom and that faculty are sensitive to minority and general student issues. In contrast, a majority of minority faculty and staff reported that none/some faculty and/or are approachable. Interestingly, for those who perceived faculty as not approachable and not sensitive to minority or student issues, both minorities and Whites had similar response rates.

Most minority faculty/staff agreed that more minority group scholars and more diverse staff should be hired to diversify the faculty, whereas less than half of White respondents agreed. These response patterns align with the responses to the affirmative action questions discussed in the general environment section.

Although minority respondents agreed at a higher rate, both White and minority faculty felt that CSU faculty should be encouraged to incorporate research and perspectives on racial/ethnic minorities in their classroom material. Outcomes for students and their sophistication about other cultures are perceived very differently by minority and White faculty and staff. A majority of minority faculty/staff disagreed or were neutral about CSU students leaving the University with more sensitivity, while over 90% of Whites agreed or were neutral.

Survey comparisons. In 2001, 63% of the aggregate respondents agreed that faculty should promote interaction among different racial/

ethnic groups in their classes. By 2005, the percentage increased to 76%. No other items showed a change over time.

Discussion

The Discussion section will address recommendations for change and/or improvement, and differences in the experiences of students, faculty, and staff and why those differences are important.

Question Three: What Recommendations for Change and/or Improvement Emerge?

Over a 10-year span, the campus climate for race relations generally has become more positive. A review of the recommendations suggests some common themes: General Education Diversity Requirement, University wide Accountability, Multicultural Curriculum, and Diversity Training. Although it would be inappropriate to suggest a causal relationship between recommendations made relative to each survey and the resulting changes and subsequent indicators of positive race relations, campus climate research is found to be a key component and catalyst in managing change. Students (White and minority) reported a very different and progressively more positive experience of race relations on campus over time as compared to the experience reported by minority faculty and staff. Discussion of the recommendations that were made and subsequent changes deserve attention.

General education diversity requirement. In each of the surveys, students in general and particularly White students, reported frustration and/or dissatisfaction with the African American Experience general education requirement.[4] A faculty committee successfully recommended the creation of a *Human Diversity* requirement of which the African American Experience courses would be a part. This provided a broader choice of course selection which allows exploration of experiences of other diverse groups without sacrificing the commitment to build understanding about the African American experience which has been at the root of racial strife in the United States. Changes in the requirements were implemented after the first survey and subsequent surveys' results suggest that the level of discontent has decreased.

University wide accountability. Another recommendation suggested that *all academic/non-academic units and programs on campus be held accountable for sponsoring programs and/or initiatives* designed to achieve the best environment for minority faculty, staff, and students. This recommendation has been addressed in part through a small grants program established by the Division of Institutional Diversity to encourage and support individual faculty, academic departments and colleges in their efforts to better engage diversity in programs, curriculum, and/or research. These grants have supported programs and events, collaborations, graduate assistantships, research course releases, and professional travel.

Multicultural curriculum. The *multicultural curriculum* has evolved since the first survey in 1994, including the development and establishment of academic programs. Examples include: a Black Studies Major; Latin American Studies Certificate; Middle Eastern Studies Program; Asia Studies Minor; International Relations Major; Culture, Communication and Health Care Graduate Certificate; Diversity Management Program (DMP); Masters of Arts in Global Interactions (MAGI); and the Center for Health Equity which engages in research related to health disparities.

Diversity training. Each survey has contained recommendations by respondents to increase the *diversity training* offered. Over the last three years, there have been over 2000 campus and community participants in various diversity education sessions. Since 1994, diversity training and education has increased to include a Leadership Forum in Diversity three- part series which is offered each semester and awards a Certificate of Completion. Collaboration between the Division of Institutional Diversity and faculty has fostered research and embedded cultural competency curriculum in two academic programs: Nursing undergraduate and Physical Therapy graduate programs. The Leadership Certification program for student leaders includes specific diversity related requirements for successful completion. The Diversity Management Program is the only master's degree program in the country specifically focused on diversity management. DMP is in its 11th year of operation and has produced over 175 graduates.

Question Four: What are the Differences in the Experiences of Students and Faculty and Staff and Why is that Important?

Students, Faculty, and Staff

Common perceptions. In 2005, there were some areas of general agreement for students, faculty, and staff. For example, all three groups agreed that there was ease in making interracial friendships, that there was comfort socializing with any racial/ethnic group and they have only occasionally or never heard insensitive/disparaging remarks about racial/ethnic minorities. They also felt a part of the CSU community and were satisfied with CSU.

Differential perceptions. There also were items for which more minority respondents than White respondents indicated agreement. More minority respondents than White respondents felt that the university was not doing enough to improve race relations on campus, that there was low faculty approachability outside of the classroom, low sensitivity to the issues of racial/ethnic minority students and fewer agreed that students leave CSU with an improvement in their sensitivity to other cultures. Minority faculty and staff respondents tended to have more negative views than did the minority students. One exception was the item concerning the university's commitment to minority issues where a majority of minority students indicated that the university was not doing enough to improve race relations on campus while less than half of minority faculty and staff indicated the same.

In 2005, the majority indicated that CSU's racial climate was stable or improving with no statistically significant difference in response rates between minority and White students. However, about one third of minority faculty/staff felt the racial climate had worsened compared to about one quarter of the minority faculty and staff surveyed in 2001.

The same trend is seen in the climate when the question is related to racism. With the exception of minority faculty and staff, the majority of faculty, staff, and students felt that the campus climate was neutral, antiracist, and/or inclusive. Probing further revealed it was the minority classified staff group who overwhelmingly reported the most negative perceptions.[5]

Implications

Question Five: What Do We Know about the Race Relations

Climate at CSU and How Does that Connect with the Literature?

The primary purpose of the surveys has been to provide the University with information concerning the race relations climate on campus and to aid in strategic planning and the setting of institutional priorities. As an administrative tool, the surveys continue to serve their purpose. Nonetheless, there are three major considerations that must be addressed prior to administration of the 2009/2010 survey: scope, accountability and data mining.

Scope. There are multiple dimensions of diversity and consideration must be given to whether the survey should be expanded beyond race, ethnicity and gender, e.g. sexual orientation, religious diversity. The decision to keep each survey focused on race relations has been intentional and based on the belief that the state of race relations has an overall impact on the success of students of color on a predominately White campus and should be addressed specifically (Cabrera, Nora, Terenzini, Pascarella, & Hagedorn, 1999). However, in each survey respondents have suggested that the survey should be expanded to include more dimensions of diversity. In addition, the literature suggests that to focus on only one dimension denies the intersection of the multiple dimensions of diversity and their influence on the identity and experience of students (Smith, García, Hudgins, McTighe-Musil, Nettles, & Sedlacek, 2000). A decision regarding the scope of the next campus climate survey related to diversity and inclusion will have to be made prior to survey administration in 2009.

Approach. Campus climate assessment approaches and tools have emerged along with the evaluation of campus climate research. Two notable approaches are the Equity Scorecard (Bensimon, 2004; Robinson-Armstrong, King, Killoran, Ward, Fissinger, & Harrison, 2007) and the focus group dialogue model from the *Now Is the Time: Meeting the Challenge for a Diverse Academy* (American Association of State Colleges and Universities/ National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges Task Force on Diversity, [AASCU/NASULGC] 2005). Harper and Hurtado (2007) "…advocate that data gathered through the ongoing assessment of campus racial climates guide conversations and reflective examinations to overcome discomfort with race, plan for deep

levels of institutional transformation, and achieve excellence in fostering racially inclusive learning environments." Engaging in a systematic dialogue aligned with the *Now Is the Time* model would potentially support the type of institutional transformation suggested by Harper and Hurtado. That model has been used successfully at CSU related to the conduct of searches with positive outcomes.

Accountability. According to the administration of Loyola Marymount University, the Equity Scorecard created by Estela Maria Bensimon "… encourages institutions to develop a consultative process that incorporates both the broad-based needs of the institution and those of specific institutional units of strategic programs. By requiring measurable accountability, it promotes institutional change," (Robinson-Armstrong, King, Killoran, Ward, Fissinger, & Harrison, 2007). Tools like the Equity Scorecard may motivate a movement from data collection to effective program planning and an understanding of what the data implies for academic and non-academic units at CSU. This could be a viable tool for monitoring a university diversity action plan.

Data mining. The increasing level of sophistication in addressing and analyzing the results of the survey has lead to tighter interpretation and minimized the possibility of overgeneralization. At the same time, by only looking at the items with a statistically significant difference we potentially may be missing underlying information about student and/or faculty and staff experiences. As an administrative tool, the information below significance may help us better understand the dynamics of the racial environment. As a research project, the significance level is important to ensure wider credibility. Maintaining a balance between the two will potentially increase the utility of the survey assessment. In addition, utilizing focus groups and other qualitative research methods will increase the potency of the data and sharpen the nuances embedded in perceptions about the race relations climate. For example, conducting a focus group process with Asian faculty may be one of the only ways to determine what dynamics are contributing to their consistently more negative description of the campus climate.

By extension, we must explore the *why* of the responses, rather than just the *what*. The consistency of the more negative responses by minority faculty and staff, particularly in the classified staff ranks, requires further exploration. Is the negativity a function of the position

within the University, the longevity of the faculty and staff, or are there institutional policies and procedures that systematically contribute to negative experiences? The *Now Is the Time* (AASCU/NASULGC, 2005) dialogue model is suggested as a good methodology for identifying some of the underlying issues and engaging dialogue as a part of the solution.

Common themes. The first common theme from each survey has been the resistance to the African American Experience and/or Human Diversity general education requirements, particularly from White students. Although the trend has been for White students to describe the courses in increasingly favorable terms in each survey, in 2005 there were still 'loud voices' against the requirement, particularly in the comments section. Again, the *why* related to the resistance would be useful to know.

The Human Diversity course requirement was added between the 2001 and 2005 administration and the wording of the question is slightly different. However, some comparison can be made. Slightly less than half of Whites in 2005 and 2001 indicated that the African American Experience and Human Diversity requirement enhance understanding of race related issues. A consistently higher percentage of Black students agreed, for 2005, 2001, and 1994 (60%, 63%, and 54%).

To determine why about a quarter of White students consistently have perceived the African American Experience courses as not enhancing, understanding will require further exploration. Is the source of the resistance lack of understanding of the relevance to the lives of White students, the need for better orientation to the purpose of the general education requirements, or resistance in the form of subtle or unconscious bias or bigotry (Picca & Feagin, 2007)?

A second common theme repeated across all three surveys has been the recommendation that diversity training and multicultural programming should be increased. Since 1994, the number of diversity training sessions has increased, the depth, and breadth of the training has been expanded and a formal program of Diversity Training and Education established. In addition, the numbers and types of multicultural programming have increased along with increased faculty involvement and co-curricular value. Examples include the establishment of the Cultural Crossing Lecture Services, Native American Heritage Days, Cinco de Mayo celebration, Urban Community Forum, Hispanic

Community Education Forum and the annual Diversity Conference. Marketing, increasing connections with faculty, and incentive funds[6] to encourage participation in and collaboration with program planning and implementation has fostered a cadre of faculty advocates of diversity and inclusion. Faculty engagement in this process is ideal as a useful strategy and best practice to broaden the awareness, understanding, and advocacy of diversity and inclusion as a value in higher education and across the CSU community.

The three administrations for the campus climate survey on race relations at CSU have been informative, helped guide program and policy development, have given three snapshots of the state of race relations, and have provided the baseline and benchmark data for longitudinal comparison. The utility of the project has been proven; there is a commitment to continue assessing campus climate race relations and to continue improving the assessment process.

Conclusion. Although race relations is only one part of campus climate, it is an important consideration given the changing demographics which are appearing more and more on our campuses and the quality of education that graduates will need to be competitive in our changing workforce and global society.

In their book, *Nine Themes in Campus Racial Climates and Implications for Institutional Transformation*, Harper and Hurtado (2007) reviewed significant studies regarding race relations on college campuses since 1992 and found *nine common themes*: 1) Cross-race consensus regarding institutional negligence; 2) Race as a four-letter word and an avoidable topic; 3) Self-reports of racial segregation; 4) Gaps in social satisfaction by race; 5) Reputational legacies for racism; 6) White student overestimation of minority satisfaction; 7) The pervasiveness of Whiteness in space, curricula, and activities; 8) The consciousness-powerlessness paradox among racial/ethnic minority staff; and 9) Unexplored qualitative realities of race in institutional assessment. Many of these themes are evident in results and conclusions drawn from analysis of the CSU Campus Climate Race Relations Survey 1994, 2001, and 2005.

Lessons learned. A review of the critical learning from the survey administration and data analysis reinforce the imperative to analyze

for group differences: aggregate responses often mask the experiences of students and faculty of color. Utilizing the survey as a form of assessment requires closing the loop. Go beyond seriously considering outcomes and recommendations and act on them. Appropriately summarize and share outcomes and make data accessible to assist others. Incorporate recommendations into strategic plans at all institutional levels. Set benchmarks and maintain vigilance. Recommendations and reports can help determine priorities, systematically address issues, maximize allocation, and focus of human effort and fiscal resources. In addition, we need to search more deeply with purpose for the *why* and *what* of survey responses in order to better understand the dynamics of diversity and inclusion on campus. In so doing, it is critical that a balance between statistical rigor and listening to *the soft voices* be maintained. There is valuable information in the small group differences that make a difference, statistical, or not. And finally, recognize that we are all in this together. It is all about change!

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FOOTNOTES

[1] The Office of Minority Affairs and Human Relations was established in 1990 and is named the Division of Institutional Diversity (DID).

[2] Housed in the CSU School of Communication, then a department.

[3] Five point to three point, four point to two point.

[4] This general education requirement prescribes that every CSU student take a certain number of credit hours in this content area. Since the early years of the University, this course requirement as been an integral part of the curriculum as a reflection of the importance placed on providing all students with learning opportunities about the impact of the African American experience on the United States. Resistance to the requirement has been consistent and was documented by the 1994 survey (and to a lesser degree in subsequent surveys).

[5] There were no significant differences in response based on classification for minority respondents. A majority of respondents indicated that the racial climate is "somewhat/ very racist" (54%), about double that of White respondents (see page 4). Note that among minority classified staff respondents, 69% characterized the racial climate as "somewhat/ very racist" and only 6.9% answered "somewhat/ very anti-racist". There was a statistically significant difference in responses of minority classified staff (Chi-sq. = 8.323, df = 1, $p < .01$) 69% somewhat/ very racist in 2005 v. 29% in 2001. Minority professional staff and faculty responses were statistically unchanged from 2001 to 2005.

[6] Faculty and staff incentive grants, formalized as Engaging Diversity Grants for Excellence (EDGE) for faculty in 2007.

Using Social Entrepreneurship as a Strategy for Campus Climate Change

Lissette M. Piedra

Universities play a critical role in structuring diversity in our society. Because they act as pathways by which students will come to participate as adults in American life, the ways universities negotiate racial, ethnic, and class differences among faculty, staff, and students can have lasting effects. Institutions such as the university channel political and economic resources to stakeholders and mediate interactions between individuals (Lamphere, 1992). It is through educational institutions, such as the University of Illinois, that most students are formally introduced to people from different social, economic, racial, and ethnic backgrounds; the university milieu creates opportunities for both new interactions and increased conflicts (Blau, 1977). Thus, how the university shapes, structures, and constrains relations among administrators, faculty, staff, and students is critically important.

The necessity of reflecting on how the university context facilitates interpersonal and intergroup relations is underscored by campus tensions related to issues of diversity. Periodically, the University of Illinois campus is galvanized to respond to some manifestly inappropriate student behavior. Such behaviors range from cultural insensitivity and a disregard for the sensibilities of members of the university community, to outright threats. Though boorish actions that do not involve threats to physical well-being are irritating and lamentably recurrent, higher education confronts an even more troubling phenomenon: the idea that cultural sensitivity is an artifact of a politically motivated agenda to dictate socially correct thoughts and behaviors, and that failure to conform to these prescribed norms is evidence of a racist, sexist, xenophobic, or homophobic character (Van Boven, 2000). In many ways, the angry backlash against a seemingly innocuous program of cultural sensitivity comes from the perception that a political agenda is being

imposed (King & Leonard, 2007). The problem is further compounded when proponents of cultural sensitivity demonize those who hold dissenting opinions (King & Springwood, 2001; Prochaska, 2001). On either side, the idea that opinions of cultural and sociopolitical diversity are tied to political agendas that regulate public behaviors and attitudes puts educators and administrators in a difficult position from which to address socially inappropriate behaviors that erode community spirit while sidestepping overzealous calls for excessively punitive responses. In this context, segments of the campus population are left dissatisfied with administrative responses, making the campus climate vulnerable to volatile reaction to extreme cases.

In this chapter, I suggest a way for educators and administrators to understand campus conflicts that will help transform social tensions into deeper community involvement and interpersonal understanding. Central to this design are two social entrepreneurial tenets: *opportunity recognition* and *consensus building* among diverse stakeholders. In the first section of the chapter, I elaborate on the importance of recognizing the possibilities in the midst of conflict, and I describe how social tensions create openings for change. I focus this discussion by paying attention to the role that cultural values play in facilitating and obstructing consensus building. Specifically, I advocate for reframing discussions of cultural tolerance—often associated with a progressive liberal political agenda—to include issues of fairness, inclusion, liberty, and tolerance as central to a diverse democratic society. By applying these two principles of social entrepreneurship—opportunity recognition and consensus building—I show how interpersonal and intergroup conflicts can become opportunities for creating a harmonious social context on campus. Finally, I reexamine the consequences meted out to the fraternity and sorority associated with the infamous "Tacos and Tequila" stereotype-themed party through the social entrepreneurial lens and propose an alternative solution. I use this analysis to provide a concrete example for how responding to campus tensions with a social entrepreneurial mindset can contribute to the creation of a more hospitable climate.

What is Social Entrepreneurship?

Although no authoritative definition of *social entrepreneurship* exists, descriptions of successful social entrepreneurial ventures (Bornstein,

2004; Crutchfield & Grant, 2007; Dees, 2001) and of the social entrepreneurial mindset abound (Bornstein, 2004; Dees, 2001). J. Gregory Dees articulates a multifaceted definition of social entrepreneurship that focuses on mission-related impact and accountability in assessing that impact (Dees, 2001). Others focus on the social entrepreneur's ability to capitalize on opportunities to create and sustain a social value (Bornstein, 2004; Dees, 2001) and the capacity to use that social value to transform systems and change society (Alvord, Brown, & Letts, 2004; Bornstein, 2004; Crutchfield & Grant, 2007; Waddock & Post, 1991). Still others have focused on pattern-breaking ideas and the effect that implementing those ideas has on resolving social problems within institutions (Light, 2006). This latter focus recognizes the potential of entrepreneurial behavior within small units of a large institution to influence the larger institution and its interaction with others. Even the most cursory look at social entrepreneurial behavior will reveal two features: 1) a compelling idea; and 2) a strong commitment to a clear purpose among diverse stakeholders who support the effort (Light, 2006; Sharir & Lerner, 2006; Thompson, Alvy, & Lees, 2000; Waddock & Post, 1991).

Social entrepreneurship can be understood as a goal-directed process for social change by engaging the right people with the right ideas at the right time (Thompson, Alvy, & Lees, 2000). Of course, defining what is "right" is the subject of much debate. Social entrepreneurship, like the scientific process, is a manifestation of ideas in action, and—like all human enterprises—is, therefore, subject to social processes and influences (Lewontin, 1992a, 1992b). In the following sections, I describe defining features of the social entrepreneurship process. I elaborate on those features that facilitate the sustained engagement of others and contribute to the implementation of innovative solutions to social problems. Specially, I focus on two distinct attributes: 1) *opportunity recognition*—the ability to recognize opportunities in the midst of heightened social tensions (usually manifested as an *idea*); and 2) *consensus building*—the ability to engage others to participate in the generation of new solutions.

Ideas and Opportunities

Ideas are magical. They have the power to transform the ways in which we think about ourselves and our world. They influence

our behavior and our interactions with others. The power of ideas to change the way we think about the world has long been recognized by philosophers, scientists, and social activists (Bhaskar, 1998; Bornstein, 2004; Gould, 1996; Kingdon, 1995; Lewontin, 1992). Most notably, Roy Bhaskar (1998) has argued that because knowledge and the process of knowledge generation are social activities, they have the power to transform society, because how we understand our world affects the way we behave. In other words, much of what we do as social agents, endowed with reflective consciousness and free will, is shaped and constrained by the sum total of complex social and historic processes (Bhaskar, 1998; Piedra, 2004).

Social things, such as ideas, are by definition messy and ill-defined (Mair & Marti, 2006; Peredo & McLean, 2006), but we cannot escape the fact that some of these very same messy and ill-defined "social things" do have systematic *effects* and can therefore be studied, and perhaps, within the limits of our subject matter and data, understood (Bhaskar, 1998).

Contextual factors shape and constrain the ideas and actions of the social entrepreneur. Scholars have applied the concept of embeddedness—the idea that it is impossible to detach the person from the structure (Bourdieu, 1977; Giddens, 1979, 1984)—to explain the way social entrepreneurs interact with their context (Mair & Marti, 2006). *Embeddedness,* as used by Mair and Marti (2006), builds on the idea that social structure is both a product of and a constraint on human activity (Giddens, 1979, 1984). By recombining resources within a social structure, the social entrepreneur alters that structure to solve problems and address limitations. Consider the way human beings use social structure to defy physical limitations:

> No individual can fly by flapping his or her arms or legs. … Yet I did fly to Toronto last year, and the ability to fly was a consequence of social action. Airplanes and airports are the products of educational institutions, scientific discoveries, the organization of money, the production of petroleum and its refining, metallurgy, the training of pilots, the actions of government in creating air traffic control systems, all of which are social products … [and] although flight is a social product, it is not society that flies.

> Society cannot fly. Individuals fly. But they fly as a consequence of social organization (Lewontin, 1992, p. 121).

The concept of embeddedness reminds us that the structure the entrepreneur seeks to alter is the same one that enables action. Opportunities are embedded in the very structure that the entrepreneur seeks to change; therefore, social entrepreneurship, as a multifaceted process to generate new structures for social change, involves the continuous interaction between people and the context in which their activities are embedded (Mair & Marti, 2006). The application of social entrepreneurial principles as a strategy to reduce campus tensions requires attention to the underlying mechanisms and the lattice of relationships that support and constrain the university context and the actors who inhabit that space.

University Context

The public institution of a university creates goods that benefit the public as well as individuals, and the production of those goods reflects a process of negotiation among interest groups (Austin, 1981). These groups include stakeholders such as faculty, administrators, students, alumni, taxpayers, and state representatives. While these groups prescribe the social and economic arenas, they also influence the institution's agenda, sometimes through advancing separate and conflicting group interests. The stakeholders involved make up the institutional "relational frameworks" that advance, retard, and impinge on university activities. These relational frameworks act to "shape and constrain possibilities for action" (Scott, 1991, p. 171), and are themselves formally organized: distant connections (e.g., the Illinois state legislature), proximal connections (e.g., the Board of Trustees), vertical relationships that denote power and authority (e.g., deans and faculty, faculty, and students), and horizontal relationships that signify competition and cooperation (e.g., alumni associations, student organizations, community engagement initiatives, and extramural funding agencies). Although these relational frameworks facilitate the organization's activities, they also constrain possibilities for action (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Scott, 1991).

Universities, like other complex institutions, do not passively submit to the demands of the various stakeholders embedded in their milieu. They often adapt strategies to mitigate the influence of the

external environment (Oliver, 1991). One strategy is a chameleon-like approach, in which work activities are decoupled from administrative processes (Peyrot, 1991). Variations exist in how administrators and educators interpret the goals of the organization. By separating work from administration, conflicts in programmatic goals are negotiated within the organization. Consequently, it is not unusual to find a "decoupling" between what faculty think they are doing (e.g., teaching, research, and service) and what the institution understands to be its function (e.g., generating and implementing a campus-wide strategic plan). The political and economic contexts in which universities are embedded create incentives to remain unclear at times about objectives and to hold contradictory goals simultaneously, reflecting the need for multiple organizational objectives and multiple interpretations of those objectives (Austin, 1981). As frustrating as institutional inconsistencies can be, they also present opportunities for alignment through innovation and consensus.

Campus Climate

Each campus has its own history. A shared history and other contextual factors, such as the demographics of the student body, administrators, and faculty, shape the cultural context and affect interpersonal relationships on campus. Although standard policies and procedures formally regulate activities within the institution, the organizational climate of the institution (e.g., campus climate) also exerts influence on its members. As the culmination of informal processes that affect the underlying beliefs of actors associated with the organization, the campus climate exerts influence on behavior (Frederickson, 1966; Glisson, 2000).

Campus climate reflects the extent to which the institution is able to manage its diversity with equanimity—a value that may not be universally shared among all students or faculty. A social entrepreneurial approach to bring about change begins by building consensus around the value of a positive campus climate and connecting that value to the emotional and material interests of others. This deceptively simple strategy finds much support in the nation's changing demographics and the effect that those changes have on nearly every sector of society. In the business sector, companies that have used linguistically and culturally sensitive marketing strategies have found such efforts profitable

(Cafferty, 2001). Aside from the economic benefits to a consumerist society, making hallmark "American" products and services—iPods, cell phones, computers, and Internet service—available to cultural and linguistic minorities facilitates social inclusion for these groups (Piedra, 2006). A casual perusal of YouTube reveals the stunningly influential and varied ways in which the Internet shaped the political discourse and fundraising possibilities of the 2008 primaries and presidential campaigns. Those with computers and an Internet connection have nearly unlimited access to the changing social and political landscape.

Given this social reality, it should not be too hard to convince students of the importance of understanding American diversity. Many students already recognize the importance of understanding how diversity affects society. They eagerly take advantage of the conspicuous proliferation of courses with diversity context, and many choose to take those courses as electives. For those who do not, educators can help make that connection with compassion and goodwill; educators can emphasize that this material is worth knowing, albeit ever-changing.

Students' values and attitudes are a product of their social environments, and though they may appear fixed, they are nonetheless changeable. For many students, the university context reflects a break from the insular worlds of their families and home communities. Consider the larger social context: The United States is both a diverse society and one stratified along socioeconomic lines (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Wilson, 1980, 1987). Consequently, race, ethnicity, and social class interact in ways that create homogeneous communities within a larger diversity. Some students have experienced racial and ethnic tensions only at a distance, through the media and the entertainment industry. When confronted with campus tensions, they are understandably wary, or even angered. The fact that college campuses are filled with young adults who have limited life experience (and, in some cases, a limited amount of good judgment) only accentuates the need for educators and administrators to balance ideals of tolerance, justice, and academic freedom with ideals of compassion and inclusivity.

Social Tensions as Opportunities for Change

The culture of every community is held together by a rich web of meanings, beliefs, practices, symbols, norms, and values (Lakes,

Lopez, & Garro, 2006; Schwartz, 2006). Arguably, a central feature of culture is to prescribe values that accentuate shared conceptions of what is good and desirable in life (Hemingway, 2005; Schwartz, 1994, 1999, 2006). As the vocabulary of socially approved goals used to motivate action and justify solutions, values serve as powerful regulators of individual and group behavior (Schwartz, 1999). Moreover, these values are often revealed in institutional arrangements and policies, norms, and everyday practices (Schwartz, 2006). Other value orientations that are incompatible with them are likely to be marginalized, face criticism, and pressure to change (Schwartz, 2006).

Social tensions are heightened when shifting power relations among groups enable them to challenge dominant cultural values (Schwartz, 2006). Since dominant cultural values reflect powerful notions of the good life, the fallout from cultural affronts cannot be underestimated. Consider the vitriolic discussions over the validity of the symbolic meanings associated with the University of Illinois use of Chief Illiniwek. Chief Illiniwek was a sports mascot that made his first appearance on the Urbana-Champaign campus in 1926 during a football game against the University of Pennsylvania. The University of Pennsylvania marching band had promised that for a half-time skit, they would send out a student dressed as William Penn if Illinois would send out a character to greet him (Spindel, 2002). When Mr. Tell made his appearance at halftime, Illinois sent out none other than Chief Illiniwek. Thus was born, in this bastion of early 20th-century school spirit, the mascot that would become a lightning rod for campus-wide dissent in a post-civil rights era. To proponents of the Chief, the symbolism justifying his use aligned with the values associated with that 1926 game: school spirit, deep respect for the frontier and its inhabitants, and a pioneering spirit that is central to the American cultural psyche. Subsequent generations would grow to love the Chief and all he represented—a cultural symbol of the university and what it stands for.

Opponents of the Chief could not have held a more opposite view. For them—many of whom came from cultural groups or cultural orientations not present at that early game—the Chief was a perverse symbol that distorted the social reality of American Indians. For those who opposed the Chief, the idealization that occurred during halftime was deeply condescending and insulting. Equating the use of the Chief

with a minstrel show, nothing short of his elimination would suffice for them. The incommensurability of values and perspectives was striking. One historian studying the way that proponents and opponents of the Chief responded to each other noted that both groups literally talked past each other (Prochaska, 2001).

Although affronts to dominant cultural values can be volatile and disturbing, these social tensions present opportunities for change because the status quo has already been sufficiently challenged by alternative perspectives. Taken together, the multiple meanings generated by different cultural orientations, the social disruption that accompanies cultural affronts, and the lack of consensus that characterizes social conflicts, create an opening for change. The ability to recognize opportunities within this complex, shifting landscape is a salient trait of the social entrepreneur.

A Commitment to Inclusion: Using Unifying Rhetoric to Build Consensus

The usefulness of a good idea is notable, but commitment and consensus building also play a prominent role in social change. The types of social problems that social entrepreneurs are interested in affecting are multifaceted, complex, and embedded in social structures (Light, 2006; Mair & Marti, 2006; Waddock & Post, 1991; Waddock & Post, 1995). The resolution of such complex problems requires "action by multiple actors on multiple levels and by multiple means over a very long period of time" (Waddock & Post, 1991). In other words, someone recognizes that solving the problem requires a long-term commitment and the help of others with a similar commitment. Arguably, the difference between the social entrepreneur and those who may later sign on to the effort can be found in the onset of the commitment, not in the degree. The idea that originated in the mind of the entrepreneur is activated by the corresponding belief that the idea can be actualized in the material world. This linking of idea and belief is the catalyst that gets the ball rolling—but it is hardly enough to bring about real change. Change is actualized through efforts of the social networks that are built around the idea (Crutchfield & Grant, 2007; Light, 2006; Peredo & McLean, 2006; Sharir & Lerner, 2006; Waddock & Post, 1991; Waddock & Post, 1995). Furthermore, while combining existing resources in new ways is a part

of the change-making effort (Mair & Marti, 2006); social entrepreneurs are masters at figuring out how to engage people in their cause. They do this by paying close attention to the context and building consensus to overcome clashes among different cultural orientations.

Students, like most people, can be persuaded to think and behave differently. The challenge lies in cultivating circumstances and environments conducive to the examination of personal biases and in generating a curiosity about that which is different. Some educators, in the face of this challenge, resort to ineffectual arguments claiming "X *should* do (or think) Y," which unduly influence students to adopt certain kinds of thinking (that we know are right!). The problem with this insistence is that too many developmental steps are skipped. The thinking of faculty reflects paths chosen and individual interpretations of challenging material grappled with over time. The conclusions of experts are not necessarily the same ones that students will or should draw. The students have their own paths; educators are merely guides during a relatively brief time.

The social entrepreneurial mindset wastes little time admonishing or complaining. Rather, there is a preoccupation with *what is* and *what is possible*. Although the goal is to persuade, this pragmatic approach also takes advantage of opportunities present when social tensions are high. For the social entrepreneur, heightened tensions signal an opening for change and for greater efficiency in bringing about that change.

Consider, for example, that the fastest way to end a thoughtful discussion is to call someone with an opposing view a racist, a sexist, a xenophobe, a homophobe, or any other *-ist* or *-phobe*. Psychologically, such stigmatizing terms put people on the defensive and hijack communal issues into the realm of the personal. Some argue that problematic attitudes can be thoughtfully explored in a classroom setting that acts as a catalyst for continuous self-examination, although it requires a compassionate teacher who creates a safe environment for students (Tatum, 1992). Strategies that work in small groups or in a classroom are inappropriate in a larger community context where leadership is diffuse and diverse value systems are present. In short, in the larger context, there is no one around to create a "safe space," so people may end up feeling misunderstood, hurt, and angry. Instead, what is needed is a collective sense of purpose.

One strategy for cultivating a collective sense of purpose consists of reframing issues in terms of broader larger social values, such as fairness, liberty, and justice (Waddock & Post, 1991). In contrast to the politically correct thinker who advocates conformity to a prescribed ideal (Drucker, 1998), the social entrepreneur recognizes the need for consensus building among different stakeholders and constituencies (Kingdon, 1995) and engages others to bring about higher levels of motivation and morality (Waddock & Post, 1991).

The contrast between the two mindsets is found in the language used by two *New York Times* opinion columnists commenting on the results of the 2008 presidential election. Nobel Laureate Paul Krugman, an economist known for his liberal views, assigned a value to a "correct" emotional response to the election when he wrote, "If the election of our first African-American president didn't stir you, if it didn't leave you teary-eyed and proud of your country, there's something wrong with you" (Krugman, 2008). Even if his assessment is correct—and this would be a stretch—the judgmental tone of his introduction (which equates an "appropriate" emotional response with character) clashes with the fact that those who voted for Republican candidate John McCain clearly held a different opinion—never mind that they constituted 48% of the electorate. Consensus building requires rhetoric that avoids unnecessary alienation or angering of potential stakeholders. In sharp contrast, conservative columnist David Brooks (2008), writing on the very same day as Krugman, began his column thus:

> I have dreams. I may seem like a boring pundit whose most exotic fantasies involve G.A.O. reports, but deep down, I have dreams. And right now I'm dreaming of the successful presidency this country needs. I'm dreaming of an administration led by Barack Obama, but which stretches beyond the normal Democratic base. It makes time for moderate voters, suburban voters, rural voters, and even people who voted for the other guy.

Brooks's introductory paragraph advances a hopeful, nonjudgmental approach to overcome local interests and prejudices for a greater good. This type of conciliatory approach is particularly useful in overcoming culturally embedded obstacles to widespread agreement on serious social problems. Brooks recognizes an opportunity to build consensus

and then uses common values to motivate others to higher ideals of citizenship (Waddock & Post, 1991).

Consider another example: the rhetoric of President-elect Barack Obama. During both of his acceptance speeches—first as the Democratic nominee for president and then as president-elect—he capitalized on opportunities to create consensus. During the 2008 Democratic convention, toward the end of his acceptance speech, Senator Obama tackled divisive issues like abortion and gun regulation and carved out common ground based on broader values (Obama, 2008a). Abortion and gun control are polarizing issues because they are so entrenched in opposing value systems. Moreover, these issues touch on areas that reflect deep personal beliefs about what is good and right. Therefore, rather than arguing the value of legalized abortion, Senator Obama suggested that disagreements over abortion did not have to impede the common goal of reducing unwanted pregnancies in this country. In a similar vein, he acknowledged that gun ownership holds different meanings for diverse groups even within the same state. Gun ownership for hunters in rural Ohio is different than for those exposed to gang violence in Cleveland. Rather than challenging disparate value systems, Mr. Obama argued for upholding both the Second Amendment *and* a version of gun regulation that would keep the most lethal weapons from criminals. The tenor of consensus—synonymous with unity—was also present during his presidential acceptance speech, as the following excerpt illustrates:

> Let's resist the temptation to fall back on the same partisanship and pettiness and immaturity … . Let's remember that it was a man from this state who first carried the banner of the Republican Party to the White House—a party founded on the values of self-reliance and individual liberty and national unity. Those are values we all share. And while the Democratic Party has won a great victory tonight, we do so with a measure of humility and determination to heal the divides that have held back our progress … . [T]o those Americans whose support I have yet to earn, I may not have won your vote tonight, but I hear your voices, I need your help, and I will be your President too (Obama, 2008c).

By focusing attention on broader values, the social entrepreneur strives to do two things for two different groups. First, among supporters, there is a need to cultivate an appreciation (and respect) for the different perspectives (and values) of those who have not yet signed on to the vision. Second, for those yet to be persuaded, there is a need to create a space for inclusion based on a more expansive understanding of the common good. Arguably, the most critical ingredient for change in a diverse society is inclusivity, not tolerance.

Addressing Stereotype-Themed Parties: Creating a Culture of Citizenship and Inclusion

The call for inclusion is most pronounced when members of a community behave badly in a way that marginalizes and stigmatizes. Disciplinary actions in response to culturally insensitive behaviors on campus can be opportunities for learning and redemption. By reexamining disciplinary responses through the lens of social entrepreneurship, clear opportunities for students to contribute to the larger community come into focus.

Take, for example, the rash of stereotype-themed parties that cropped up on several campuses across the United States. These parties are known for portraying vulnerable groups through negative stereotypes, many of which involve issues of race, ethnicity, and social class. At Santa Clara University, students objected to pictures posted on Facebook from a "south of the border" themed party in which the male students dressed as janitors, gardeners, and gang members and the women dressed as *cholas* (female gangsters) and pregnant teenagers (Georgevich, 2007). Unfortunately, this was not an isolated incident. Other vulnerable populations are made the subject of entertainment in "just off the boat" parties, in which partygoers are asked to come dressed as their favorite new immigrants. At Tarleton State University in Texas, white students at a party dressed in gang gear and drank malt liquor from paper bags. A fraternity at Johns Hopkins University invited partygoers to wear "bling bling" grills (shiny metal caps) on their teeth (Associated Press, 2007). At the University of Connecticut, photos from an off-campus "bullets and bubbles" party featured students wearing baggy jeans and puffy jackets and holding fake machine guns (Associated Press, 2007).

At the University of Illinois, the infamous "Tacos and Tequila" party hosted by the Delta Delta Delta sorority and the Zeta Beta Tau fraternity drew much criticism. Guests dressed in ways that caricaturized Mexicans. The *Daily Illini* reported that "one woman at the party made herself look pregnant" and that "the men at the party wore sombreros and ponchos and claimed to be illegal aliens or farmers" (Kantor, 2006).

Although such ill-conceived parties have a long history in the Greek system, and have at times included gender biases (for example, "CEOs and Corporate Hos" (Heisel, 2007), the Greeks are hardly the sole proprietors of unsavory theme parties. What is new is the way in which these parties are subjected to public scrutiny through photos posted on Facebook—a website widely used for networking among college students. Given the alarming lack of judgment and taste among some students and the widespread use of the Internet, incidents such as these stereotype parties will continue to make their way into public discourse.

Arguably, each new incident is an opportunity. There probably is no better mechanism for identifying students in need of a broader perspective and greater sensitivity. Ironically, the danger is not in university officials taking these incidents too lightly, but in allowing the alienation and stigma that come from public scrutiny to take on a life of its own and appearing ineffectual in the process. In the "Tacos and Tequila" incident, for example, the university Senate levied a year-long sanction prohibiting the sorority and fraternity from recruiting new members; both groups, in addition to being publicly ostracized, suffered a financial loss from the ban. Interestingly, the strong disciplinary actions meted out resulted in general dissatisfaction. The Greeks felt that the year-long sanction was too punitive, whereas other students felt that the university administrators were too lenient (Carino, 2007). An opportunity for greater community engagement was lost.

Facebook creates access to virtual communities that can have a powerful effect on its members. In the same way that Facebook can be used to spotlight problematic behaviors, it can also become a mechanism for community building. For example, the students involved in the "Tacos and Tequila" incident are part of a Greek system that develops fundraising skills. Instead of a year-long sanction, the university senate could have created a way for the offending groups to make financial contributions, through fundraising or community service, at a local

organization that helps Mexican immigrants. In addition, they could have been required to use Facebook to periodically post their progress. Such a disciplinary action would have gone a long way toward restoring the group's standing in the campus community, humanizing Mexicans for those who find it permissible to objectify them, and actually doing a public good on behalf of Mexican immigrants.

The idea is to ostracize behavior, not people. In creating opportunities for redemption and positive awareness, the focus shifts from problems and conflicts to solutions and possibilities. The need and possibility for redemption extend to more than just the offending students. All students benefit from a community that regulates itself through ideals of justice, fairness, and inclusion—as reflected in Barack Obama's moving speech on race:

> In the end, then, what is called for is nothing more, and nothing less, than what all the world's great religions demand—that we do unto others as we would have them do unto us. Let us be our brother's keeper, Scripture tells us. Let us be our sister's keeper. Let us find that common stake we all have in one another, and let our politics reflect that spirit as well (Obama, 2008b).

Conclusion

The creation of a campus climate that reflects the true spirit of community requires the cooperation of all of us: university administrators, academic professionals, faculty, staff, and students. We must work to realize a vision of inclusivity and redemption for all. We may more effectively pursue such a vision by capitalizing on the opportunities inherent in social conflict and by building consensus through the fabric of the relationships that already exist across the campus. Such a commitment to consensus building and to the creation of redemptive opportunities for those who engage in problematic behaviors circumvents the danger of heavy-handed responses to campus tensions, responses that may merely convey the message that respecting the diversity in one's environment means conforming to a dogmatic liberal ideology. The ancient Chinese philosopher Kong Fuzi recognized the pitfalls of punishment and the advantages of positive leadership in the second book of the *Analects*:

> Guide them by edicts, keep them in line with punishments, and the common people will stay out of trouble but will have no sense of shame. Guide them by virtue, keep them in line with the rites, and they will, besides having a sense of shame, reform themselves. [Analects, II.3]

Educators and administrators must respond to campus tensions and bad behavior with more than punitive action, more than interventions designed to make such incidents go away. By adopting an entrepreneurial mindset, they can capitalize on such conflicts to promote, create, and sustain the university's social value of inclusion and citizenship.

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Fostering Diversity, Dialogue and Democracy in the Intersections Living Learning Community at the University of Illinois

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A growing body of research indicates that college students benefit from learning in diverse educational settings (e.g., Chang, Witt, Jones, & Hakuta, 2003; Gurin, 1999; Gurin, Dey, Hurtado, & Gurin, 2003). Relatively little is known, however, about how best to structure or facilitate student exposure to and engagement with diversity. Less still is known about the institutional contexts that support the development, implementation, and maintenance of successful diversity programs and initiatives on college campuses. In this paper, we present results from research which explores these issues in the context of the creation and operation of Intersections, a unique living learning community (LLC) that seeks to promote diversity, dialogue, and democracy at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.

In this chapter, we first provide a brief overview of living learning communities and then we examine: 1) how Intersections was developed, organized, and implemented; 2) how well students and staff perceive it to be functioning; and 3) what thoughts students and staff have about how to move it forward into the future. The content of the chapter draws on data from a large, multi-method study that includes longitudinal surveying of Intersections residents, comparing them to residents of other University of Illinois LLCs and students in traditional residence halls on a host of diversity-related psychosocial variables. Primarily, insights are gleaned from the systematic analyses of three sources of data: 1) three years of focus group data with over 50 Intersections students from racially diverse backgrounds; 2) interviews with professional (n = 3) and paraprofessional (n = 3) Intersections staff; and 3)

archival records and the experience of two of the authors (Khuri and De La Rosa) to document key past events and decisions that have shaped the development and growth of Intersections.

Living Learning Communities (LLCs)

LLCs involve students who live together in a designated portion of a residence hall, have staff and resources dedicated to that program, and partake in special academic and co-curricular programming designed especially for that community (Inkelas, 2006). LLCs have been shown to facilitate key learning outcomes (Pike, 1999), self and social understanding (Chickering & Reisser, 1993), academic and social integration into the larger university (Inkelas & Weisman, 2003; Pasque & Murphy, 2005), and networks of support (Inkelas & Weisman, 2003). In one of the most comprehensive studies of LLCs conducted to date, Inkelas (2006) found that irrespective of the focus (e.g., multicultural issues, women in the sciences, community service, etc.), LLC students tended to have more diverse interactions than traditional residence hall students. LLC students had increased involvement with faculty, increased interaction with students of a different race/ethnicity, and more discussion of sociocultural issues with peers. LLC students also perceived the social climate of their residence halls to be more socially tolerant, felt more civically engaged and empowered, and experienced a greater sense of belonging to their campuses. Interestingly, however, LLC students were not more likely to indicate a greater appreciation for racial diversity than traditional residence hall students. This was even true for students in LLCs that had a multicultural/diversity focus, despite the fact that these students had a greater awareness of racial/ethnic differences. Taken together, these findings suggest that compared to the traditional residence, the smaller and more tightly knit LLC may facilitate students' interaction with people from different backgrounds and, in turn, promote awareness of difference. However, the findings also suggest that there is still much to learn about the process of change and both the shorter—and longer—term impact on students' diversity related affect and behavior.

Brief History of Intersections: Rationale, Goals, and Strategies

The Intersections LLC at the University of Illinois was designed as an "intentional, large-scale effort to create optimal conditions in

which students live, work, and become scholars together in a multiracial environment" (Intersections Mission and Goals, Draft–7-14-04). It began as an initiative of the University's then-Chancellor, Nancy Cantor, as part of a wider mission to transform the campus culture and prepare students to live in a multiracial, democratic society. Intersections falls under the aegis of Housing Division's Academic Programs, but is a joint project with the Office of the Provost, and it is one of six living learning communities at the University of Illinois. The program is located within one of the residence hall complexes and has two floors—one for males and one for females—with a maximum of 120 students, including four paraprofessionals who staff the project.

The founders of Intersections identified several elements that were central to their vision for developing a successful multicultural LLC. They noted that intergroup dialogue would provide "opportunities to address racial/ethnic separation, potential conflicts, and to develop the understanding and skills needed for citizenship and leadership in a diverse democracy, in other words, to *understand*, *talk* and *live* diversity" (Intersections Mission and Goals, Draft–7-14-04). Student empowerment, in which students become active participants in shaping the LLC and their larger university experiences, also was central to the Intersections vision. A service-learning component also was viewed as important so that students might make significant connections with various campus resources such as The Program on Intergroup Relations, the Center on Democracy in a Multiracial Society, the Krannert Center for the Performing Arts, ethnic studies programs, and cultural centers.

At the inception of Intersections, ten goals were identified as crucial to a viable, multiracial living, and learning community (Intersections Mission and Goals, Draft–7-14-04). These were to:

1. Increase student contact across different racial/ethnic groups.
2. Create a cohesive, interdependent community.
3. Provide safe and respectful conditions for students to engage across racial/ethnic differences.
4. Increase students' knowledge of intergroup relations, including the histories of their own and other groups.

5. Increase opportunities to talk about and across lines of race and ethnicity.
6. Develop/enhance skills for constructively working with and through intergroup conflict.
7. Develop tools to critically analyze racial/ethnic inequality.
8. Develop/increase self-reflection as a skill to manage intergroup interactions.
9. Increase students' opportunities to have contact with faculty.
10. Increase students' participation within cross-discipline and cross-program collaborations.

Several strategies were also identified as crucial to achieving the above goals. These include:

1. Planfully creating a diverse student and staff community.
2. Requiring one intergroup dialogue course per year for all Intersections students.
3. Providing discussion sections of targeted courses offered specifically to the Intersections community.
4. Actively infusing the arts in the Intersections community.
5. Hosting guests in residence—scholars, artists, activists, etc.
6. Creating undergraduate research opportunities.
7. Creating research opportunities with faculty.
8. Providing co-curricular activities.
9. Developing collaborative action projects and community engagement opportunities.
10. Creating a living and learning agreement that serves as a guide for the community.

These goals and strategies are important in that they constitute the guiding framework of Intersections. The Intersections program is relatively unique in two respects. First, it is one of very few LLCs in the country that focuses explicitly on multicultural issues. Second, it is one of even fewer LLCs that incorporates participation in intergroup dialogue as a core component of the program. Current research provides

evidence that participation in intensive intergroup experiences such as intergroup dialogue—a form of multicultural education which, aims to improve intergroup relations (Gurin, Nagda, & Lopez, 2004)—is related to a range of diversity attitudes and behaviors.

Data from a pilot study on the Intersections LLC at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign provide initial support for the benefits of this specific LLC (Lee, Neville, Spanierman, & McClair, 2009) (see below for a detailed description of the formation and purposes of Intersections). Using a mixed methods, quasi-experimental design, Lee and colleagues surveyed LLC participants (n = 39) and a matched comparison group of non-LLC students (n = 39) at the beginning and then again at the end of the academic year. LLC participants also provided qualitative information about their experiences in the program via open-ended inquiries and focus group participation. LLC participants reported greater sensitivity to campus racial issues than did the matched comparison group at the end of the academic year. Interestingly, both the LLC and the matched comparison group showed a small, but significant decrease in the overall level of appreciation of diversity. This finding may reflect participants' willingness to acknowledge discomfort with increased awareness of differences as opposed to a decreased interest in diversity issues. In fact, on the open-ended questions, the LLC participants noted that they gained a greater ability to appreciate diversity and interact with people who may be different from themselves.

Staff Working Models of the Intersections Program

Although the goals of Intersections are clearly outlined in the program's mission and goals statement, we are inclined to believe that staff members develop their own internal working models based on abstractions from the multiple goals, which largely inform their everyday activities. Thus, we asked professional and paraprofessional staff about the goals of Intersections. Interview responses from professional and paraprofessional staff suggested that both groups believed that the primary goal of Intersections was to facilitate dialogue and understanding around race related issues and cross-race interactions. For example, one [para]professional stated, "I believe that the purpose of Intersections is to encourage dialogue about racial issues in our country." This sentiment was shared by most staff members. Furthermore, the professional staff

was keenly aware that upon arriving at Intersections, many students have had very limited, if any, interaction with peers from different racial, ethnic, or cultural backgrounds. Thus, the staff viewed the creation of a safe space for dialogue as a priority. Repeatedly, they emphasized this, stating that it was essential to "…create a multicultural community where the students feel comfortable talking about difficult topics and those difficult topics are race and how race plays out in America." At the same time that they emphasized safety and safe spaces, the professional staff also acknowledged that conflict was necessary for growth. They explained that the structure and sustained contact within the program had the potential to develop intimate student relationships that could withstand the inevitable conflict, thus providing appropriate levels of support and challenge. These perceived goals directly map onto the major goals of Intersections as envisioned in its mission statement. Clearly, the promotion and appreciation of diversity and dialogue, specifically with respect to race, has become part of the rhetoric of Intersections.

Functioning of Intersections: Resident and Staff Perspectives

In this section, we examine the residents' and staff perceptions of how Intersections is functioning. Consistent with the rhetoric of appreciation of and engagement with diversity, exposure to diversity emerged as a common theme in the focus groups. Several residents reported that one of their most enriching experiences of the program was the opportunity to interact with people from diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds:

> I think I'm just more aware of other cultures. We're just kind of used to coming straight out of high school; you are used to everything being one way. You have your friends and you know what they do all the time and how they react to things. And then you come here and you meet new people, different ethnicities, different backgrounds, they lived in different places.

Residents described their increased awareness of people from racial and ethnic groups different from their own. Their accounts point towards some success of Intersections in that it provided a space where students were able to engage with a range of diversity related issues.

Although the above sentiments answer some questions, they raise additional queries. On one level, it appears that students identified an increased interracial contact as envisioned in the goals of Intersections. Students seemed to have developed a deeper understanding of how those from different backgrounds differ from themselves and began to understand what some of those differences might mean for how they understand and relate to one another. However, on another level, student sentiments alert us to a possible minimization of racial/ethnic differences that appeared to have taken place for some students who tended to narrate their diversity related experiences primarily from the point of view of learning to appreciate difference and to get along as exemplified in the following quote: "I think just the whole program teaches you that you can, regardless of race, you can get along with different type of people."

The professional staff clearly aimed to push students further, beyond merely getting along with each other toward developing deeper understandings about racial issues in the US. Professional staff wanted students "...to engage in thinking critically about issues of race in the United States, from a historical perspective, from a structural perspective, and to become inquisitive, why are things the way they are." Comparing students' and staff's working models of life at Intersections, we were struck by the fact that, for some students, Intersections was their first serious and sustained exposure to others of different backgrounds. For them, learning to engage in conversation, and to get along, were the most salient issues, and conquering these hurdles may be a necessary first step toward a deeper, more critical understanding of how race operates in their daily lives and in our society. It is possible that one of the ways in which residents took up and understood the mission of Intersections was by focusing on finding common ground for interacting with one another while minimizing the role of race in these interactions and relationships. Alternately, perhaps particularly for students of color, it could be one way of coping with or escaping from the more or less constant pressures of racism.

Student Engagement/Involvement

Students and faculty underscored the importance of engaging students in formal Intersections activities as a critical element for suc-

cess. It is through active engagement and involvement that Intersections residents were expected to acquire skills and knowledge for critically analyzing and addressing racial/ethnic/social inequality, cultural diversity, and intergroup conflict. The larger goal envisioned by the founders of Intersections was that student engagement in living and working successfully in the context of the LLC would extend beyond graduation into other multiracial settings.

For the staff and residents of Intersections LLC, student engagement assumed multiple forms. Attendance of residents in Intersections programs was taken as one indicator of student engagement. When we collected data in the spring of 2007, both professional and paraprofessional staff reported their struggles with very low attendance rates at Intersections events. They referred to this as a "perpetual problem."

Although professional staff acknowledged the problem with low attendance, they also recognized and appreciated the value of the programs for those few residents who participated in the events. They were cautious about using attendance rates as the only index for assessing Intersections programming. They noted that, "people who do come learn a lot. So it might not be successful in a sense of numbers, but it is definitely successful in the sense of the people who come there take away information."

There was, however, a pronounced difference between the experiences of professional and paraprofessional staff, primarily because for the paraprofessional staff, ensuring resident attendance was among their main duties. Thus, they probably had greater personal stake with the issue of attendance and, hence, experienced greater frustration around the difficulty of engaging and involving residents, and getting them to attend events. This is reflected in the following quote:

> I feel like we got people talking about issues that they generally wouldn't talk about, so as far as that goes, I think we've accomplished a good thing. But, as far as the people who didn't come to any programs, I feel like it was a waste for them to live on the floor because they didn't really participate in any of the characteristics of our Living Learning Community; so they missed out.

Another issue around student engagement in the life of Intersections dealt with difficulties securing student/resident input. As of the time of the last data collection, no formal mechanism was in place to ensure student/resident input. Staff reported, however, that this type of student engagement occurred (albeit infrequently) in informal ways. For example, one professional staff reported that some students approached the staff to share ideas about Intersections activities and topics. In these rare cases, staff encouraged students to follow through with their ideas. It appears that the struggle was encouraging more students to co-create the Intersections experience.

As a way to make programming more responsive to the needs of students/residents, the professional staff considered establishing a students' advisory committee to have a structure in place that ensured student input. However, the staff interviews suggested that these efforts were not very successful.

> ...I have tried to establish an advisory board, whatever you want to call it, program board, advisory board for students. And I think we had fits and starts with it this year; I would like to make sure it is in place for next year.

> We try, as much as possible, to be responsive to the needs of the students; one of the ways we're trying to get at that is to have a student advisory committee. We tried to start it in the fall semester, but unfortunately the paraprofessional who was in charge of it left, so as a result that kind of fell through the cracks...but we hope to get some ideas from them for the fall and then try to resurrect the idea of an advisory group so that we can be more responsive in a much quicker way to the interests of the students.

These data highlight an interesting contradiction. On one hand, both paraprofessional and professional staff feel the need for greater involvement of students/residents in decision making processes. But, efforts of professional staff to secure more student input have not met with any significant success. Thus, merely creating opportunities for engagement does not by itself ensure the process of engagement whereby students acquire the skills to be agents of positive social change. Our analysis suggests that the realization of this goal is contingent on finding ways to promote further engagement in Intersections.

Engagement via Routines of Daily Social Life

Although the staff struggled to engage students in the formal social and co-curricular programming, Intersections students did seem to be engaged in life in their residence hall. In the focus group discussions, students seemed to agree that Intersections had its most powerful impact on them through the routine day-to-day experiences they shared with other residents of Intersections. Across the interviews, students reported the following as very important to their Intersections experience: getting to know one another over a meal, developing relationships through the creation of study groups, and socializing at the bars and other social settings. A number of Intersections residents viewed these kinds of informal daily experiences more favorably than the deliberate and planned efforts by the program to facilitate learning and interaction among residents.

> I think that's [informal activities are] better than, 'Okay everyone come out of their rooms, let's meet in the open lounge and talk.' We do that how many times of the year? So actually going to the bar and being in a different surrounding helps. So I can not only know this person from just being on my floor but I know this person from actually hanging out with them, and they're cool. So I think that made things a lot better.

Consistent with this idea, students also reflected on the need to let loose at end of the day and just to have some fun.

> People want to have fun. This is our time to be by ourselves and we just want to have fun. We would have to do discussions on race and stuff. We learn that in class, now we're home. Something like the movie night with the Intersection boys and girls or like what the boys did, like a separate bar crawl. I'm not encouraging drinking. But things we can all have fun and get to know each other better and things like that...not educational stuff. Because you want that stuff too, like interaction with people. Like random conversations. That's educational kind of.

Of the formal programming conducted in the 2006-2007 academic year, there was nearly unanimous agreement from staff and students that a field trip to Cincinnati and the National Underground Railroad Freedom Center was far and away the most successful event. The field trip was relatively well-attended and this was meaningful to the staff.

Interestingly, the aspects of the field trip that made it successful seemed to parallel those aspects that made the informal daily engagements meaningful: the students had fun, the trip deepened their personal relationships with one another, and the lack of structure seemed to facilitate a feeling of comfort and safety in broaching issues of difference.

> ... for those 30 students who went, it was a really nice bonding experience; if they all didn't bond, there was an increase in comfort level with relating across difference; you know when we went, you could see most of the black students sat in my van, most of the white students sat in somebody else's van; and when we came back it was mixed up more. It was cool, I mean that's so concrete.

From the students' perspective, the informal spaces in which residents were able to connect with one another were identified as among the most helpful aspects of Intersections; there were a few formal activities such as the Cincinnati field trip that students found helpful. However, students informed us that participation in formal programming, after a long day of classes, felt burdensome to many students. This sentiment was expressed in a focus group. When asked to recall some of the worst times at Intersections during the year, the students were in agreement that Java Jive, later renamed Real Talks, a student-organized discussion around varying diversity-related topics that met once a week or so over coffee in the evenings at the residence hall. "Yea, they were boring, and you just talk about the same thing. It's like every Java Jive is like, okay we're dealing with something diverse. After that I just stopped going." (This statement was followed by a lot of head nodding.) The staff clearly had come to understand this dynamic. One staff member stated, "They get … (lectures)… all day so when they come home, they don't want to do that either, so I can see why the scholar dinners have kind of faded in terms of interests and the Java Jives as well, you know, they're just tired of talking about it and they want to actually do something about it, I think."

Findings indicated that the students viewed the informal and social occasions of Intersections as more meaningful, fun, and "real" than the planned and academic occasions. Those findings were consistent with the program staff's experience in struggling to get students engaged in formal programming. Students further suggested that it may be useful to focus more attention on facilitating engagement via the routine activities of daily social life, rather than focusing primarily on formal programming. Implications of this dynamic were not lost on the staff.

> I think we need to come up with more innovative ways of perhaps broaching the subject, but not necessarily pounding them over the head with it and giving them more kinds of venues to use for interaction, but not necessarily direct that interaction to be cross-racial unless they want it to be. Do you understand what I'm trying to say?—to kind of have more structured facilitation, but not forced facilitation of intercultural exchanges.

Recruitment and Selection

A diverse community is needed in order to provide students with the opportunity to interact with and learn from individuals who are different from themselves. The composition of the residents—with respect to age, gender, race and ethnicity, for example—was thus widely viewed by staff and students alike as a very important feature of how the LLC functions (see Figure 1). Who the students are influences both the social dynamics they clearly care so much about, as well as their interest in the focal issues of the LLC—issues of multiculturalism and human difference. For example, the proportion of international students (non-U.S. citizens) has varied over the years (see Figure 2). One year it was unusually high—over one third (36%) of all Intersections residents were international students and it seemed to have an impact, both in terms of their interest in the program and the implications of their sometimes shorter stays on campus.

> ...more than half of my floor is international students... they are students that are unfamiliar with the American racial landscape and most likely don't have much of an interest in it (Intersections)...one of the things we've been

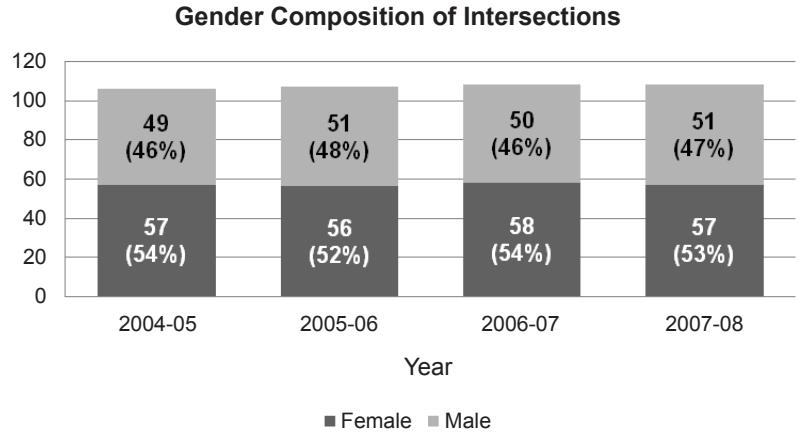

Figure 1. Gender Composition of Intersections

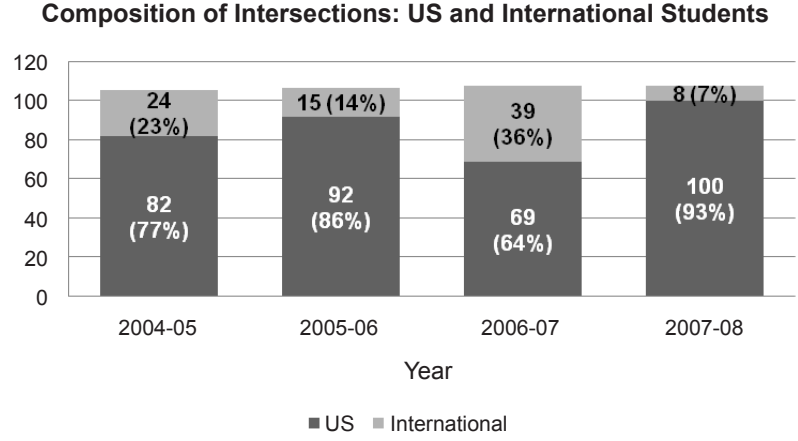

Figure 2. Distribution of Intersections Residents on the Basis of Citizenship

> struggling with is making programming relevant to that group, to an international audience and it's something we haven't been able to do.

The mix of various racial and ethnic backgrounds of the students also clearly contributes to the dynamics.

> ...at the beginning of the year, I realized that like the students, we have a few students on our floor who aren't students of color, like the white students on the floor don't seem to participate... as soon as the topic of race is brought up... I just haven't been able to really involve them.

The staff was aware that recruiting students to Intersections was important to achieving a mix of students. Each year, staff have invested increasing effort and employed a broader range of strategies, including: advertising via an insert on Intersections in an already published Housing brochure on LLCs; at a summer orientation program to all admitted students that covered general education requirements, distributing business cards (Interested in Intersections?) with website information, and making a power point presentation; letter to Intersections residents encouraging to them to re-enroll for the coming year; letter to cultural house directors with material on Intersections encouraging them to inform students who visited cultural houses to apply to Intersections; brochures to the Office of Minority Student Affairs for informational sessions for incoming and prospective students; e-mails to students who had housing contracts, but who were not assigned to a hall yet or to temporary housing, inviting them to assign to Intersections; and staff and Intersections residents visits to two local high schools, targeted especially to promising students of color.

Perhaps the most critical issue surrounding the recruitment and selection of students has been the lack of control that the staff have over who is assigned to the program. Some students are assigned to live at Intersections; they have not opted to live there. This process resulted in some students who lacked an appreciation for the LLC experience, perhaps particularly an LLC experience focused on exploring and learning to deal with race and diversity: "…some students either don't know what a living learning community is, the goals of a living learning community are, or they are just not interested."

Lack of control over the selection processes leaves the staff and the program at a disadvantage for planning and tailoring programming: "I really don't know what the racial composition is going to be like next year, I think every year it's going to be different and, again, it depends on the interests of the freshman class that's coming in."

We were struck by the importance of several aspects of the broader context in which Intersections was embedded. First, Intersections residents experience the LLC as a residential setting. Their primary identification with Intersections appears to be as their residential hall. Moreover, most residents of Intersections are freshmen. As such, the issues that loom largest for them revolve around making new friends, finding a safe social niche, and developing confidence that they can survive on their own away from home. One focus group participant captured this sentiment well, when asked to describe "some of the best times" during his year in Intersections, he simply said: "I would have to say, I guess just pretty much the experience and people warming up to each other. Earlier in the year, a lot of us didn't know each other that well. So it was interesting get to know education wise and socialize with people."

Since its inception, Intersections staff has proactively attempted to recruit a racially and ethnically diverse residential community that attends to both the goals of Intersections and the developmental concerns of first year students; there have been significant challenges to its success in these endeavors.

Closing Thoughts and Suggestions for Future Directions

Intersections is one of the few multiculturally focused living learning communities in the country. On a number of levels, this LLC appears to be making strides towards its goals of promoting interracial contact, friendships and dialogue, and in increasing knowledge about the sociohistoric realities of various racial minority groups and of racial inequality. At the same time, Intersections has faced numerous challenges in implementing its vision, including creating the ideal residential community environment in terms of diversity and voluntariness, and, moreover, in engaging students in formal aspects of the programming. On the basis of the findings from our research on this project, we offer

the following recommendations as others seek to build similar living learning communities:

- To enhance recruitment efforts, the unit should enlist the assistance of the chancellor or president to endorse the benefits of the specific living learning community and to encourage students to sign up for this unique opportunity.
- To address lack of student involvement in shaping the LLC, a student advisory committee could be formally instituted to assist in the development and implementation of programming and in dealing with community living; residents could elect students to serve on this committee.
- To increase both educational and social learning, identify and offer at least one Intersections content course per semester on site; this may cut down on the need to include more "academic" programming in the evening.
- To further promote cross-racial collaborations among residents via formal activities, such as group-based community-service learning projects, or informal activities, such as dances and socials.
- To promote an integrated learning experience that is hands-on and educational, offer at least one large educational field trip per year in which residents prepare for the trip through readings and discussions, journal about the experience, and process their learning as a group—this will incorporate the "fun" components desired by the students with the more educational/academic components required by the program.

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Best Place for Best Practice?: The Challenge of Multicultural Learning in a Community-based Design Studio

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The call to teach through "real world" applied experiences has been a recurring discussion within higher education, with scholars, and advocates from many disciplines citing benefits that range from acquisition of professional skills to greater self-awareness (Campus Compact, 2003; Duckenfield & Madden, 2000; Jacoby, 1996). Referred to by various name—service learning, civic engagement, or community-based learning—the general philosophy is to encourage a mutually beneficial partnership between students and a community group, with students providing needed service to a community that, in turn, provides rich, applied learning experiences to the students. Quite often, this takes place in low-income communities that seek university assistance to address social and environmental concerns or service needs for which they lack funding, technical resources, or political clout to address through public means. Community-based learning in the context of low-income communities of color is generally considered a win-win solution because it potentially provides a strategic use of university resources to underserved communities and creates the opportunity for students to learn and practice citizenship in a multicultural society (Boyle-Baise, 2002). This said, there is a tendency to assume that multicultural learning occurs regardless of the structure of the educational experience. In some cases, evidence suggests that student experiences in such projects may reinforce prejudice and replicate power differentials, particularly when framed as unidirectional, benevolent service to a community in need (Burnett, Hamel, & Long, 2004; Erickson & O'Connor, 2000; Novek, 2000). Acknowledging the pervasiveness of race and class differences between students and the community, experts have called

for explicit multicultural education, emphasizing active engagement, mutual learning and collaboration, and goals of social transformation (Calderon et al., 2001; O'Grady, 1998, 2000; Ward, 1997). Particularly given the many potential benefits associated with community-based learning—including multicultural education—evaluation of actual learning outcomes continues to be a necessary, but often neglected, step in sustaining effective community-based learning programs.

The University of Illinois' East St. Louis Action Research Project (ESLARP) has a 20-year history of community-based learning courses that engage architecture, landscape architecture, and planning students, as well as students from other disciplines, with partnering community organizations in the City of East St. Louis. From the late-nineteenth through mid-twentieth century, East St. Louis was a busy industrial and railroad city with an economically vibrant population. However, as industries began leaving the area in the 1950s through 1970s, the city experienced increased unemployment and population loss. East St. Louis today has high unemployment, with approximately 35 percent of the population living below poverty level (U.S. Bureau of Census, 2000). Furthermore, while East St. Louis once exemplified ethnic and racial diversity, at present 98 percent of the population is African American. Through ESLARP, students work with residents who have organized to address myriad problems, including environmental degradation due to industrial decline and depopulation, inadequate public services, and lack of economic development. ESLARP courses have provided important services to community organizations and unique opportunities for students, yet how students process the experience—both in terms of their academic learning and their personal experiences—has varied according to instructors, staff, and community project. Although some might assume that White, middle-class students who are working collaboratively with low-income African American residents on community concerns are provided with opportunities to reflect on and discuss their own race- and class-based attitudes, this outcome has been largely assumed without evaluation or a structured approach.[1]

To address the lack of evaluation and to better understand the capacity for multicultural learning in the context of an ESLARP course, this chapter describes an evaluation of a 2005 Landscape Architecture Community-based Design Studio, which engaged mostly White,

middle-class students with several community groups to develop park and open space designs. This chapter starts with an overview of the pedagogical model upon which the community-based design studio is based, with some comparison to multicultural education models that explicitly address race and class differences. This is followed by a brief description of the course and students. Students' experiences, as collected through a short-term longitudinal questionnaire and concluding focus group, fall into themes of professional and personal development, with particular attention to racial attitudes. The chapter culminates with speculations regarding possible changes to the course, the potential for interdisciplinary collaboration to explicitly address multicultural learning, and reaffirmation that multicultural learning needs to be more explicit in community-based courses and related curriculum.

The Community-based Design Studio

For students in the design fields (architecture, landscape architecture, and planning in particular), studio instruction is typically considered the core of the academic experience. The studio class engages students in complex design problems intended to synthesize multiple components of the student's education, including theory, history, environmental and social factors, and professional practice. Typically involving between 9 and 12 contact hours, students work independently or in teams, partake in intensive work-sessions with the instructor, and present their work in "juries" or reviews that involve public critique by faculty, professionals, and peers (Anthony, 1991). The community-based design studio is one approach to studio instruction in which students are exposed to professional roles while providing important design services that might otherwise be unattainable to a community (Boyer & Mitgang, 1996; Dean & Hursley, 2002; National Endowment for the Arts, 2002; Rubin, 1998). Additionally, the studio format provides an academic outlet for other models of design and engagement, particularly participatory design and empowerment planning approaches that engage community members as co-designers and planners throughout the process (Cameron et al., 2001; Francis, 1999; Sorensen, Reardon, & Clump, 2003). Some scholars in the field consider the community-based studio to be an opportunity to engage students in diverse settings and with clients from different ethnic, racial, and economic backgrounds, in order to extend learning outcomes to include increased racial and

cultural understanding and socially responsible design (Forsyth, 1995; Forsyth, Lu, & McGirr, 1999, 2000; Groat & Ahrentzen, 1996; Hill, 2005; Roakes & Norris-Tirrell, 2000).

Service-learning discourse stresses preparation, collaboration, and reflection. However, in the design disciplines it is the actual design process that is intended to synthesize these steps through initial research and fieldwork, analysis, and community participation (Lawson, 2005). Instruction may be augmented using readings, lectures, videos, and participatory exercises to address complex problems and encourage discussion among students (Cameron et al., 2001).[2] Quite often, reflection is assumed to occur as a result of contact and interactions with community members (Forsyth, et al., 1999). But, as Ken Reardon (1994) has reflected from his own work with planning and design students in East St. Louis, students who do not reflect on their experiences may continue to hold stereotypic beliefs and paternalistic attitudes about the community residents with whom they are working. "While such service may enhance the students' feeling of self-worth and moral virtue, it may contribute little to their intellectual and practical understanding of social justice and racial inequality" (Reardon, 1994, p. 53).

In light of this concern, turning to scholarship in multicultural education provides models that explicitly address issues of race and class differences. The models set forth in multicultural community-based learning are based on several key structural components—a collaborative structure with the community, preparation for the experience, and opportunities for students to process their thoughts and feelings related to their experiences in the field (King, 2004; O'Grady, 1998). *Collaboration* refers to the structure of engagement whereby community members and students work in partnership and share in decision-making about process and outcomes. Instead of structuring engagement as service to a community, multicultural service-learning is based on the premise that community partners have knowledge from which students will benefit and that teaching and learning are reciprocal. *Preparation for the experience* includes didactic training related to constructs such as structural oppression and the formation of stereotypes, as well as reflective exercises to encourage critical thinking and to examine assumptions about self and society. Students often fail to consider multicultural learning outcomes unless explicitly incorporated into the curriculum in concrete

ways, such as journal writing, group discussion, role playing, and other exercises (Davis, 1992; Jacoby, 1996; O'Grady, 2000). The typical methods to encourage reflection—keeping a journal, writing short papers, and engaging in class discussions—need to be framed appropriately for the discipline, type of course, student level, and other considerations. However this reflection is framed, the goal is for students to reflect on their perceptions of themselves as racial beings and to gain awareness of their assumptions and biases. As multicultural psychology scholars have emphasized, awareness of one's self (e.g., one's racial biases and assumptions) is equally important to understanding the sociopolitical realities of other racial groups in the U.S. (Sue & Sue, 2007).

ESLARP and the East St. Louis Community Open Space Design Studio

The University of Illinois first became involved in East St. Louis in 1987 as a result of a challenge put forward by State Representative Wyvetter Younge, then chairperson for the Illinois House of Representative Standing Committee on Education Appropriations, to clarify the university's urban service commitment to distressed communities, particularly East St. Louis (Reardon, 1998). However, after several years of mostly theoretical or tourist-based projects, community residents objected that they were being asked to participate in work that provided little benefit, when they could identify much more critical areas for university involvement. As a result, the involved faculty shifted out of the "professional – expert" model to an empowerment planning model that encouraged participatory processes in close partnership with community organizations (Reardon, 1989). ESLARP works with community partners through courses and research, as well as service-based outreach weekends that attract a broader pool of student and faculty volunteers.

For students in the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Department of Landscape Architecture, one of the primary means of involvement is the East St. Louis Community-based Design Studio, which is offered as one of the spring studio options. This course engages advanced undergraduate and graduate students in design projects identified by community partners and might involve park design, urban design, and neighborhood planning. Some version of this studio has been taught for many years, although the instructor, community partner, and type of

project change. To date, there has been little examination or evaluation of the learning outcomes associated with this particular studio.

In 2005, the studio engaged 16 students with three community organizations working on park design projects (Lawson, 2007). As typical of studios, the design projects served as the central learning tool through which students learn how to address community needs and desires, site conditions, and develop design alternatives to discuss. In addition, students participated in lectures, readings, videos, and class discussions to raise awareness about East St. Louis history, park planning and design, and current debates about the design of multicultural public space.[3] For the purpose of gathering more focused information on students' perceptions of the course as well as their racial attitudes, students were also asked to voluntarily participate in a study that involved three phases of questionnaires over the course of the semester and a final focus group session.

During the regularly scheduled ESLARP outreach weekends, the students and instructor traveled the 175 miles between the U of I campus and East St. Louis for three, two-day visits. On the initial visit, they participated in a resident-led bus tour to learn about the history and current community development efforts underway in the city. The rest of their time was devoted to conducting field work at their project sites, meeting with residents, attending community meetings, and participating in clean-up projects (i.e., clearing brush, handing out community fliers, and removing illegally dumped trash). Between visits, students developed designs based on what they had learned from data, site visits, and the residents. They presented their work to the community for feedback and refinement as well as to reviewers on campus.

All but one student enrolled in the class chose to participate in the survey portion of the study. Of those who participated ($n = 15$), all self-identified as White. Participants consisted of 9 men and 6 women; 14 were undergraduates and one was a graduate student. A subsample ($n = 5$ consisting of 3 women and 2 men) also participated in an end of the semester focus group that was facilitated by two advanced doctoral students in counseling psychology students (i.e., the third and fourth authors of this paper). Our analysis below incorporates data from both sources: responses to open-ended questions and focus group questions.

Students' Expectations and Experiences

In order to understand the impact of the course on student perceptions of race, the first step was to gauge their predisposition prior to going to East St. Louis and working with community partners. In general, all the students had heard about East St. Louis before the class and knew that they would be working in a low-income African American community. When asked why they chose to enroll in this particular studio, students explained that they were interested in working in East St. Louis because it was close to their hometown, they simply wanted to learn more about the city, or they believed that it would enhance their professional development. The prospect of working on "a real life project" was attractive to many as an opportunity for some to develop their skills working with clients and learning more about park design. Several students specifically stated desires related to working on issues of poverty, such as the goal to "open my eyes to the world and work in a real setting that needs assistance," and "being able to help people that may live in areas of poverty and racial injustice." Beyond wanting to work on poverty issues and contribute to societal betterment, a number of students expressed a desire to "learn strategies for turning around a misguided/unfortunate community" and "to solve all of East St. Louis' problems."

Most students had preconceptions of East St. Louis based on previous experience driving through the city or images from media. Students expected to see closed factories, burnt-out buildings, and vacant lots. Some students had heard about the residents' efforts to improve the community while others anticipated apathy. For many students, East St. Louis was notorious for crime. When asked how they expected the people in East St. Louis to react to their presence, most students thought that some community members would be appreciative and would perceive their work as helpful. Others were concerned that their efforts might be met with disdain as outsiders coming into a community that they knew little about. Several students mentioned race specifically, noting that they hoped they would not be judged on the basis of their race and that they would not judge others for the same reason.

The first visit to East St. Louis to work with community partners and inspect their design sites was eye-opening for many of the students. In general, students considered the most meaningful part of the expe-

rience to be meeting the people to talk about the design projects and seeing the sites they were to design. They liked talking with community partners who tended to be very friendly, encouraging, and committed to community improvements. As one student noted, listening to the residents, "…provided more insight than just a map and statistics could." Even though some students were daunted by the complex environmental, social, and economic challenges facing the community, all students expressed strong commitment to address residents' needs and desires through good designs. The students returned to campus energized to tackle their design projects.

While confident to go forward with their professionally-related work, students expressed ambivalence regarding the social and environmental context they had experienced over the weekend. For example, a number of students, while excited to enhance their design skills, expressed concern about their physical safety, particularly when separated from the rest of the class. Furthermore, students reported experiencing a variety of emotions during their visit to East St. Louis that ranged from pity, disgust, sadness, fatigue, and fear to excitement, hopefulness, and happiness. One student stated, "I was feeling sorry for these people. They seem to be nice, decent people and to see some of them in such poverty… upset me." However, once back at studio, most students turned to what they knew—design precedents and park standards—and did not reflect on the emotional impact of the experience.

After a challenging semester of design work and feedback, students were asked to reflect on their overall experience in the course and in East St. Louis. Over the course of the semester, students had worked on three separate design projects, producing iterations of design in order to address the feedback received from community partners while also receiving feedback through reviews on campus that involved academic and design professionals. Students had also completed the final set of open-ended items and a subsample participated in a focus group. The dynamic nature of the focus group discussion allowed for deeper exploration of students' perceptions of their overall experiences in the course.

In general, all students felt that they had learned more about the profession, particularly related to park design, working with clients, social issues, and technical skills. One student explained how the experience had changed his approach to design, noting that he wanted to

design for people rather than to promote his own career. Students readily acknowledged the problems and potential for parks in low-income communities, focusing primarily on the social potential for parks and the residents' concerns for activities and safety rather than formal design, but no student specifically addressed race as an issue. As one student said, "I learned just how important [parks] are to a community of people and this role doesn't change in the context of lower income communities but rather the design changes in response to the community."

Students felt good, useful, and proud of their work and appreciated by the residents with whom they had worked. Many students mentioned that they better understood the complexity of problems faced by residents, as well as the difficulty to make improvements. "I knew from news that the area was not in the best physical and social condition. I realize now that a lot of people don't want it to be like that but it is very hard for them to make a difference." Some students, however, reflected ambivalent attitudes and wondered how their work actually served the community. For instance, one student explained that her community involvement made her feel proud to be of assistance, while at the same time she expressed feeling discouraged about "attitudes of the residents" that would prevent community betterment.

Their time spent in East St. Louis increased students' awareness of race, particularly their own awareness of being White. Several students specifically noted that almost all the people they saw were African American, except for a mail carrier, and that many of those residents appeared curious about why the students were there. Moreover, students felt as if they "stood out" as White people and felt out of place, although in some cases this was only at first. Students generally were concerned if the residents would be friendly, noticing how people stared at them. While reflecting on being the numerical minority, some students noted that, even though they stood out, they felt welcome, whereas others felt the opposite and alluded to their perceptions of reverse racism.

This heightened sense of their own race did not necessarily influence their perceptions and attitudes about African Americans and racism. When asked whether the studio experience reinforced or dispelled stereotypes toward African Americans, students expressed complicated responses that indicated possible subtle change or none at all. At one end of the spectrum of responses, a student wrote, "I feel like many

residents in East St. Louis are content with the living condition because they lack the want or motivation for change." At the other end, another stated, "It was surprising to meet individuals who were so dedicated to the future of their community." Some students expressed complex responses that revealed ongoing negative stereotypes as well as new perspectives in light of their one-on-one interactions with residents. As one student described, "Stereotypes seem to be reinforced based on the people we met. Some people were very ignorant while others were helpful, hopeful, and understanding, welcoming us." Most students did not feel that their views on racism had changed as a result of the experience. Several student responses stressed that they consider and treat all people as equals. "I was always raised to treat people with respect and fairly, no matter who they are." Two students commented on their perceptions of reverse racism, with one writing, "I feel less racist but am more aware of racism toward Caucasians."

In summary, student evaluations show that at the start of the semester most students were excited to engage in a "real world" experience and expected to make professional gains. While many expected East St. Louis to be in bad shape, some came to "help," whereas others came to learn. Further, although most students became aware of their Whiteness in response to being in the numerical minority in East St. Louis, they processed this differently, ranging from feeling threatened or discriminated against to feeling supported and welcomed by the residents they worked with. In general, students came away satisfied because they did what they said that they were going to do and learned new skills in the process. Except when directly asked to address race and racism, students offered only minimal reflection related to multicultural learning through their engagement in East St. Louis and the studio.

Framing Student Responses

While it would have been very satisfying to receive feedback affirming multicultural learning through community-based design instruction, the reality of the student assessment was much more nuanced and complex. We learned that multicultural learning is not a natural outcome of a community-based learning project, but instead must be the explicit focus. We identified four key themes by which to frame our interpretation of students' perceptions and reactions. These include: multicultural

learning framed as professional development, persistent racism, course limitations, and potential interdisciplinary and external contributions.

Multicultural Learning Framed as Professional Development

For students in this landscape architecture studio, race issues were primarily linked to professional development rather than self-awareness. One of the most predominant findings was the sense of professional responsibility to serve diverse groups and address community concerns. Many of the students chose to take the studio because they believed the applied experience—the opportunity to work with real clients on real needs—would provide important professional training. Many students felt it was their professional responsibility to improve environmental, economic, and social conditions for a diverse public. At the end of the class, students appreciated the responsibility required of them and the acquired skills that would help them professionally.

This said, students realized the need to adjust their design approach to acknowledge context and community needs. Some students felt frustrated with the limitations of a site design problem and voluntarily expanded their scope to grapple with ways to procure external resources to address economic development, hazardous waste cleanup, infrastructure needs, and social services. To address the complex problems at hand, most students realized the need to expand their knowledge base to understand community history, existing conditions, and potential external resources. In this way, they shifted their design process to respond to a different cultural context.[4]

Persistent Racism

Students felt good about their involvement and new improved skills in community engagement but their personal attitudes went unexamined, and in fact the experience may have reinforced some negative stereotypes. Even as they appreciated the professional relevance of the studio, students failed to reflect on the ways in which race and racism informed their experience. The literature suggests that student responses might be framed as one or more of the following: silent racism, racial color-blindness, and active non-engagement. Consistent with the multicultural service-learning literature on white students entering communities of color, participants tended to rely on stereotypes of African

Americans to guide their experience and unconsciously perpetuated paternalism toward the people with whom they worked (Burnett et al., 2004; Novek, 2000; O'Grady, 1998). Accordingly, *silent racism*, characterized by Trepagnier (2006) as unintentional negative stereotyping and paternalistic attitudes of well-meaning White people, provides one critical framework through which to understand the students' attitudes and behaviors. Consistent with the multicultural service-learning literature on missionary zeal or missionary ideology, students often confused service with charity (Burnett, et al., 2004; Novek, 2000).

Another compelling framework is color-blind racial ideology—the belief that race does not and should not matter (Bonilla-Silva, 2001; Neville, Lilly, Duran, Lee, & Browne, 2000). Although students reported heightened awareness of being in the numerical minority, and often for the very first time, they did not demonstrate a more critical awareness of societal racism. Students tended to separate poverty from racism and rarely acknowledged that structural racism had anything to do with the ongoing poor environmental or economic conditions of the city. Most student participants expressed the conviction that equal opportunity exists in the U.S., regardless of race, acted as if their Whiteness was irrelevant, claimed that they were raised to treat all people as equals, and blamed the victims for their circumstances. Race became much more personal only when students felt they were being stared at as outsiders or blamed for the city's condition, with this discomfort sometimes being perceived as racism against Whites.

In the context of multicultural service-learning, O'Grady (1998) argued that some students use victim-blaming and negative stereotyping, forms of active non-engagement with multicultural education, because they are not yet ready for or cannot deal with the incoming information. Students may not have been prepared—intellectually or emotionally—to acknowledge the racial difference between themselves and the community and how this might influence interactions. While students may have read materials, examined statistics, and listened to lectures about the environmental and social problems associated with a low-income community of color, it remained outside their personal experience until the first visit. For example, in our study, prior knowledge that the city's population was 98 percent African American had remained an abstract statistic until students walked around neighborhoods and felt they stood

out because they were White. Rather than being actively non-engaged, O'Grady (1998) suggested that many will be selectively engaged—i.e., as professionals without critical consciousness about their position and privilege—such that they approach one form of learning while avoiding others. More specifically, students viewed themselves as professionals commissioned to help a community in need—"pro-bono" work in the expert-outside-professional mold—rather than collaborators, and thus fostered a paternalistic approach. Given the malleability in how the relationship between student and community members is defined—from charitable service to professional pro-bono assistance to true partnership—it is, therefore, essential to foster a cooperative approach that engages interactive dialogue and shared decision making among students and community.

Limitations of Studio Format

Structural barriers to multicultural learning can exist within community-based design studios, which tend to focus on design solutions more than multicultural learning experiences. The focus on design instruction and service primarily to improve professional knowledge and skills could limit the opportunity for broader multicultural learning. For example, students might reflect on their multicultural interactions and experiences in the course only as they relate to their professional identity, rather than using these experiences to understand broader issues such as societal racism or their own racial identity. In addition, service-learning courses such as ESLARP operate within fixed and, often, short time frames. This may force many students to adopt a narrower, problem-focused approach in order to identify immediate solutions to local conditions. However, this also could prevent students from contemplating larger social and historical issues related to the project. For example, many ESLARP students approached their work as problem-solvers and tended to accept the existing conditions while seeking physical and programmatic means to facilitate physical improvements, community activism, and economic opportunities. They did not question why East St. Louis became predominantly African American and poor or why hazardous sites still existed even though local activists had been trying for many years to garner state and federal support for clean-up. Instead, encouraged by local activism and community pride, the students provided optimistic future visions that reflected what the

residents wanted to hear, and were not necessarily equipped to judge their feasibility in terms of the structural issues standing in their way.

Possibilities for Expanded Multicultural Learning

This tendency to frame issues in terms of professional problem solving and thus minimize personal reflection suggests that community-based design studios with goals to enhance racial sensitivity and awareness may need additional forms of reflection beyond the design process. Interestingly, the best resource for personal reflection among students ended up being the research investigation itself, which provided students a chance to discuss their experience and feelings. Several students commented at the end of the class that responding to questions about their experiences helped them focus on racial issues. Focus group participants stated that they would have liked more opportunities to discuss racial issues together; and, perhaps they felt more comfortable engaging in these discussions with trained facilitators when their instructor was not present. It seems unlikely that design instructors are able to take on the additional role of multicultural educator, because this would: 1) require additional instructor training; 2) deprioritize the course focus on design products; and 3) create dual relationships that might stifle or limit students' engagement. If increased awareness of structural oppression and one's own biases and assumptions are indeed desired learning outcomes in design instruction, this study not only confirms the need for multiple forms of reflection but also the need to augment the studio design experience with discussions about race, ethnicity, and class in the context of environmental history, design theory, and professional practice. In this case, a substantial revision of the studio model is needed, which could include deprioritizing the design process and engaging in reflective exercises adapted from other disciplines. Perhaps interdisciplinary efforts could provide students a prerequisite course in African American urban studies to help prepare them for their experience. Another option is to incorporate critical self-reflection as part of ESLARP outreach weekend activities, facilitated by experts in racial attitudes among White students, to occur as a group with all students and volunteers and outside the studio course format. Thus, interdisciplinary collaboration might be an important factor to consider when engaging students in cross-racial community-based projects.

O'Grady (1998) emphasized a need for context (before, during, and after the experience) as the supporting pillar of the community-based work. Pre-service preparation should include discussion of how stereotypes occur and increase students' understanding of structural oppression. Throughout the experience, opportunities are needed for group discussion and reflection regarding how students are responding emotionally to what they see; further, this discussion should link their reactions to broader societal issues. O'Grady cautions that without providing this necessary context, students might not see difference (i.e., color-blind racial perspective), and negative stereotypes are likely to be reinforced.

Another possible way to encourage personal reflection is to promote dialogue between community members and students to expand beyond the design project to directly address issues of race and inequality. In general, the resident groups were very appreciative and reported satisfaction with the students' work. A final design was selected for one project, and is now being used for fundraising, while residents in another project requested that work continue into the following year in order to continue discussing some key concerns or points of disagreement that still needed to be resolved. However, there were limited opportunities for students to talk with residents on more general issues about their daily lives or the conditions of East St. Louis. Novek (2000) suggests that greater community participation in evaluation of students and the overall project (e.g., soliciting evaluations of community outcomes) is needed and often overlooked in multicultural service-learning. While the focus of this paper has been on student perceptions, understanding and valuing community perceptions might enhance students' awareness of racial issues and foster a greater sense of collaboration.

Conclusion

Each opportunity to reflect on student experiences provides new insights into possible ways to improve multicultural learning objectives. In this chapter, we did not intend to generalize from a small group of students, nor suggest one model. Instead, by focusing on student evaluations and work, our goal has been to understand how the community-based ESLARP studio was perceived by the students themselves. It is clear that the particular structure, exercises, and instructor's approach shaped the opportunities to address multicultural learning, and that each

studio is unique. For the design professions, it is not enough to assume that the design process itself, even when it is participatory, achieves multicultural learning objectives. However, with the perspective gained from discourse on multicultural learning in other disciplines, design instruction can include new methods to encourage student thinking about how societal issues shape and are shaped by design. To realize that such efforts as community-based design studios are falling short of the desired expectations shows the need for conscientious attention to address the preparations needed to meet multicultural education objectives.

This experience reveals potential conflicts between multicultural learning and the discipline-informed experience. The assumption that by having students work on "real world" projects, they will not only gain professional skills and knowledge, but that they also will enhance their racial awareness and critical consciousness of societal injustice, has proven to be ungrounded. Professional, or discipline-based learning, tends to dominate student reflections. If multicultural learning (e.g., increased racial awareness and sensitivity) is truly intended as an outcome of such courses, then it must be addressed explicitly through attention to how students contextualize knowledge, awareness, and skills—before, during, and after experience. As a result of the current project, we see a unique opportunity to integrate multicultural education as a parallel effort through interdisciplinary collaboration, and complementary efforts. Further research is needed to determine what type of collaborative interventions are effective and under what circumstances.

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FOOTNOTES

[1] Race is understood as a socially constructed classification system intended to maintain social, economic, and other distinctions (Foner & Frederickson, 2004).

[2] Exercises that may be used to encourage reflection include the environmental autobiography technique that helps designers realize their own cultural- and class-based preferences and participatory design methods described by Randolph Hester, Henry Sanhoff, and others that intend to encourage active listening, nominal group technique, and interactive design processes to encourage discussion and new ways of addressing shared problems (Cooper-Marcus, 1979; Hester, 1990; Sanhoff, 2000). This said, few of these techniques directly address the cultural divide of race, ethnicity, and income that often exists when students work in low-income communities of color.

[3] In 2005, course readings included contemporary discourse on cultural meaning/design of parks and open space, East St. Louis, and community participatory design. In addition, students watched the video, *Claiming Open Space,* which documents historic and contemporary racial conflicts associated with parks in the United States.

[4] Although not the focus of this paper, it is interesting to note that some students from this studio have since contacted the instructor to learn more about careers in community-based work. Several students have sought work in the public sector and others have looked toward socially responsible organizations.

Strategies for Achieving Diversity in Urban Planning: A Case Study at the University of Illinois

Elizabeth L. Sweet

What is diversity? Is diversity a good thing? If so, how do we foster diversity? If we achieve diversity, how do we maintain diversity? In this chapter, I focus on the last of these questions. While there is still active debate over the meaning, desirability, and ways of attaining diversity, there is less discussion or action about creating a campus climate and learning contexts that support diversity (Evans and Chun, 2007). Moreno and colleagues' (2006) findings indicated that most newly hired, underrepresented faculty in California were merely replacing underrepresented faculty who left, which signals a problem with retention. Since national academic cultures depend on senior faculty (in Planning, mostly white males) for peer review publishing, it is essentially still rotating within a good old boys network, and can be an obstacle in retaining underrepresented faculty. Moreover, letters for tenure must come from senior faculty (again in Planning, mostly white males). These unremitting structural problems in campus climates keep work and learning environments tainted by both overt and covert discrimination culminating in anti-diversity milieus.

The Department of Urban and Regional Planning (DURP) at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign (UIUC) is developing and implementing strategies to counter the anti-diversity climate, evident in the hostile environments in some of our department's classrooms and in extracurricular activities. The lack of racial and other kinds of diversity in Urban Planning Departments is, as it is in most disciplines, a multi-layered problem. This problem manifests itself in problematic interactions between the students and faculty of society's dominant groups and the students and faculty from non-dominant groups, generating a hostile climate.

Anti-diversity climates can be a result of few diverse voices, the invalidation of diverse voices in class discussions and materials, by limitations on the materials and authorial voices in manuscripts that get published, and by disparities in funding for projects that focus on underrepresented people of color. Increasing the number of "diverse" students and faculty is probably the fundamental response required to promote diversity. From the starting point, however, the campus climate, including classroom atmosphere, in the context of extracurricular activity, and the verbal/visual character of interactions, is critical for retaining faculty and students from underrepresented groups. Planning literature has addressed these issues in different ways.

Planning education, practice, and scholarship have gone through various stages of inclusion and exclusion of diversity. I argue that the inference is clear: Planning needs a comprehensive approach to teaching and understanding diversity if we are to maintain it. The multi-pronged process undertaken at the Department of Urban and Regional Planning (DURP) at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign is a step in the right direction. DURP was implementing an infusion model with four components: orientation and semester workshops, a code of conduct, attention to the physical environment, and making the study and discussion of diversity normative for scholarly work.

I will briefly address the questions posed at the beginning of the paper to frame my assessment and experience of maintaining diversity in Urban Planning education and practice. Then, I will review the ways that diversity has been addressed in Planning scholarship. Finally, I will chart the process of DURP in developing strategies to infuse diversity into the department's environment, as part of our mission to create a climate that prioritizes and embraces diversity.

Framing Diversity

The term diversity is extremely contentious. There is a broad consensus that diversity as an academic goal is about increasing the numbers of underrepresented minority men and women among both faculty and students. Beyond that effort, however, I suggest that there should be efforts to challenge the status quo of power relationships. Unfortunately, the wide range of definitions understood to satisfy diversity can be manipulated to obstruct those efforts. Diversity is often

understood in ethnic/racial terms, but exactly who can represent those terms is nevertheless not always agreed upon. How do "we" conceive of 'ethnic/racial diversity'? Are Caribbean and African Blacks also African Americans? Do Korean immigrant students and Mexican immigrant students count equally towards diversity? In other words, which demographic, as well as ethnic/ racial, variables come into play? Is there an implied focus restricted to ethnic/racial diversity even when simply the term "diversity" is used? Are we referring consistently to the same group(s) of people or does the notion of who 'increases diversity' change with the specific context? Indeed, are there other kinds of diverse groups to be considered: those with diverse abilities, with diverse sexual orientation, etc? It is beyond the scope of this chapter to answer these questions, but they are highly germane to the mission of embracing diversity.

In this chapter, I am focusing on race/ethnicity, gender, and class as characterizing underrepresented groups, as the chapter explores what diversity means in Planning education, scholarship, and practice. Although this list is not exhaustive, the literature and my efforts here are best framed by these parameters.

Two arguments usually are advanced to support diversity. One argument is the notion that diversity is good for business, including the business of education. We cannot afford to have educational settings that are ill-preparing our students to develop efficacy in an ever increasingly diverse world (Bollinger, 2003). In the present global context of business and economic interactions, understanding and "dealing with" diversity is a highly necessary skill to be acquired in higher education. Reardon (1998) argued that service-learning in diverse communities can also make students better citizens. He stated:

> Increasing numbers of colleges and university are . . . encouraging faculty to incorporate community service-learning in their teaching and research. By doing so, students have the opportunity to acquire important new knowledge, skills, and *civic competencies* while providing services to distressed urban and rural communities" (Reardon, 1998: 57; emphasis added).

The second argument often used for supporting diversity cites moral/legal grounds: it is the right thing to do. There have been and still are structural reasons why some groups are underrepresented in universities and, consequently, in Planning schools. It is unfair, as well as illegal, to discriminate against persons on the basis of their "other" status.

Challenges to Diversity

Even though discrimination has been illegal since the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, structural and attitudinal shortcomings continue to keep diversity from becoming the norm, as well as providing privilege to Whites. A colleague described a discussion with her father, who is Black and was 25 years old when the Civil Rights Act passed. He insisted she has no idea how good she has it now. Her reply was, "Yes, I have it better. But I am dealing with a different kind of racism that is like a million paper cuts." Those paper cuts come from both vestiges of the old system apparent in ideas and stereotyped assumptions about individuals' abilities and characteristics, and virulent new ideas that punish representatives of diversity as inappropriately perceived "privileged" status. Ironically, some Whites suggest that a person has gotten to where she or he is precisely because of a race, gender, or other demographic "difference."

A great deal has been written about ways to pursue diversity in higher education, including numerous articles and commentaries in the *Chronicle of Higher Education*. One article highlights "8 Crucial Steps to Increase Diversity," (Anderson, 2007) and articles about the lack of diversity in specific fields are plentiful (Wilson, 2007; Hover, 2007; Mooney, 2006). The *Chronicle of Higher Education* recently published statistics on universities' numbers respective to White, Black, Latino, Asian, and Native American professors where they demonstrate the low numbers of non-White groups in the ranks of professors (Race and Ethnicity of Faculty Members, 2007).

Affirmative action, an important tool for increasing diversity, has met legal reversals. California and Michigan have had their affirmative action programs challenged in the U.S. Supreme Court, with mixed results for Michigan and devastating results for California (Bollinger, 2007). The strides taken by California to increase diversity in the student body have been reversed. Michigan is still trying to adjust its policies

to foster diversity within the new framework laid out by the Supreme Court. In short, if we do figure out how to increase diversity in student bodies and faculties, we must also figure out how to maintain it in the face of counterforces.

Maintaining diversity is also a complicated and dynamic process. Because the extent of hostility to diversity or even acknowledging that campus climates could be hostile to diversity is debated, implementing blanket policies or processes to understand and deal with the barriers to it is not feasible. Work is being done on understanding and deconstructing the challenges to maintaining a positive and affirming learning context, but the contexts differ from campus to campus and even within departments.

For example, the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign, has only recently retired the racially-stereotyped "Chief Illiniwek mascot." Though the Chief's retirement was an important symbolic act to support diversity, much remains to be done to rid our campus of its legacy. Since the imagery of the American Indian Chief, with its racist connotations, continues on clothing and bumper stickers, and in parades, the tactic message also continues: racism is tolerated on this campus and is informally sanctioned by the administration.

Other evidence of tactic racism in the university climate is the disproportionate level of challenge that meets faculty research and teaching projects on diversity or equity. For example, I proposed a project to the Research Board for funding that would examine economic development in relation to Latinas. It was rejected and the reviewers (University of Illinois professors) stated that the methods were not appropriate. One anonymous reviewer wrote, "I am trying to picture a group of poor Hispanic women, most of whom will be undocumented, responding to a request that they ponder how the state might help them with businesses they currently must be very careful to keep secret from the government precisely because of their illegal immigration status." The letter even insinuated that the informal work in the African American community is usually criminal: "… but African American informal activity is of a very different nature than Hispanic informal activity… many of their [Latino] economic activities would be otherwise legal if they were documented."

The Board's response is problematic in so many ways, one hardly knows where to start. However, I want to draw attention to the racial stereotypes used to describe Latinas and African Americans. The inability to imagine Latina women having a discussion that would lead to policies that support their economic development initiatives because they are characterized as poor, uneducated, and undocumented is an incredibly ignorant, racist, sexist, and xenophobic position for a university professor to hold. Additionally, the suggestion that all informal activity in the African American community is illicit is equally destructive to a diverse campus climate.

Teaching evaluations often reveal student hostility to diversity, as well as blatant racism and sexism with references to the professor's race, gender, or other personal characteristics. As with many professors, I have received evaluations that complain we are "obsessed with race" or that we are "feminist" or that we are "biased." A student (at another university) accused me of discriminating against him in grading because he was a White male. When I provided the evidence that I had given him the grade he had earned, he dropped his formal complaint, but similar experiences besiege my female colleagues and my colleagues of color across the disciplines, who share them with each other in empathetic conversations (Vargas, 2003).

The Role of Planning in Diversity

Academic departments have even more complex dynamics affecting the climate for diversity, meshing discipline-specific canons, accreditation criteria, historical legacy, and faculty characteristics. Urban Planning as a practice has played key roles, both positive and negative, in handling diversity in cities and regions. Planners have historically been implicit in perpetuating racism. For example, the more than 500 sundown towns in Illinois, where African American residents were often violently evicted and then were not allowed to be in the town after sundown during the early part of the 20th century, were legitimized by Planning tools like zoning, ordinances, housing codes, eminent domain, and development projects (Hartman, 2006). In our own time, the many years of municipal planning neglected the ninth ward in New Orleans, which contributed significantly to the massive devastation during Hurricane Katrina, accounted by many to be an act

of racism (Bates, 2007). The contemporary anti-immigrant ordinances emerging across the nation are often developed through Planning processes reminiscent of those in the sundown towns. As of November 2007, 1562 anti-immigrant local ordinances and state bills have been proposed, and 244 have passed (Lucero, 2008, p. 48). Several groups are challenging the constitutionality of such ordinances, but the harm they cause is great even if some are eventually repealed. At a minimum, Planning officials have an ethical duty to call attention to the inequity of such obviously racist anti-diversity policies.

In many instances, the Planning profession veers between accommodating and challenging racism and the negations/erasure of difference. In 1992, the new guidelines developed for the accreditation of Planning schools included: "Planning programs must have plans to move toward greater racial, ethnic, and gender diversity—including but not limited to—course content" (Looye & Sesay, 1998, p. 162). The language supporting diversity and equity, limited as it was, was banished from the later draft of accreditation guideline revisions in 2006, with the final version simply noting that curriculum should "attend to the diversity of individual and community values" (Planning Accreditation Board, 2006, p. 14).

Meanwhile, encouraging events can be seen in both Planning practice and the academy. The Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative in Boston is an excellent example of participatory neighborhood planning. Mostly African American residents had effective and decisive participation in the renovations of their community (Mahan & Lipman, 1996). For the first time in the history of the United States, a grassroots community organization exercised eminent domain for the purposes of redevelopment. In Chicago, Instituto del Progreso Latino has significantly fostered diversity through its economic development planning (Sweet & Gunzel, 2004). Their initial programs, during the 1980s, focused on increasing the number of Latinos and Latinas in such government jobs as post office and city government positions. The university and government partnerships they have made have had practical, positive consequences for the economic and educational prospects of thousands of Latinos and Latinas. Their Even Start program targets pre-school children and their parents. They also have an alternative high school and many adult education and retraining programs. The director, Juan

Salgado, is a graduate of University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign's Department of Urban and Regional Planning (DURP).

Planning Research and Literature on Diversity

The number of articles about diversity in the two main Planning journals (*Journal of the American Planning Association* and the *Journal of Planning Education and Research*) is limited. The emphasis seems to ebb and flow, depending on the editor. The articles in those two journals fall into four main areas: 1) the importance of race and gender in Planning practice; 2) visions for diversity in Planning; 3) pedagogical and curriculum suggestions for improving diversity in Planning; and 4) larger structural issues in academia that hold back diversity in Planning.

Scholarship about race and gender in Planning started appearing in the 1970s and 1980s, but it was not until the early 1990s that a solid emphasis emerged on the challenges of fostering diversity in the education, practices, and makeup of Planning educators and students. Ross (1990) laid out an agenda for both the recruitment and retention of minority and female students and faculty. The 10 techniques and recommendations she presented to "help ensure greater diversity in Planning schools" encompassed financial and other support for individuals, networks and other ways to identify and recruit talented students, and assistance from the Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning (ACSP) in attracting women and people of color from markets where, traditionally, there are high numbers of women and minorities (Ross, p. 137). Hill (1990) encouraged a joint effort by Planning schools to recruit, train, and hire minority faculty. His assumption was that there were not enough minority faculty to go around. Earlier, Leavitt (1983) said that since the 1970s, "… advocates for women's issues have been tugging at the edges of Planning practice and education" (p. 55). Leavitt pointed to childcare and lack of it as obstacles that make women's entry into the field even more difficult than it is for minorities (p. 55). Mire (1994), having been the director of economic development during the Harold Washington administration in Chicago, argued that awareness of race should be a starting point for most planning considerations in urban areas. Others questioned the very possibility of race-neutral planning (Grigsby III, 1994). This decade of theoretical and practical discussions about planning and diversity set the groundwork for change.

The second view of Planning scholarship on diversity—that it is the right thing to do—is represented by Thomas's (1996) vision of "unified diversity for social action," which advanced the conceptions of why diversity is needed. Not only is it the right thing to do, as well as good for business, but in order to advance our scholarship and knowledge, we need diversity. "Knowledge is not really objective or academically neutral; instead, it reflects assumptions, biases, and culture of those who create it" (Thomas, p. 174). Hence, the diversity project is not just to get beyond the rational Planning model or "disjointed pluralism," but to get to a third state in which Planning programs are "visionary" and administrations support diversity, faculty are diverse, students are diverse, academic environments support diverse learning, and curricula reflect multicultural knowledge (Thomas, p. 177). Sadly, not much has been done to implement or expand on this work.

Pedagogy and curriculum are the third area of Planning scholarship on diversity. Several authors have focused on developing pedagogy that reflects multicultural knowledge and experiences. Ritzdorf (1993) advocated alternative ways to teach as with nontraditional writing assignments. For example, she suggested that people try the fairy tale structure as a way to write about planning—"Once upon a time there was a …" Alternative ways and places for delivering curriculum and data collection have also been explored. I have written elsewhere about how women and, particularly, women of color have developed "*Grrrilla* research" and teaching techniques that take place outside the framework of traditional funding streams and classrooms, in kitchens and community organizations (Sweet, 2006). Some authors have developed guidelines for changing curricula to include more diversity (Forsyth, 1995; Looye & Sesay, 1998). Looye and Sesay (1998) described a handholding process by which Planning departments could guide Planning professors to include diversity in their syllabi. They suggested:

> …meet with the faculty members and ask whether diversity issues are currently being addressed in the course. (Be prepared to keep defining diversity as most faculty members think they already cover this, even though their syllabi and assigned reading tell a different story. (p. 163)

Though the authors' efforts to suggest how diversity can be included in the curriculum should be applauded, they never define diversity,

nor do they really discuss changing the Planning "culture," which, as noted in their article, is a tradition rife with inequality and "implicated in the uneven development of privilege and oppression …" (p. 162). For women and people of color, being on the front lines of diversity pedagogy and curriculum has costs. Women and minorities, as exemplars, as well as teachers of diversity, risk becoming targets if their teaching raises issues of diversity. Knight (2003), while reviewing Women Faculty of Color in the White Classroom, notes that several contributors suggest that "… student evaluations tend to be extremely positive or negative, displaying overt and covert statements of racism, sexism, xenophobia, or linguicism (discrimination based on language differences)." The authors urge that the multiple social identities and pedagogical practices of women faculty of color, and the impact that these factors have on evaluations, be taken into account to understand why women faculty of color often have teaching proficiency scores below departmental norms. There is no reason to believe that Planning diverges from this phenomenon.

The fourth area of concern to Planning scholars writing about diversity is the structural impediments to diversity in Planning. I draw here mostly from Chicana scholars, as they have studied this area extensively. Cordova (1997) described the colonization of academia and how it fends off women and people of color, especially women of color, from reaching positions of power and excluded them from the arenas where academic agendas are set. She insisted that we must be wary of allowing an unequal power structure to be recreated, since the theorizing about race in Planning is appropriated by Whites, while the voices of Planners of color are left out or invalidated (Cordova, 1994). Other structural issues are the "complex interrelationships between class, race-ethnicity, gender, and sexuality" (Segura, 2003, p.47). The relationships and power hierarchies pointed out above combine to create academic structures that obstruct diversity.

What is important to keep in mind about such structures is that they function in the current national "post-race" context that I suggest has stifled academic research on diversity in the Planning profession. Bonilla-Silva (2006) has argued that in the face of significant race inequalities in the United States "… Whites have developed powerful explanations—which have ultimately become justification—for con-

temporary racial inequality that exculpate them from any responsibility for the status of people of color" (p. 2). In Planning, this state of mind has meant only slow increases in tenured faculty of color and especially women faculty of color, and has generated challenges to including discussions of diversity in curricula and pedagogy. Currently, there are approximately 28 African American, 15 Latino/a, and 2 Native American tenured or tenure track faculty among the 91 accredited Planning schools in the US. Of these, 11 of them either have not gotten tenure (moved to different institutions), been dismissed from consideration for tenure at the third-year review, or are enduring very difficult climates in which they do not expect to get tenure (learned through personal conversations with Planning professors). While the reason for dismissal is never officially based on race or gender since that is illegal, other more subtle reasons are given, including teaching evaluations and low quality of peer reviewed published manuscripts. These reasons fall in line with Bonilla-Silva's theory of "powerful explanations."

Faculty of color and especially women of color, often face obstacles to getting tenure- track positions, and to successfully negotiating the tenure process. It is hard to document such incidences because they are embarrassing for the victims, and especially because one fears exposing the situation and incurring the likely effects on one's career. But, women of color in Planning are facing discrimination and tokenism in their pursuit of tenured academic jobs (Sweet, 2006). In job interviews, they are sometimes asked to change the topics of their talks an hour before they are scheduled to start, their accommodations in some cases are inferior to those of White counterparts, and, the most frequent eventuality, are interviewed only so that a department can record that they interviewed a "minority." Although this may be typical of many disciplines, Urban Planning is an applied discipline. Since urban spaces are diverse by their very nature and its research, this discipline's teaching should logically focus on issues of diversity. Generally, Planning schools are training professional planners who will be helping to shape communities. Surely, then, it is important to explore the realities and the multiple tiers of diversity, or the lack of it, in Planning educational environment. When students and professors of color are subjected to hostile work and learning climates, their ability to excel is hindered, and the same limiting climate is reproduced in city planning departments and other planning agencies, with irresponsible consequences for impacting communities.

Diversity at DURP

It is hard to maintain diversity without a solid commitment to do so. In 2005, DURP hired two underrepresented minority faculty women who started in the fall of 2006 and at that same time developed a new specialization, "community development for social justice," which examines primarily issues of equity and diversity in community planning. In 2009, one of the underrepresented faculty left for another position and the other was issued a letter of non-reappointment. The students organized to support the professor who received the letter of non-reappointment and the advancement of race, gender, and social justice studies in the department. The students' efforts were met with harsh criticism from the department faculty and Head, and they were told that race and gender had nothing to do with the de facto dismantling of the concentration and removal of its faculty.

Obviously, the environment in the department affects the "diverse" students. In the spring of 2006, the department hosted and facilitated a meeting with mostly graduate students and faculty to discuss issues of diversity in the department. Students of color and international students voiced criticism of issues about the department's climate in terms of classroom management and materials, as well as of the atmosphere during extracurricular activities. By and large, the White faculty members were surprised. But they were very willing to try to address the concerns. A Research Assistantship for five hours a week was assigned to one professor to start developing a plan to do so. Then, in the fall of 2007, an undergraduate student wrote a serious letter to the entire Urban Planning faculty about the hostile environment he had endured during his first year at DURP. He was very discouraged, having suffered not only racist comments about faculty made in his presence, but direct insults about his sexuality. In the context of this letter and the issues that had been raised by students in the facilitated meeting, a diversity committee that had been formed previously was revived.

The diversity committee had discussed a laundry list of ways to address diversity issues in the department: professional behavior/ethics training, a conflict resolution workshop, review and changes of course content, required courses on diversity, diversity orientations at the start of every year, seminars on difference/diversity (critical race theory), the need for faculty to push diversity discussions more in the classroom,

class management training for faculty, and problems concerning the physical environment. In the end, the committee decided on a four-pronged, infusion strategy, which aimed to infuse diversity activities and information throughout the program each semester. During 2008-2009, the infusion efforts included: 1) a diversity code of conduct (class and department environment); 2) orientation, and subsequent workshops on diversity; 3) improvement of the main office environment (no more Christmas-only decorations); and 4) the formation of the Gender and Race Intersections in Planning Lab (GRIP-Lab).

As members of a professional program, the committee decided to start by focusing on professional ethics and the standard that should prevail in the department to reflect a willingness to seek and appreciate diversity. Citing the American Institute of Certified Planners (AICP) and the University Student Code, they developed a code (see Appendix) by which it tried to ferret out the ways that an anti-diversity climate is being produced in the department. These include not only overt hostility and aggression, but also discomfort and subtle ways of silencing diverse peoples' participation, opinions, or work. The committee tried to develop a list of examples such as this: during group projects (a big part of Planning education), students of color have been excluded; they may not be told about meetings, or meetings are held when White group members know the student of color is unavailable. A more aggressive example is the student who, in a group where others could hear, told a gay student, "there are too many fags and chinks running around campus." In addition to detailing the kinds of difficulties students were encountering, the committee discussed appropriate ways to report instances of aggression, and about suitable remedies.

The committee stipulated that all students, upon enrolling in a Planning class, be bound by the code of conduct. The code has three sections, including: 1) Statement of Inclusiveness and Professionalism; 2) Rights and Responsibilities in DURP Learning Environments; 3) Resolving issues related to inclusiveness and professionalism. Throughout the code, there are links to the different University sites that provide help, to the AICP web page, and to explanations of key terms such as harassment, stereotype etc. The department's expectations are clearly stated. The process for resolution, however, is not. The committee decided to resolve issues case by case in accordance with the University's

preference for unofficial handling of departmental issues. The University emphasizes this preference on the Provost's web page on harassment. During faculty discussions of the code, it was clear that some faculty also preferred informal processes. Some faculty voiced concerns that the diversity committee and the code were trying to over-control behavior, consequently the code was revised to favor resolution at the department level and to soften the language. The code is on the department's web page, is presented at orientation each year, and is attached to all syllabi in the department.

The committee also wanted to incorporate diversity training in workshops during the orientation of each new cohort, as well as during the semester. All training would be designed to avoid the typical pitfalls of diversity training. Such pitfalls include making White people feel guilty; training Whites to hide their racism by avoiding certain remarks, rather than building relationships and understanding; blaming Whites or only managing White peoples' hurt feelings (Carmen Van Kerckhove, 2008). The committee's goal was to get beyond uncritical celebrations of diversity and multiculturalism to directly confront the thorny issues of old racism (direct and blunt), new racism (subtle and indirect), as well as other stereotyping and consequent discrimination based on difference. The committee developed strategies to meet this goal through four orientation workshops and other workshop opportunities throughout the semester:

- Increase student capacity to engage in rigorous, spirited, and deliberate dialogues in classroom, small, and large group discussions.
- Increase student capacity for participatory planning with diverse stakeholders.
- Increase student capacity to consider how larger social issues (racism, equity, and power) on processes of planning.
- Increase students' capacity to engage in professional, collegial relationships.
- Provide opportunities for faculty to participate in dialogues focused on the classroom and department climate for students from diverse backgrounds.

The following workshops were spread out during a week of orientation activities as part of the infusion process:

- Introduction—Participatory Planning: Building democracies
- Talking the Walk: Methods of deliberative dialogue
- Using the Arts to See the World: Understanding the influences of culture, history, and race
- Playing in the Field: Development oriented to Social Justice Development in the local context; site visits

A third area to be tackled was the physical environment. To this end, group meetings were scheduled to discuss and strategize about improving the office environment. Considering the campus tradition of the "Chief" and the Christmas-only seasonal decorations in the office, the committee focused on presenting a space where all would feel equally welcome. While the direction of the Head was to have a winter decoration theme rather than specific Christmas decorations, Christmas won out as staff protested the change using the argument that Christmas trees were secular and not connected to any one religion. The only concession made by staff was an invitation to students and faculty to add their own decorations. The department will try again in the coming year to change to non-Christmas only décor.

Finally, a faculty member initiated the Gender and Race Intersections in Planning Lab (GRIP-Lab) to support the work of diverse faculty who do scholarship in these areas and also to legitimize such research as a valid element of Planning scholarship, education, and practice. The GRIP-Lab is devoted to understanding the causes, consequences, and intersections of race and gender inequality in Planning education, practice, and research. The objective of the GRIP-Lab is to ask relevant, targeted questions about gender and race inequality in Planning, and to use every tool available (empirical, experimental, theoretical, and action research) to answer those questions. The GRIP-Lab is a place where students can participate in research on issues of gender, race, and class in Planning. The broader objective of the lab is to use multi-method approaches to improve education, public decision-making, and policy about the intersections of race and gender inequality in United States, transnational, and international Planning. So far, students have

reported the space as a safe and productive place to work and discuss issues facing them in the department.

Discussion

We do not live in a color-blind or gender-blind society. This is why, we need to make sure that Planning education institutions are sensitive to the continuing issues of diversity that plague even teaching about diversity and so, in turn, have significant consequences for communities. In this chapter, I presented the state of scholarship about diversity in Planning and the four-pronged approach developed at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Department of Urban and Regional Planning to seek out, appreciate, and embrace diversity.

During the 1990s, Planning scholarship exhibited increasing attention to a discourse about diversity in Planning education and practice; however, in the ensuing context of political changes to the right and a paradigm shift toward a post-racism and post-sexism society, that discourse stalled. Furthermore, the problem is no longer simply a lack of diverse Ph.D.s, since those we have are not able to remain in academia. The framework laid out by Ross in 1990 has to be updated to include not just women and planners of color, but women planners of color and the specific barriers they are facing. The intersections of race and gender and class in the Planning context should be more thoroughly investigated (Cordova, 1997).

"Negative stereotype threats" are predetermined ideas about capabilities and performance based on race, gender, religion, disability, etc., which can constrict individual performance and shape negative expectations by others. Recognizing negative stereotype threats might help planners and faculty to understand and then to challenging anti-diversity behaviors in Planning education and practice. Bonilla-Silva (2006) demonstrated how negative stereotypes have evolved into "color-blind racism … [by which] Whites rationalize minorities' contemporary states as a product of market dynamics, naturally occurring phenomena, and Blacks' imputed cultural limitations". The nodes of such contemporary racism and sexism have crept into Planning education, scholarship, and practice to foil diversity. It is in the places where planners are trained, as well as in the wider academic sectors—journals, grant providers, and administrators—that the work to foster diversity must go on.

With not only the formation of the Planners of Color Interest Group within ACSP but also an energized group of young scholars of color pushing for change, DURP was attempting to respond to the challenge. Nurturing respect for diversity as a central value in the code of ethics, providing opportunities for students and faculty to work through issues of diversity, working toward maintaining a physical environment that is welcoming to all, and normalizing diversity in research and teaching—are the efforts which constitute the plan. The infusion approach has the potential to put diversity front and center in the pedagogical program, as well as support the scholarly development of faculty of color.

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APPENDIX

Statement of Inclusiveness and Professionalism
http://www.urban.uiuc.edu/about/inclusion.html

Commitment to Inclusiveness & Professionalism

The Department of Urban and Regional Planning (DURP) is committed to creating an environment of inclusion and opportunity that is rooted in the responsibility of practicing planners to adhere to the highest standards of professionalism and integrity while serving the public interest. Students who contribute to a learning environment that is respectful and inclusive are preparing to excel in a culture of ethical behavior as professionals. Urban planning students develop the knowledge and skills of professional planners in the classroom and in community based projects, where they act as planners in training. Therefore, DURP expects all students to meet the goals outlined in the American Institute of Certified Planners (AICP) Code of Ethics and Professional Conduct for planners as well as standards in the University of Illinois Student Code.

Rights and Responsibilities in DURP Learning Environments

The DURP learning environment includes dialogue, collaborative work, and service-learning. By enrolling in a course in the Department of Urban and Regional Planning, students agree to be responsible for maintaining a respectful environment in their academic and professional training. The expectations outlined in this code apply to all people participating in DURP activities, including classes, projects, and extracurricular programs.

Rights in the DURP learning environment. All participants in DURP activities have the right to feel comfortable sharing in the conversation, to be free of intimidation or ridicule, and to face no discrimination on the basis of their views. Through classroom discussions, opinions are questioned and challenged and may be strengthened or revised. In group project work, students have the right to be included, to contribute, and to have their voices heard by team members. Group projects prepare students for working with a wide variety of colleagues and allow for the opportunity to learn from classmates.

Responsibilities in the DURP learning environment. Students, faculty, and staff are responsible for maintaining an inclusive, respectful environment and all are expected to respect the opinions and backgrounds of others. In order to have successful dialogue, basic rules of courtesy should be followed.

Students and faculty are also responsible for dialogue that meets the standards of academic and professional planning settings, where opinions are valid when they are supported with appropriate evidence and logical arguments. Students and faculty may speak from personal experience, but should not make arguments based on uninformed stereotypes, misrepresented information, or unsupported assertions.

In group work, participants are responsible for providing the opportunity for each group member to contribute. Ideas and contributions should be valued and considered equally as long as they meet the basis of accepted academic and professional standards for planning work.

Maintaining an Inclusive and Professional Environment

Conduct that interferes with the rights of another or creates an atmosphere of intimidation or disrespect is inconsistent with the environment of learning and cooperation that the program requires. Because professionalism and ethical behavior are critical learning objectives in DURP, students should expect that grading and evaluation may be based on their adherence to behavior that upholds the rights and responsibilities outlined here.

Students, faculty and staff should assume an active role in ensuring that we maintain a positive and open department climate by working to understand and avoid invalidations, insults, or offenses (verbal, nonverbal, and/or visual) directed toward people based on their identity. Since these acts may be unintentional, the aim of addressing them is learning and understanding, rather than sanction.

Students, faculty, and staff may work to maintain an inclusive, professional climate in multiple ways, depending on the circumstances and comfort level. These approaches could include:

- Speaking out in the classroom, explaining problematic issues with the aim of teaching, learning, and understanding;
- Speaking with the instructor, requesting reinforcement of standards for respectful and appropriate communication or assistance with resolving interpersonal issues;
- Talking to the Department Head about a problem with an instructor or assistantship supervisor;
- Anyone experiencing problems may speak with individual faculty, members of the departmental diversity committee, or the Department Head to discuss concerns and obtain information about how to resolve a conflict.

More serious incidents or persistent offensive behavior may result in the following:

- Consequences in class grading on participation and group projects;
- Referral to the Office of Student Conflict Resolution for mediation.

If behavior escalates or rises to the level of violation of university policies on harassment, options are to:

- Report the behavior to the Office of the Dean of Students as an Act of Intolerance;
- Report the behavior to the Office of the Provost as harassment that creates a persistent negative climate;
- Pursue formal charges as violations of the Student Code, following established University procedures;
- Pursue a formal complaint to the Office of Equal Opportunity and Access for employment-related sexual harassment or discrimination.

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EDUCATION/DIVERSITY/CAMPUS CLIMATE

Implementing Diversity is a collection of thoughtful essays examining race, racism, diversity, and campus climate at predominantly White universities. With the underlying premise of the benefits of racial and ethnic diversity, this volume examines challenges to fostering diversity, relevant issues of racial formation, and dynamics of institutional change. Additional insight is provided into best practices for implementing diversity at predominantly White universities. By providing empirical and theoretical essays, this work stresses social justice and mobility, while providing snapshots of the meaning of diversity and its impact on campus climate. *Implementing Diversity* provides a foundation for engaging the multifaceted issues of diversity and change in higher education.

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