USING CRITICAL RACE THEORY TO EXAMINE HOW PREDOMINANTLY WHITE LAND-GRANT UNIVERSITIES UTILIZE CHIEF DIVERSITY OFFICERS

by

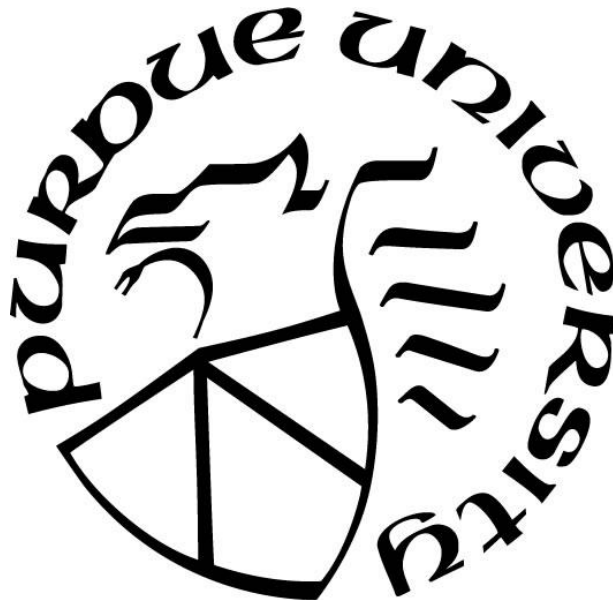**Brandon C. M. Allen**

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Faculty of Purdue University

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Agricultural Sciences Education and Communication

West Lafayette, Indiana

May 2020

THE PURDUE UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL
STATEMENT OF COMMITTEE APPROVAL

Dr. Levon Esters, Chair

Department of Agricultural Sciences Education and Communication

Dr. Neil Knobloch

Department of Agricultural Sciences Education and Communication

Dr. Alberto Rodriguez

Department of Curriculum & Instruction

Dr. Mark Tucker

Department of Agricultural Sciences Education and Communication

Approved by:

Dr. Mark Russell

This dissertation is dedicated to my great-grandmother, the late Queen Elizabeth Hunt-Turner-Douglass. Thank you for teaching me what it means to fully support and love others. I could not have done this without your love and prayers.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

To Amonté – I had to do one specifically for you brother! We was about that action! I may have gotten the awards but they were OUR awards! I couldn't have done half what I accomplished if I did not have you as my partner in justice! Love you bro!

To Dr. Stephanie Zywicki – Thank for your assistance in helping me develop the knowledge to complete such a study. What you shared with me helped make me a better scholar!

To the ASEC (formally YDAE) Family- Thank you for the support, thank you for the welcoming environment, but most importantly thank you for never denying my opportunity to do what I felt was right and needed! You all stepped in a big way for many of the initiatives we started and that's something to value!

To Victoria "Eugie" Ruiz, Dr. Vicki Kennell, Carly Rae Zent, and Maggie Myers- Thank you all for working with me through the revising and editing stages of my dissertation. Your willingness to design a program to help cultivate my writing skills has been some of the greatest helping hands I've received on this dissertation and you each helped create this prize possession of mines.

To Dr. Knobloch – Thanks for your support, for your intellectual encouragement, and your never-ending support. Because of you I am confident that I am a better scholar! I know I can take higher education by storm!

To Dr. Tucker – Thank for your gracious wisdom and challenges to think more critically and understand education better. What you have pushed me to understand has allowed me to look at education differently.

To Dr. Rodriguez – You presented me with opportunities that I will be able to look back on with pride and satisfaction, whether it was the short documentary from your class or developing manuscripts to challenge neoliberal norms. Thank you!

To Dr. Esters – What can I say! The GREATEST OF ALL TIME in mentoring, if I ever was to point at one academic who I want to mirror it is you. The way you support students, challenge students, develop students: YOU ARE THE BAR! From now on I am asking myself is this the Dr. Esters' way and if I can not say yes then I am not doing it right! Thank you so much for taking a chance on a kid from Portsmouth, VA. You are a living legend, there will be people who will know of you and never met you and that says a lot about what you do for others!

God, I am ready for what you have in store for me and I hope I am prepared to receive it! Amen.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

ABSTRACT

Racial tension in the United States has moved to the forefront in social discourse with the rise of the Black Lives Matter movement and elections of far-right wing politicians who provide support and empathy for White supremacist groups. In higher education, colleges and universities often serve as microcosms of the broader society's racial climate. Experts have revealed that 56% of U.S. university presidents believed that inclusion and diversity had grown in importance between 2015-2017. Additionally, 47% of presidents at 4-year institutions stated that students had organized on their campus amid concerns about racial diversity. In attempts to combat the divisiveness present in American culture, colleges and universities have begun appointing Chief Diversity Officer (CDO) administrative positions to lead their inclusion and diversity missions to better support minoritized and marginalized communities. Experts estimate that nearly 80% of CDO positions were created in the last 20 years. Despite efforts to develop CDOs, higher education institutions sometimes struggle to foster inclusive and diverse environments. Recently, a small body of literature has been developed to better understand the CDO role in higher education. Predominantly White Land-Grant Universities (PWLGUs) have also seen an influx of issues related to diversity and inclusion over the years. The purpose of the current study was to uncover how CDOs see their role and responsibilities in the context of Predominantly White Land-Grant Universities. This study used Critical Race Theory (CRT) framework to examine how CDOs navigate their identities, the presence of racism, and the social climate of their university and the broader United States. This study was guided by five research questions, including one topical question which served to provide demographic information of the CDOs. The other four research questions covered barriers and successes of CDOs, how CDOs navigated their own identity while in the role of CDO, and how they observed the presence of racism at PWLGUs. Two rounds of

interviews were conducted with seven CDOs at PWLGUs. Topic and pattern coding were used to analyze data via NVivo qualitative data analysis software. There were four findings for this study. First, racism has had a constant presence on, and at times has been supported by, land-grant universities further complicating the jobs of CDOs. Second, CDOs of color often connected elements of their identity to the responsibilities of the CDO position. Third, CDOs described ways in which inclusion and diversity were part of the purpose of land-grant universities and ways in which race factored into academic achievements of the institution, but then become afterthoughts in other elements of campus life. Finally, PWLGUs often invoke liberal processes and decision-making that further limits the capabilities of the CDO to foster inclusive and diverse campuses. Future study recommendations include comparing and contrasting CDOs of Color and White CDOs, CDOs at Minority-Serving Institutions with CDOs at Non-Minority Serving Institutions, and perception of satisfaction by people of color with the job of the CDO at their institution.

CHAPTER 1.   INTRODUCTION

1.1   Chapter Overview

This chapter will present supporting literature that will be used to demonstrate the need to better support leadership who are charged with developing a strategic plan to address inclusion, equity, and diversity (IED) in today's higher education system. This chapter will also discuss various theories associated with higher education governance and how it can impact higher education administrators who are directed to improve diversity and inclusion on college campuses. Additionally, this chapter will outline the purpose and research questions for the study as well as address the significance of the study, and its implications for theory and practice. Finally, the chapter concludes with a list of terms and definitions that were used throughout the study.

1.2   Introduction

With nearly 80% of Chief Diversity Officer positions created in the last 10 years, universities have come to acknowledge the importance of IED in the overall success of their institution (Leon, 2014). While practices to improve IED have become common, such as implementing diversity action plans and committing funding to the recruitment and retention of underrepresented minorities (URMs), Predominantly White Institutions (PWIs) continue to struggle with providing supportive environments for people of color. For example, a recent study of university presidents revealed that 56% of presidents believed that IED had grown in importance over a three-year period (Gagliardi, Espinosa, Turk, & Taylor, 2017). However, in that same study when university presidents were asked about their usage of time, IED was still not a top priority (Gagliardi et al., 2017). Additionally, a survey to determine the presence of student activism on college campuses found that 47% of college presidents at 4-year institutions

confirmed that students had organized on their campus amid concerns about racial diversity (Espinosa, Chessman, & Wayt, 2016). While university presidents can admit to the growth in the importance of IED, findings from the studies previously mentioned reveal that IED's perceived importance has not translated into meaningful actions for students of color. While the causes of student's protests are multifaceted, common examples exist among institutions that connect universities to a perceived support for anti-diversity views by student organizers. For instance, student groups have protested following displays of racist graffiti, invitations to controversial speakers, blackface, and symbols of slavery. Generally, these individual incidents serve as the final straw for students before taking action as evidenced by their list of demands following their protest that go well beyond the event that sparked the protest. A survey of student organizers revealed that student demands often included reviews and revisions to institutional policies, that leadership acknowledge the histories of racism, asked for more resources to be dedicated to IED, increase diversity among faculty, staff, and students, and revise or develop new diversity and cultural competency trainings (Chessman & Wayt, 2016).

Racial and/or gender specific protests are noteworthy because despite the increases in minority participation in higher education over the last 40 years (Gasman & Conrad, 2013), minimum to no gains have been made within the inclusivity on college campuses. For instance, PWIs continue to display relatively low retention and graduation rates of underrepresented minorities (URMs) (Hurtado, Newman, Tran, & Chang, 2010). Further, PWIs often lack a critical mass of faculty of color, further complicating the IED mission of an institution (Turner, Myers, & Creswell, 1999). As a result, many issues that relate to IED have led to students demanding their institutions provide more supportive environments that foster a sense of belonging and more inclusive and diverse campuses (Strayhorn, 2012). Due to the effects of discrimination on the

academic pursuits of URM students, IED should be given the same priority as academic excellence within the fabric of colleges and universities as it has been shown that some institutions' willingness to support diversity is rooted in an entrepreneurship goal that must provide some tangible economic benefit to the institution (Williams, 2013; Iverson, 2008). Furthermore, the complexity of a higher education institution's governance system can complicate the reporting structures which affect how an institution responds to issues related to inclusion and diversity. Additionally, some institutions have a history rooted in racism, discrimination, and bias--such as land-grant universities who actively participated in discrimination via the 1890 Morrill Act (Lee & Keys, 2013). Thus, it is important to demonstrate the implications that history has on institutions efforts with IED today. Finally, while there have been studies that have examined issues found within diversity documents at PWIs, namely land-grant universities (Iverson 2007), to date, no research has conducted a critical analysis of higher education administrators at land-grant institutions as it relates to IED.

1.3   Governance in Higher Education

Governance in higher education is important to understand as it describes how institutions develop programs, respond to incidents, describes the individuals who are involved in the different governance models, and sets expectations for the governance structures. Additionally, the power associated with the role of stakeholders, resources, and internal constituents can influence the organizational structure an institution will adopt (Davis & Cobb, 2010). While governance in higher education is not specific to the diversity officer role, it does give an indication of the systems of which diversity officers will have to navigate in their pursuit of IED on campuses who often are not performing well in that area. An institution's approach to governance as it relates to IED is critical because it can influence how effective Chief Diversity

Officers' (CDOs) can respond to students, faculty, and staff needs who advocate for a stronger commitment to IED. Simply, the power, influence and decision-making abilities of CDOs that are needed to make impactful changes related to IED is often related to an institution's approach to academic governance.

Though several types of governance exist, including mixed-model approaches, there are five primary theoretical approaches to academic governance structure that institutions often employ: 1) institutional theory, 2) resource-dependency theory, 3) agency theory, 4) stewardship theory, and 5) stakeholder theory (Austin & Jones, 2015). Each of the five approaches has unique aspects that are often adapted to meet an institution's needs. The theories of governance structure are not a product of intentional pursuits, rather they describe the naturally employed governance structures that best meet the needs of the institution. Further, multiple governance structures can be employed and combined with other theoretical frameworks to carry out various missions of the institution.

Institutional theory refers to institutions that are alike in structure, mission, values and their response to a given environment with emphasis on social rules, expectations, and norms, providing a shared experience by similar organizational types. The environment can refer to political pressure, student protest, federal and state policies, or faculty demands (Austin & Jones, 2015). For example, PWIs often employ comparable strategies as their university counterparts in response to a similar diversity crisis, including responding in "cheetah moments" (p. 166) where administrators quickly release statements and steps without fully assessing the state of diversity, inclusion, and campus climate, which often exacerbates the situation (Williams, 2013). While "cheetah moments" may work for smaller scaled incidents, this type of response reflects how

institutions rely on peer institutions for information gathering in hopes of similar positive outcomes without fully contextualizing the incident.

Resource dependency theory acknowledges that institutions are beholden to the stakeholders who have access to and control of the resources that an institution depends on to operate (Austin & Jones 2015; Pfeffer & Salancik, 2003; Hillman, Withers, & Collins, 2009). Resource dependency theory has three core principles: 1) social context matters, 2) organizations have strategies to enhance their autonomy and pursue specific interest, and 3) power is important for understanding the internal and external actions of organizations (Davis & Cobb, 2009; Emerson 1962). Davis and Cobb describe resource dependency theory as occurring when "the power of A over B comes from control of resources that B values and that are not available elsewhere. . .B is dependent on A to the degree that A has power over B" (p. 6). An example of resource dependency theory is reflected by the relationship between states and Historically Black land-grant universities where the states controlled the funding received for Historically Black land-grants.

Emerging originally within economic disciplines, agency theory (sometimes referred to as principal-agency theory (PAT) refers to the relationship between two entities in which one is considered a principal who engages or contracts with an agent to complete a service for the principal (Austin & Jones, 2015; Eisenhardt, 1989). Furthermore, it is understood that the principal will utilize an agent because the principal lacks the knowledge, time, and/or energy to complete a service that represents the quality and accuracy desired (Eisenhardt, 1989). Often the relationship plays out in situations when allocation of resources or funding is made by a delegate or representative of the resource in exchange for academic research from a university or its affiliates (the agent) (Lane & Kivisto, 2008; Whynes, 1993). Funding provided to faculty through

a governmental agency such as USDA-NIFA to carry out research or Extension-related activities would be an example of the application of agency theory. One could situate university presidents hiring of CDOs as an example of PAT due to their lack of time commitment and knowledge that is dedicated elsewhere.

A criticism of agency theory is the idea that the agent will be motivated and act in their own self-interest to complete a given task (Eisenhardt, 1989). Hence, stewardship theory provides an alternative to agency theory in that agents are less motivated by their self-interest and that their interest aligns with the interest of the principle (Austin & Jones, 2016; Davis, Schoorman, & Donaldson, 1997). An example of the application of stewardship theory is reflected by the dynamics of the relationship between a board of trustees and a chief executive officer of a university in that they work in concert for the good of an institution with no one individual attempting to obtain a self-motivated goal. However, stewardship theory can also involve relationships between governments and institutions, among colleges within a university, and faculty and academic departments.

Stakeholder theory in higher education, which derived from moral and ethics literature in business, refers to the relationship between an institution and the groups or individuals who influence or respond to decisions within the institution (Parmar et al., 2010). A stakeholder is defined as "any group or individual who can affect or be affected by the achievement of the organization's objectives" (Freeman, 1984, p. 46). Stakeholders often, but not always, have the power to hold the institution accountable to meet the needs of their collective groups. Stakeholders can be both internal or external with faculty and staff representing internal stakeholders and industry or government partners representing external stakeholders. For example, land-grant universities' Colleges of Agriculture are beholden to many internal and external

stakeholders including faculty staff and students as internal stakeholders and industry, government, and community leaders as external stakeholders, and often seek their input in decision-making.

Governance in higher education can be complex but also strategic to meet the needs of an institution. No one theory is meant to compete or become hierarchical in its implementation, but each should be carefully considered to align with the mission and goals of an institution. Furthermore, multiple theories can be applied simultaneously within any institutional structure. For example, how a university responds to student protest might invoke institutional theory whereas how an academic department improves diversity through faculty hiring could employ stewardship theory as both the department and faculty should have a vested interest in diversity.

1.4   Context of Land-Grant Institutions

Prior to 1862, higher education institutions focused on a theological and classical arts curriculum (McDowell, 2003). In the mid-19th century, Vermont Representative Justin Morrill sought to transform higher education through formal teachings within agriculture, mechanical arts, and military science disciplines (APLU, 2012). After several failed attempts to get the Morrill Act introduced and passed, the United States Congress passed the Morrill Land-Grant Act of 1862. Two additional versions (1890 and 1994) of the Morrill Land-Grant Act were eventually passed to provide land-grant status to minority-specific institutions. Land-grant universities sought to impact education on two fronts: 1) shift education from an elite-only attendance to a much wider and broader audience, and 2) move into the practical education disciplines instead of the theological sciences (Martin, 2001). Today, most public higher education research institutions in the U.S., including land-grant universities, operate on a threefold mission: teaching, research, and service to meet and address national and global challenges.

The passing of the 1862 Morrill Land-grant Act established a public federally-assisted system for PWLGUs that was designed to meet the needs of the agricultural, mechanical arts, and military sciences disciplines including handing out 30,000 acres of land to each state for every representative and senator in congress in 1862 for PWLGU development (APLU, 2012). Despite the educational vision of the Morrill Act of 1862 of making education available to a wider and broader audience, 1862 land-grant universities (formal name for PWLGUs) throughout this study) description of a broader audience did not include African Americans as evident by their initial barring of African Americans from enrolling. While PWLGUs did not welcome African Americans to their institutions, federal guidelines stated that state institutions receiving federal funding could not discriminate based on color. However, states found a loophole that allowed for the creation of separate institutions for African American students to satisfy federal requirements (Neyland, 1990; Iverson, 2008) thus an 1890 land-grant act established the development of Historically Black Land-Grant Universities (HBLGUs) (also known as 1890 land-grant universities).

While HBLGUs provided an educational opportunity for African Americans, unlike the Morrill Act of 1862, the 1890 Act provided little direct support from state and federal governments for their development, including no land allocation, and even when they did provide funding it was at the discretion of the state to allocate where to send it which often heavily favored PWLGUs. As such, the funding mechanism associated with the different Morrill Acts sought to provide PWLGUs with greater financial support and resources than minority-serving institutions (MSIs; Lee & Keys, 2013). As recently as 2013, 61% of HBLGUs reported not receiving the mandated state one-to-one matching federal funding while all PWLGUs did (Allen & Esters, 2018; Lee & Keys, 2013).

The refusal to admit African American students meant that PWLGUs would remain predominantly White for decades and remain so to this day (Iverson, 2008). According to the Integrated Postsecondary Data System (IPEDS), for the 2015-2016 school year, 64% of Black students attending a land-grant university in the South attended an 1890 institution compared to 36% at an 1862 institution (Allen & Esters, 2018). The history of educational segregation that was maintained by PWLGUs is important to understand given the current lack of diversity at these institutions. The current level of commitment by PWLGUs to fostering diverse and inclusive environments after over 100 years of maintaining subpar standards for diversity raises questions about the authenticity of the mission of diversity at PWLGUs.

1.5   Increased Emphasis of Inclusion, Equity, and Diversity on College Campuses

Inclusion, equity, and diversity (IED) has gained considerable attention in both scholarship and policy changes across colleges campuses throughout the country (Hardy & Woodcock, 2015; Brown, 2004; Tomlinson, Brighton, Hertberg, Callahan, Moon, Brimijoin, Conover, & Reynolds, 2004). While URM student enrollment in higher education has increased 300% in the last 40 years (Gasman & Conrad, 2013), major research institutions continue to struggle to mirror the diversity that is representative of the state and national demographic due to issues related to poor campus climates, microaggressions, and sense of belonging to name a few (Clauss-Ehlers & Parham, 2014). Providing inclusive, equitable, and diverse environments will increase in importance as the demographics of the United States continues to shift into a phenomenon known as "the browning effect" that describes a shift in demographics where total minorities hold a higher percentage of the population than the singular White majority (Jones, Castellanos, & Cole, 2002).

PWIs have sought to address issues related to a lack of diversity by developing and implementing policies, programs, and initiatives focused on recruitment, retention, and campus climate for a more diverse and inclusive campus. However, despite these attempts, little success has been realized with only modest improvements, including incremental changes in faculty and student demographics, being recognized at most institutions. Part of the challenge to diversity and inclusion at PWIs results from majority groups sharing a false-positive belief about the sense of belonging of their minority peers and a lack of buy-in by majority groups to support marginalized groups (Greenhill & Carmichael, 2014). As a result, students have organized and protested across college campuses throughout the nation due to the racial and social climate of their university. Further, the current political and social climate across the country have furthered diminished notions of inclusivity on college campuses.

1.5.1   Role of the Chief Diversity Officer

Williams and Wade-Golden (2007) define the Chief Diversity Officer (CDO) position as "a senior administrator who guides, coordinates, leads, enhances, and at times supervises the formal diversity capabilities of the institution to build sustainable capacity to achieve an environment that is inclusive and excellent for all" (p. 8). The CDO is expected to lead and develop the institution's diversity and inclusion mission, goals, and programming. Despite an institution's effort to develop a CDO position, those selected for the position often face many challenges early on. The CDO serves as the connection between the president or provost and the state of diversity for an institution. However, the vertical reporting structure of the CDO position can pose its own constraints. For example, one study revealed that 55% of CDOs believed their roles were not appropriately structured to best fulfill their duties (Williams & Wade-Golden, 2013). Additionally, it is not enough to create the CDO position, without the proper support and

resources the CDO cannot be effective in their role (Leon, 2014). For example, studies have shown a reluctance of campus community members to abide by and comply with the policies and guidelines set forth by the CDO office (Wilson, 2013). Part of the backlash faced by CDOs existence is due in part to White peers having a more positive outlook on the campus racial climate than their minority peers who view it negatively (Lo, McCallum, Hughes, Smith, & McKnight, 2017). Further, those within the institution may see diversity, not as part of their daily duties, but as the responsibility of the diversity officer (Leon, 2014).

Because the CDO position has been relatively new in the higher education landscape, it can be difficult for institutions struggling with diversity and inclusion to fully grasp and develop the responsibilities of those who hold this title. To help with understanding the duties of the CDO position, the National Association of Diversity Officers in Higher Education (NADOHE) developed a set of standards to provide consistency for the role of CDOs. The "standards of professional practice" are intended to provide CDOs with an overview of their expectations, skills, and knowledge, associated with the position (Worthington, Stanley, & Lewis, 2014). However, a noticeable lack of overt and direct support for marginalized groups may exist within the guidelines. For example, language such as racism, sexism, xenophobia, or underrepresented minorities are not part of the standards despite these issues affecting marginalized communities across college campuses (Allen, Rodriguez, & Esters, in review). If CDOs are expected to make the necessary changes to improve campus climate, more explicit language needs to be added to the standards of professional practice that offers concrete support for marginalized and minoritized groups (Allen, Rodriguez, & Esters, in review). Support for marginalized populations can demonstrate to the community-at-large the university's commitment to authentically improving diversity, inclusion, and campus climate (Allen, Rodriguez, & Esters, in review).

Formative development of the CDO position is needed to better assist those who perform in these roles in the future.

1.6   Problem Statement

There exists a limited number of studies to understand the experiences of CDOs in higher education in general, and no scholarship exists within the context of PWLGUs specifically. With IED rising in importance in higher education, more college campuses are turning to the CDO position to help foster a welcoming campus climate (Leon, 2014). Existing scholarship has provided some critical analysis for the CDO position to document the experiences of women of color that demonstrated competing expectations and sexism while serving in the capacity of CDO (Nixon, 2014). Further, literature has also critically examined how PWLGU diversity policy can be a detriment to diversity and inclusion (Iverson 2007; 2008). However, to date, the literature is silent on the experiences of CDOs who are in charge of leading the inclusion and diversity mission at PWLGUs. Therefore, a critical examination of PWLGUs use of CDOs and their experiences is an area of scholarship that has yet to be explored.

Studies that provide a critical examination of the role of the CDO position within the land-grant university system are limited and very little is known about how CDOs experiences may influence the diversity and inclusion mission of an institution. Research has indicated that a CDOs' identity can provide a conflicting position for CDOs to be in when they must navigate campuses that are not diverse or inclusive (Nixon, 2014). The literature has also identified common operational structures of CDOs, day-to-day tasks of CDOs, and common hierarchal titles of CDOs (Leon, 2014; Williams, 2013; Williams & Wade-Golden, 2013). Collectively, the studies on CDOs provide a preliminary glimpse into the position that better instruct how institutions can enhance the holistic support of the office. However, what remains to be studied

is examining what role does institutional context play in the support and experiences of CDOs, specifically for PWLGUs given the mission and histories of these institutions.

Though studies of higher education administration tend to use organizational and leadership theories, to date, very few studies were found that used a critical theoretical approach to examine administrative positions. Further, previous research suggests that CDOs are often people of color and have been shown to have a unique connection to diversity roles due to their identity. However, other factors associated with CDOs including their lived experiences and its influence on their roles remain understudied. Therefore, developing a critical perspective to assess how institutions are utilizing and supporting the CDO position through the lived experiences of the CDOs themselves provides an opportunity to better understand how higher education can progressively move the needle on inclusion and diversity in post-secondary education and beyond.

1.7   Significance of Study

Critical race theory has been influential for education in that it has allowed scholars to challenge how society frames educational access and equity (Yosso, Parker, Solorzano, & Lynn, 2004), experiences of people color (Harper, 2009), historical policy analysis (Harper, Patton, & Wooden, 2009), campus climate (Yosso, Smith, Ceja, & Solorzano, 2009), and experiences of women of color as CDOs (Nixon, 2014). However, the CRT framework remains limited in the critique of an institution's use of leadership that oversees the fostering of equitable environments for all. As such, this study was significant for the following reasons: 1) potential to serve as a model for expanding the use of CRT to include educational administration, 2) will be able to explore the roles, responsibilities, and barriers for the CDO position using CRT where scholarship is currently lacking, and 3) to explore the use of CRT within the context of land grant universities given their history with race.

Lopez (2003) argued that CRT should be able to support scholarship that seeks to critically examine higher education administration efforts to improve relationships and outcomes based on an individual's marginalized status. Additionally, because race and racism are permanent in society and has effects on educational outcomes, it is difficult to believe that it does not also affect educational leadership. Further, CRT has potential to be relevant for the purpose of examining educational leadership and policies, but its use has been relatively limited in the current educational leadership and policy scholarship. Porter and Villalpando's (2007) commentary expressed a need for applying CRT to educational administration research by stating that "CRT is a valuable lens with which to analyze and interpret administrative policies and procedures in educational institutions and provides avenues for action in the area of racial justice" (p. 519). Despite Lopez's and Porter and Villalpando's arguments for supporting the use of CRT to examine educational leadership, the scholarship remains insufficient.

The CDO position is relatively new, thus a critical examination of the role remains absent in the literature. Experts suggest that nearly 80% of all CDOs positions were created in the last 20 years (Leon, 2014). Leon (2014) argues that more critical approaches and methodologies are needed in the field to better understand and improve the viability of CDOs. Additionally, due to policies that reflect people of color as outsiders (Iverson, 2007), the effects of poor campus climates (Solorzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000), and institutions framing diversity through entrepreneurial endeavors (Iverson, 2012), a critical examination of the CDO position is instrumental in understanding the gaps in knowledge associated with diversity, the persistent detrimental outlooks of anti-diversity viewpoints promoted by conservative factions of society, and how the establishment of poor diversity cultures arise within institutions.

Finally, in the context of land-grant institutions, whose histories are rooted in discrimination that went as far as to establish separate institutions for African American students, they serve as prime institutions to best expand the scholarship of CRT. Critical race theory suggests that race and racism are present within everyday American society, yet little is known about the extent to which PWLGUs have acknowledged and attempted to alleviate their racist and discriminatory pasts. Further, PWLGUs have served as the site for student protests following issues with the state of the campus climate, university administrations' lack of support for students of color, and the invitations of speakers with racist backgrounds and ideologies. Additionally, Iverson's (2007, 2012) study on PWLGUs policies exposed how these institutions often position minorities as "others" of their university and that PWLGUs frame diversity through commodity gains and not authentic transformational missions. This study will also expand how CRT can be used to examine PWLGU's commitment and acknowledgement of past and present behavior to combat racial injustices in higher education.

1.8   Purpose

The purpose of this study was to explore how Chief Diversity Officers (CDOs) are used at Predominantly White Land-Grant Universities (PWLGUs). Specifically, this study sought to understand how CDOs perceive their own roles and responsibilities to support inclusion, equity, and diversity (IED) and how these areas aligned with their institution's goals, mission, and success. Finally, this study sought to explore how CDOs navigate their identities, the presence of racism, and the social climate being at a PWLGU within the broader United States.

1.9   Research Questions

1. What are the demographic characteristics of the Chief Diversity Officers from Predominantly White Land-Grant Universities used in this study?

2. How do Chief Diversity Officers describe the role of race and gender in the mission and purpose of Land-grant Universities?

3. What are the challenges and successes faced by Chief Diversity Officers at Predominantly White Land-Grant Universities?

4. How have Chief Diversity Officers described their Predominantly White Land-Grant Universities acknowledgement and the history and presence of racism on their campus?

5. How do Chief Diversity Officers perceive their role as person of color within the context of the mission and vision of a Predominantly White Land-Grant University?

1.10   Methodology

In order to thoroughly examine the CDO position at land-grant universities, this study employed a critical phenomenological approach to the interview questions (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015). In particular, this study sought to challenge how the CDO position is structured, supported, and authorized at PWLGUs as well as the behaviors, attitudes, and practices of the CDOs themselves and those who engage with them. A critical research study is when "all thought is mediated by power relations that are historically and socially constructed . . . inquiry that aspires to the name critical must be connected to an attempt to confront the injustice of a particular society" (Kincheloe, McLaren, & Steinberg, 2011, p. 164). When critical research is applied to leadership in higher education scholarship, it seeks to critique leadership essentialism rooted in positivist and leadership theories and practices research (Carducci, 2016; Collinson, 2011).

Phenomenology refers to the study of how people describe events, feelings, or environments and experience them through their senses (Patton, 2015). As such, for this study I interviewed seven CDOs of PWLGUs using a semi-structured interview protocol. The transcript from the interviews were evaluated and themes that emerged were documented. Finally, using Critical Race Theory tenets, the documented themes were examined to demonstrate how CDOs perceived their role within the context of a PWLGU.

1.11 Assumptions

1. The data collected accurately reflects the participants' honest thoughts, beliefs, and experiences.

2. Participants gave free, open and honest assessments with the knowledge that their identity was protected in confidence.

3. The researcher was informed by a critical paradigm. The goal of critical inquiry is to challenge the power relationships by critiquing the existing conditions to bring about change (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015; Patton, 2015).

4. The study was completed with integrity, trustworthiness, and ethical consideration given the nature of the research and the methodological approaches employed.

1.12 Limitations

There were several limitations to this study regarding participants, generalizability, and level of engagement. First, the administrative titles of each institutional CDO may differ at each institution which may result in roles and responsibilities that are not consistent across institutions. For example, at some institutions, the CDO may serve in the capacity of vice-president whereas

for others this role may be that of vice-provost or vice-chancellor. Simply, all three of these positions convey different meanings within an institution which makes it difficult to fully compare the role of each CDO in this study to those at other institutions. Second, the racial and campus climate at some land-grant universities have received more attention in the media than others which may result in CDOs from these institutions being hesitant to openly reveal anything negative related to IED. Third, only a select number of 1862 land-grant universities were chosen for the qualitative study, as such, the findings are not be generalizable to other 1862 land-grant universities. Finally, land-grant universities are different from non-land-grant colleges and universities in their academic focus (i.e., Agriculture) and mission focus (i.e., Extension). As such, challenges and barriers related to IED may vary when compared to non-land-grant institutions which would make it difficult to generalize the findings.

1.13 Definitions of Terms

1. **Campus Climate** - The current common behaviors of engagement that majority groups within an institution present to a minority group with no interruption by the hosting institution (Hart & Fellabaum, 2008).

2. **Chief Diversity Officer (CDO)** - A person at an institution of higher education who serves in a senior administrative role working towards organizational change through diversity-themed programming as a top priority at the highest levels of leadership and governance (Williams & Wade-Golden, 2013).

3. **Coercive Isomorphism** - Explains how formal and informal pressures imposed by a governing body can have influence over an institution (Williams & Wade-Golden, 2013).

4. **Collaborative Officer Model** - A Chief Diversity Officer Resource model that explains how the Chief Diversity Office is structured with a small support staff and possess little formal power (Williams & Wade-Golden, 2013).

5. **Critical Race Theory -** A theoretical framework that positions race as the underlining issues of oppressive actions and injustices within an entity and seeks to expose those through the use of seven governing tenets (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017).

6. **Diversity** - The idea that a relationship exists between race, culture, and social experiences that provides an intersectional and unique identity for a person (Carbado & Gulati, 2003).

7. **Equity** - The idea that a system or person is being fair and impartial in its delivery of their educational mission including providing safe environments free of prejudices and an ability to account for individual and group traumatic experiences (Hawkins, 1991).

8. **Gaslighting** - A process that relies on the production of a set of narratives called racial spectacles that obfuscate the existence of a white supremacist state power structure (Davis & Ernst, 2019; Davis & Ernst 2011).

9. **Hatch Act -** Required each state to establish an experiment station to conduct research and verify experiments in agriculture. Each state received $15,000 per year through this legislative act in 1887 (National Research Council, 1995).

10. **Historically Black Land Grant Universities (HBLGU) -** Higher education institutions founded under the 1890 Morrill Land Grant Act. Institutions under this designation institutions are classified as both an HBCU and a land-grant university (Allen & Esters, 2018).

11. **Inclusion** - The degree to which an individual within a given societal space perceives that he or she is a welcomed member of a group for which they socialize with through the experiences and treatment that satisfies an individual's belongingness and uniqueness (Shore et al., 2011).

12. **Institutional Isomorphism** - The degree to which institutions respond with similar structures and strategies in an effort to compete and legitimize themselves with their peer institutions (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983).

13. **Land-Grant University -** Higher education institutions whose primary disciplines consisted of agriculture, military sciences, and the mechanical arts (Christy & Williamson, 2017).

14. **Mimetic Isomorphism** - Describes how institutions often follow a peer institution's style or actions in hopes of achieving similar outcomes that they desire when responding to a diversity crisis (Williams & Wade-Golden, 2013).

15. **1862 Morrill Act -** Granted states 30,000 acres of land for each senator and representative in Congress to endow colleges and establish land-grant universities (Christy & Williamson, 2017).

16. **1890 Morrill Act -** Established land-grant colleges for African Americans prior to 1964 with similar a similar academic focus as 1862 land-grant universities (Christy & Williamson, 2017).

17. **Normative Isomorphism** - The pressure of professionalization, or how those within the profession engage in the field, what constitutes as the work and authority of the

profession, and the defining of the best practice for the profession (Larson, 1977; Williams & Wade-Golden, 2013; Wilensky, 1964).

18. **People of Color** - A person who racially identifies as any identity with the exception of White or European descent.

19. **Portfolio Divisional Model -** A Chief Diversity Officer Resource model that explains how the Chief Diversity Office is structured with a characteristics of both Collaborative Officer model and the Unit-Based Model and a number of different diversity related reporting units that centralizes the CDO position as the authority over all diversity matters (Williams & Wade-Golden, 2013).

20. **Predominantly White Land-Grant Universities (PWLGU) -** higher education institutions founded under the 1862 Morrill Land-Grant Act. Institutions under this designation are classified as a PWIs and a land-grant university (Allen & Esters, 2018).

21. **Underrepresented Minorities -** A classification based on gender and/or race that is designated to a group when it does not reflect the national or state averages for an institution (Gandara & Maxwell-Jolly, 1999).

22. **Unit-Based Model -** A Chief Diversity Officer Resource model that explains how the Chief Diversity Office is structured with a central staff and often focus on inter-group relations and dialogue.

CHAPTER 2.   REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1   Chapter Overview

This chapter will provide an overview of Chief Diversity Officers (CDOs) and their role in higher education institutions. Specifically, this chapter will review the literature related to three major topic areas: 1) IED in higher education, 2) IED at PWLGUs, and 3) implementation and use of the CDO position in higher education institutions. Additionally, this chapter will introduce the theoretical frameworks and a brief concluding summary of the chapter.

2.2   Literature Review Methodology

This study was informed by literature across several academic disciplines and sources utilizing a variety of search methods. References were found using Google Scholar as well as the Purdue University Library catalog, e-journal database, direct search, recommendations from peers and experts, and interlibrary loan service. Examples of search terms and phrases included: "chief diversity officers", "chief diversity officers + higher education", "campus climate + students of color experiences", "diversity, equity, and inclusion", diversity + land-grant universities", "diversity policies + land-grant universities", "student protest on college campuses", "critical race theory + higher education", "critical race theory + Academic Leadership", "critical race theory + students of color experiences in higher education."

2.3   Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to explore how Chief Diversity Officers (CDOs) are used at Predominantly White Land-Grant Universities (PWLGUs). Specifically, this study sought to understand how CDOs perceive their own roles and responsibilities to support inclusion, equity,

and diversity (IED) and how these areas aligned with their institution's goals, mission, and success. Finally, this study sought to explore how CDOs navigate their identities, the presence of racism, and the social climate being at a PWLGU within the broader United States.

2.4   Research Questions

1. What are the demographic characteristics of the Chief Diversity Officers from Predominantly White Land-grant Universities used in this study?

2. How do Chief Diversity Officers describe the role of race and gender in the mission and purpose of Land-grant Universities?

3. What are the challenges and successes faced by Chief Diversity Officers at Predominantly White Land-Grant Universities?

4. How have Chief Diversity Officers described their Predominantly White Land-Grant Universities acknowledgement and the history and presence of racism on their campus?

5. How do Chief Diversity Officers perceive their role as person of color within the context of the mission and vision of a Predominantly White Land-Grant University?

2.5   Inclusion, Equity, and Diversity in Higher Education

Legal and political dynamics, changing demographics, rise of a post-industrial knowledge economy, and persistent societal inequities have contributed to the need for universities to pay closer attention to how they address diversity (Williams & Clowney, 2007; Rodriguez & Morrison, 2019). For example, in a case about the legality of affirmative action on admission policies (Grutter v. Bollinger decision), Justice O'Connor ruled in favor affirmative action stating that "numerous studies show that student body diversity promotes learning outcomes, and better

prepares students for an increasingly diverse workforce and society, and better prepares them as professionals" (Devins, 2003, p. 18). O'Connor's quote represents an understanding of the benefit of diversity and the detrimental outcomes of a hegemonic environment. However, in many instances, universities have supported their diversity missions through enacting diversity policies, aggressive minority recruitment plans, mono- and multicultural centers, and the hiring of staff to program multicultural events (Wilson, 2013).

Smith (2012) described four institutional dimensions to understanding an institution's capacity for diversity: 1) access and success of underrepresented student populations, 2) campus climate and intergroup relations, 3) education and scholarship, and 4) institutional viability and vitality. Despite universities' increased focus and programming for diversity, institutions have been relatively ineffective in their IED goals (Gasman, Abiola, & Travers, 2015). Some of the issues related to diversity and inclusion stem from diversity officers being met with opposition and lack of commitment or support from various groups including administrators (Williams, 2013; Williams, Berger, & McClendon, 2005; Wilson 2013). As a result, students, staff, and faculty of color and/or women continue to experience negative campus climate, microaggressions, and other negative actions due to their social identity. The following sections will provide an overview of undergraduate and graduate students of color experiences in higher education, faculty and staff of color experiences in higher education, and the role of campus and racial climate in higher education.

2.5.1 Underrepresented Minority Undergraduate and Graduate Student Experiences in Higher Education

As previously mentioned, underrepresented minority college-going rates have dramatically increased over the last 40 years with reports showing as much as 300% increase for

the total number of URMs enrolling into college (Gasman & Conrad, 2013; U.S. Department of Education, 2011). While scholars view diversity as imperative to the pluralistic and interconnected world, institutions continue to struggle with providing students with the tools, skills, and environment to thrive in a multicultural globalized society (Rodriguez & Morrison, 2019; Smith, 2009). For students who do not identify as heterosexual, White, and/or male they can often find their campus limiting and producing feelings of being seen as an "outsider" to the larger social campus (Iverson, 2007). The impact of such an environment that caters to a specific type of student means some students will be subjected to face poor social and academic adjustment, lack a sense of belonging, and alienation; which leads to higher attrition and negative perceptions about the university's campus climate (Gurin, Dey, Hurtado, & Gurin, 2002).

The attitudes of White students at Predominantly White Institutions (PWIs) create a false sense of a healthy campus climate and demonstrate a lack of understanding for their URM peer experiences. Bonilla-Silva and Forman (2000) found very little has changed in how White students perceive their URM peers including their academic capabilities, social prowess, and worth. For example, these authors found that White students acknowledged discrimination for Black students was an ongoing issue but did not support measures that alleviated discrimination including affirmative action. In fact, many White students from their study feared that affirmative action policies had a detrimental effect on their life chances including 51% against and 36% unsure of affirmative action policies in colleges and universities admission standards, in spite of the fact studies show White women were the primary beneficiaries of affirmative action policies (Hacker, 1992; Taylor, 2000). In a subsequent study, Bonilla-Silva, Lewis, and Embrick (2004) determined that White participants downplayed the power of racism and attributed inequalities to other factors such as class, culture, or education. Cabrera's (2014) study demonstrated similar

findings among White male college students, as many of their participants' views about URMs displayed a lack of understanding of racism and much of what URMs face has less to do with race and more to do with other mitigating factors (e.g., poor work ethic, being better candidates than URMs, etc.). The ideology of White students is important to understand and should not be excused as anything else but a display of racism in an academic setting (Cabrera, 2014). For URMs, who attend PWIs, engagement with the campus community means that they will be subjected to the ideologies of White students, staff, and faculty members potentially resulting in racial battle fatigue and poor social climate.

Undergraduate students are more likely than graduate or professional students to engage with campus events (e.g., athletic events, special-interest forums, and other social and academic events) and utilize a number of the on-campus diversity resources. However, the ability to engage in an institution's social and academic activities without sacrificing one's own identity (or at the very least not having to sacrifice participation in their own culture) is ideal for all students but very few URMs are able to experience at PWIs (Benton, 2001). Denson and Chang (2009) conducted a study of undergraduate students to assess if: 1) different forms of campus racial diversity contribute to a student's learning and educational experience? and, 2) when students are on campuses, were they taking advantage of diversity opportunities (i.e., does it have an independent effect on a students' learning?). The results of their study suggested that diversity had a far more reaching impact than homogeneous environments on student sense of belonging and academic self-efficacy and that students benefited from enrolling and engaging on campuses where other students are more engaged with various forms of diversity. However, many universities do not expose their students to the diverse campuses that they seek. In a study of high achieving Black students, students felt that despite their high academic capabilities they were

judged based on prevalent social stereotypes and often attributed to their presence at the university as a result of their racial identity (Fries-Britt & Griffin, 2007). Other studies have supported Fries-Britt and Griffin's study with similar instances of Black students facing stereotypes, alienation, and racism (Harper, 2009; Smedley, Myers, & Harrell, 1993).

While undergraduate and graduate students engage and interact with the greater campus community slightly differently, their experiences are similar and can be slightly more impactful at the terminal degree level if family care and livelihood are jeopardized when URMs are forced to decide if they can sacrifice a sense of belonging for degree completion. Consequently, when graduate students of color are forced out before degree completion it illustrates how inadequate the quantity of qualified faculty of color will be. In social science fields, the seven-year doctoral degree attrition rates were above 35% for African American and Hispanic doctoral students, the highest among any minority (Sowell, Allum, & Okahana, 2015). Part of the low graduation participation rates in graduate education begins at the undergraduate level where exposure to research and access to faculty mentors can contribute to whether a student remains interested in pursuing a graduate degree (Tate, Fouad, Marks, Young, Guzman, & Williams, 2015). Further, other historical and institutional barriers hinder URM graduate student sense of belonging including controversial racial research topics, stereotype threat, overwhelming course load, lack of informative career information, greater financial need, and societal and cultural isolation (Maton et. al., 2016). For example, Nettles' (1990) study on Black, Hispanic, and White doctoral students revealed that Black and Hispanic students came from lower socioeconomic backgrounds than White students, more parents of Black students had not received a baccalaureate degree than their counterparts, Black students were more likely to feel their institutions were racially discriminatory, Hispanics and Blacks were more likely to spend time studying but still had lower

GPAs, White and Hispanic students were more likely to be on teaching or research assistantships, and Black students were more likely to have loans than their counterparts. Even when accounting for some of the variables seemingly to close the gaps (such as comparing Black, Hispanic, and White Students of similar socioeconomic status), Black students were still less likely to receive fellowships, less frequent interaction with faculty, and have lower GPAs (Nettles, 1990).

2.5.2 Faculty and Staff Diversity

URM faculty experiences mirror similar attitudes as undergraduate and graduate students in the beliefs about IED and their relationships with their White counterparts. Further, the low percentage of doctorate degree holders reflects poorly on the diversity of future URM faculty members. For example, Black women are 2.7% of early career doctorate holders, Black men are 0.8%, Hispanic women are 3.6%, and Hispanic men are 2% (Griffin, Baker, O'Meara, Nyunt, Robinson, & Staples, 2018). As a result, minority faculty members are more likely to be engaged in interactions with their White colleagues who may share different values, social engagement, academic focus, and professional decorum than members of their own communities. Consequently, underrepresented minority faculty members often experience discrimination, social isolation, lower salary compensation, and struggles against meritocracy in the tenure process (Johnsrud & Sadao, 1998). Several studies have documented faculty experiences at PWIs and revealed some common themes related to the marginalization of faculty of color. First, at the departmental level, URM faculty often felt an undervaluation of their research (including theoretical frameworks and approaches often used in their research that centralizes URMs and challenges White norms), challenges to their credentials in the classroom, isolation, perceived bias in the hiring process, expectations of being representatives for their defined group(s), and unrealistic expectations to complete their work (Lisnic, Zajicek, & Morimoto, 2018; Turner,

Gonzalez, & Wood, 2008). At the university level, URM faculty members are often burdened with being viewed as "tokens" for their respected racial groups and often express a lack of confidence in the university to hire more faculty of color (Settles, Buchanan, & Dotson, 2018). At the national level, calls for increases in URM faculty representation are often combated with debates about the use and value of affirmative action policies, which are also arguments that have existed at the undergraduate and graduate levels (Herring & Henderson 2012; Turner, Gonzalez, & Wood, 2008). Other contributing factors to negative URM faculty experiences include poor student evaluations and unwritten rules and policies regarding the tenure process (Turner, Gonzalez, & Wood, 2008).

There exists a common trend at the undergraduate, graduate, and faculty levels regarding diversity and inclusion at four-year PWIs, which have resulted in failure to produce, and subsequently expand, educational opportunities to a diverse audience. Further, many of the issues related to diversity and inclusion will continue to exist as long as institutions remain largely White, fail to recognize the benefits of diversity, and provide minimal resources to diversity and inclusion efforts.

2.5.3   Campus Racial Climate

White, heterosexual, and/or male ideologies, actions, and engagement with URMs play a huge role in the campus racial climate; defined as the overall racial environment of the college campus (Solorzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000). In order for a positive campus racial climate to exist it must be inclusive of students, faculty, and administrators of color; curriculum that reflects the historical and contemporary experiences of people of color; programs that support the recruitment, retention and graduation of students of color at all levels; and a higher education institution's mission that expresses commitment and reinforces the institutions will to promote collegiate

racial diversity (Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pederson, & Allen, 1998). When a negative climate exists for people of color, they often experience lower sense of belonging, lower GPA and academic self-efficacy, lower chance to access quality mentors, faculty members experience social isolation, and faculty also have displeasure for their working environment (Museus, Nichols, & Lambert, 2008).

Ward and Zarate (2015) studied the influence of campus racial climate on student attitudes about the benefits of diversity and found that more URM students than White students believe students of color were as qualified as White students, less concerned that a White student may be overlooked for admission in favor of a student of color, and White students were more likely to be enrolled in schools that had less support for diversity initiatives on campus. Further, White student's ideology about concerns related to reverse discrimination significantly predicted whether they supported diversity on their campus (Ward & Zarate, 2015). Mwangi, Thelamour, Ezeofor, and Carpenter (2018) studied how Black students contextualized their campus racial climate in comparison to the U.S. racial climate and found four themes that emerged: 1) non-Black students perceived their African American student's "Blackness" as something to be fearful of, 2) national racial issues impacted African-American student's engagement with White faculty members, 3) increased incidents of racial microaggressions, insensitivity, and invalidation specifically when African American students were the only person of color on campus spaces, and, 4) needing to be positive representatives for the Black community at their institutions. Another study confirmed similar findings for other racial groups that demonstrates the impact of campus racial climate on students' sense of belonging, academic self-efficacy, and social engagement (Nguyen, Mai, Nguyen, Chan, & Teranishi, 2017).

The differences in how URM and Whites students perceive their campus climate represent the difficult task for institutions to address. Without diversity and inclusion initiatives including educating the broader campus community on skills and competencies related to inclusion and diversity, commitment to the recruitment of diverse faculty, staff, and students; and aggressive approach to responding to diversity crisis incidents, institutions will continue to be plagued by negative campus climates. However, despite the scholarship that suggests an academic benefit to diversity, institutions continue to struggle due to internal and external stakeholders lack of interest in the necessary change that fosters diversity and inclusion.

2.5.4 Gender Diversity in Higher Education

In addition to the role race plays in the marginalized experiences of various higher education communities; gender diversity has been a growing focal point of IED (Wang & Degol, 2017). The experiences and perception of the ability or norms associated with binary genders often position women as less than or inadequate to their male counterparts (Wang & Degol, 2017). Further, gender often intersects with other identities that provide a unique experience for those who identify as women, a person of color, and/or a part of the lesbian, gay, bisexual-, trans-, queer/questioning, intersex, asexuality, and all other sexualities, sexes, and genders currently not included (LGBTQIA+). For example, a study of Black women's experiences of the campus racial climate and stigma of PWIs revealed Black women experienced a more hostile racial climate and less academic satisfaction than their non-Black women colleagues, that racial stigmatization had a negative association with academic motivation, but still held positive beliefs about their academic competence despite the negative racial climate (Leath & Chavous, 2018).

Although women persist through various STEM fields, earning more than half of the U.S undergraduate degrees in biology, chemistry, and mathematics, they continue to lag behind in

other fields such as computer science, engineering, and physics degree attainment (National Science Foundation, 2015). A study on Chicana and Chicano students revealed students did not have a sense of belonging, faculty had a lower expectation of them, and were exposed to subtle and not so subtle racial and gender incidents when racial or gender microaggressions were present (Solorzano, 1998). Similarly, Morales (2014) studied the intersectional impact of race, gender, and class microaggressions on the higher education experience and found that Black students experience racial microaggressions through their gender association. Additionally, Cheryan, Ziegler, Montoya, and Jiang (2016) studied the imbalance between the binary genders in certain STEM fields and found that: 1) masculine cultures lowered the sense of belonging for women, 2) women had limited or insufficient early experiences in engineering, computer science, and physics; and 3) women had lower self-efficacy than their male counterparts.

Female representation in various STEM fields has often been a point of contention in the academy. For example, despite women exceeding 50% of the earned PhDs in various science-related fields, they tend to make up only 38% of the tenure-tracked faculty positions in higher education (NSF, 2014). A study of university leaders revealed that those with a "high personal responsibility" indicated department heads and their male colleagues bear the duty of increasing female representation, whereas those with "low personal responsibility" described women as accountable for increasing female faculty representation (McClelland & Holland, 2015). Further, those who positioned women as bearing the responsibility for female faculty representation also describe women's attitudes and their "choice" to have a family as reasons for the low female faculty representation in the disciplines (McClelland & Holland, 2015).

2.5.5   Diversity Crisis and Institutional Response Model

Williams (2013) introduced the Diversity Crisis and Institutional Response Model (DCIR) (Figure 2.1) to describe the common actions employed by institutions after incidents related to diversity occur on their campuses. Williams developed a model that illustrated the common protocol institutions undertake when creating a diversity plan, usually beginning with a "diversity crisis". As Williams describes, institutions are often "reactive, isolated, simplistic, and driven by crisis or cheetah moments" (p. 166). Further, following a crisis, institutions often develop a similar approach in their responses: a negative incident around diversity happens, a largely symbolic response, piece-meal institutional mobilization, followed by a gradual decrease in institutional efforts over time. Additionally, while students, faculty, and staff may be willing to invoke change, it is often that change rarely moves from debates and discussion to concrete and consistent action. The DCIR describes the common process of institutional response following the diversity process in 10 phases.
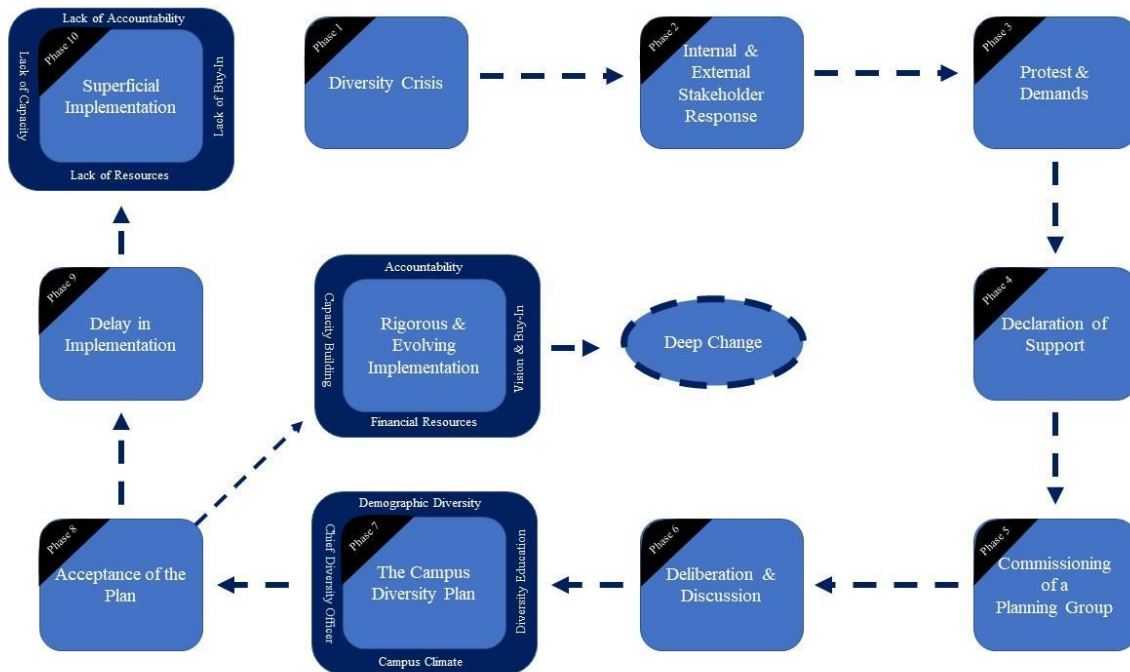
Figure 2.1 The Diversity Crisis and Institutional Response Model

Note. Adapted from "Strategic Diversity Leadership: Activating Change and Transformation in Higher Education" by D. Williams. 2013, Sterling, VA, p. 167. Copyright 2013 by Stylus Publishing.

The first phase of the DCIR model is a negative diversity incident on a college campus. Some negative incidents could include insensitive remarks by campus leaders, faculty, staff, or students; a racially insensitive campus party; harassment or assault on campus that was based on race and/or gender. The crisis then creates a sense of urgency by campus administrators to respond, sometimes rather hastily. Phase two involves internal and external stakeholders using strategies to demand a response to the diversity incident including providing administration with a list of demands that comprise an institutional diversity plan. Similar to phase two, phase three is a strategy used by stakeholders in the form of protest and demands including a vote of no confidence, a demonstration by student leaders, a press release or interview through traditional and non-traditional media outlets. Phase four involves senior administration releasing a

generalized statement of commitment to fostering a diverse and inclusive environment for all students and a promise to taking meaningful action to address the diversity incident. Phase five happens when executive level administrators, such as a provost or president, develops a diversity committee composed of students, staff, and faculty with the goals of writing a new or revising an existing diversity action plan.

Phase six represents the discussion and debates that take place during the diversity committee meetings. While well intentioned, the discussions that take place during committee meetings rarely stay on track and instead become disorganized and begin to shift away from the original incident and become a forum that brings larger concerns about racism, sexism, and other diversity concerns into the fold going beyond the committee and institution's reach. The campus diversity plan takes place in phase seven, and usually takes about four to six months to create. While the committees may be limited in their knowledge of strategic planning, traditional and innovative diversity efforts prove to be valuable for addressing the definition of diversity, improving campus climate, improving demographic diversity, and at times calling for the implementation of a chief diversity officer. Acceptance of the diversity plan occurs in phase eight. During this phase, senior administration issues a statement of appreciation to the committee and sometimes a promise to implement recommendations. However, as phase nine illustrates, often these plans are implemented slowly resulting in a long-delayed process and forgotten promises. Rarely do these plans result in meaningful change due to the senior leader's lack of being authentically on board with the change. As a result, phase ten demonstrates that a superficial implementation of the diversity plan occurs and soon resources and commitment stalls in importance and institutions return to their original culture that fostered the diversity incident to occur.

The DCIR model represents a common, but faulty, approach to an institution's response to diversity incidents. Further, the DCIR exposes how institutions are proactive in their commitment to their diversity and inclusion agenda. Further, while the DCIR represents a common approach undertaken by institutions, it fails to acknowledge the social and academic impact of the incidents and the impact of the failed approaches by institutions to correct the issue. As the CDO role in higher education grows in importance, its role in the DCIR needs to be more explicit and comprehensive.

2.5.6   Institutional Isomorphism

Institutional isomorphism, or institutionalism, refers to the degree in which institutions respond with similar strategies in an effort to compete and legitimize themselves with their peer institutions (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Isomorphism refers to the environmental pressures that serve as a catalyst that forces institutions to respond to meet the needs of industry standards and professional demands (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Williams & Wade-Golden, 2013). The three common isomorphic pressures are: 1) coercive isomorphism, understood as the political pressure; 2) mimetic isomorphism, refers to the mirroring other successful peer organizations due to uncertainty; and 3) normative isomorphism, described as the development of professionalized standards, training, and credibility.

Coercive isomorphism explains how formal and informal pressures imposed by a governing body can have influence over an institution (Williams & Wade-Golden, 2013). For example, an institution's board of trustees has considerable influence on how a university operates and has a say so in the institution's ability to impose a diversity plan. Policies and laws also place pressure on institutions and influence how they respond and invoke change (Williams & Wade-Golden, 2013). For example, institutions are vulnerable to laws that relate to diversity such as

affirmative action and immigration. While coercive isomorphism is often a top-down approach, it can also be from a bottom-up influence as well. For example, people of color and other marginalized communities have pooled resources, influence, and used social media and other technologies in their calls and pursuit of institutional change.

Mimetic isomorphism is often used by institutions involved in an unfamiliar crisis. When responding to a diversity issue, universities will follow a peer institution's style or actions that was involved in a similar issue in hopes of achieving similar desirable outcomes (Williams & Wade-Golden, 2013). For example, a common action for institutions to undertake when responding to a crisis is to release a "bland" statement reflecting their commitment to diversity usually from the president or provost. Other institutional responses to incidents, including commission of a task force, lengthy dialogues and discussions, or roll out of a half-hearted diversity plan all hope to meet the bare minimum expectations with maximum satisfaction. As Williams and Wade-Golden state, "one of the reasons mimetic isomorphism occurs stems from the fact that higher education leaders are hired from within and rise to leadership based on limited professional experience, often in just one or two institutions" (p. 212).

Normative isomorphism refers to the pressure of professionalization (Wilensky, 1964). Professionalization is defined as the engagement in the field, the work and authority of the profession, and the defining of the best practice for the profession (Larson, 1977; Williams & Wade-Golden, 2013). DiMaggio and Powell (1983) identify two metrics that foster normative isomorphism: 1) the development of standards of professional practice, and 2) the emergence of professional organizations that serve as the leading authority of the profession and provides opportunities for networking, development and sharing of research, and disseminates the standards of professional practice. An example of normative isomorphism is the creation of the

National Association of Diversity Officers in Higher Education (NADOHE). NADOHE has developed a national conference to share information and network as well as developed a set of standards of professional practice for CDOs (Worthington, Stanley, & Lewis, 2014). The different isomorphisms are not inherently negative, however if institutions are following practices that counter diversity in an effort to mirror other institutions, its effect on diversity will have a negative impact across multiple institutions. For example, if a prominent institution's practice, following an incident, is to release bland noncommittal statements of diversity, other institutions may begin to follow its lead resulting in institutionalized anti-diversity.

The different institutional isomorphisms represent how institutions look to other institutions as a means for improving their IED situation as a "guinea pig" model. However, while the institutional isomorphism types can be beneficial for institutions who are mirroring seemingly successful universities that actually improved metrics related to IED, it can have a backfiring effect if institutions follow procedures and protocols of institutions who seem successful at the surface but internally are struggling or have had negative impact on campus climate. If institutions are interested in real change, they should use institutional isomorphism methods that reflect a commitment to authentically enhance their understanding of IED that mirror more progressive institutions.

2.6   Predominantly White Land-grant Universities

Beginning in 1862, through the Morrill Land-grant Act, a sector of higher education institutions focused their efforts toward the agricultural sciences, military sciences, and mechanical arts known as land-grant universities. Further, those under the Morrill Land-grant Act operated under the mission of expanding education to the broader less affluent community. Early on, PWLGUs lacked any recognizable racial diversity as they did not permit the attendance

of Black students. However, due to federal guidelines PWLGUs were required to admit Black

students or states were required to establish separate schools for Black students that carried a

similar mission as PWLGUs, albeit with considerably less funding, states chose the latter (Allen

& Esters, 2018). The lack of URM representation at PWLGUs still exists today within student

demographics. For example, less than 1% of the degrees awarded in agriculture disciplines from

PWLGUs were Black or Hispanic (U.S. Department of Education, 2016a). The following

sections will provide an overview of the racial diversity at PWLGUs, the diversity policies at

PWLGUs, current national headlines associated with PWLGUs, and implications for future

diversity and inclusion efforts at PWLGUs.

2.6.1 Inclusion, Equity, and Diversity at Predominantly White Land-grant Universities

Despite the increases in minority participation in higher education, the diversity of

PWLGUs has changed very little since the 1862 Morrill Act was first signed into law. Today,

university administrators are forced to act with more rigorous methods to achieve diversity at our

nation's PWLGUs. For example, according to the Integrated Post-Secondary Data Systems

(IPEDS), of the fifty-two PWLGUs, 98% had an African American enrollment rate lower than

the national census data for African American representation, with 41 PWLGUs having equal to

or less than 6% African American student enrollment (U.S. Department of Education, 2016b).

While some attribute the lack of African Americans at PWLGUs as a result of the higher density

of African Americans in southern states, HBLGUs which are also located in southern states and

have overall lower enrollment than PWLGUs, tend to enroll and graduate more African

Americans than their same state PWLGU counterparts (Allen & Esters, 2018). Even when

accounting for Hispanic and Asian students who do not have minority-specific land-grant

universities to represent their identity, such as the case with African Americans and HBLGUs,

their demographic representation also falls below what their national representation suggests. For example, Hispanics and Asians account for 17.6% and 9.7% of the United States population respectively, however 86.5% and 77% of PWLGUs fail to match the national representation for Hispanics and Asian students respectively on their campuses (U.S. Department of Education, 2017).

While the challenges for URMs are not unique to PWLGUs in particular, the historical discriminatory actions put forth by PWLGUs, the current racially-driven campus demonstrations at PWLGUs across the country, and the offering of disciplines that traditionally lack gender and racial diversity provides additional context to observe this subset of higher education institutions. For example, Black women in a minority engineering program at a large public PWLGU felt that they had experienced some form of gender discrimination including from faculty who assumed women would not succeed due to their gender in a male-dominant field (Good, Halpin, & Halpin, 2002). Other studies show similar consistencies among women experiences in engineering fields who were subjected to negative stereotypes on the basis of their gender where type of institution was not a variable in the study (Hersh, 2000; Tate & Linn, 2005; Trenor, Yu, Waight, Zerda, & Sha, 2008). However, Good, Halpin, and Halpin (2001) found a positive relationship with academic programs for African American students enrolled in a minority engineering program at an PWLGU when mentoring was available.

Studies have documented URM experiences in professional school settings that resulted in negative experiences in their academic journey. For example, veterinary schools which primarily exist at PWLGUs are overwhelmingly White (> 90%) (Elmore, 2003; Thompson, 2013). While some studies have attributed the lack of URMs in veterinary school to be a byproduct of trivial experiences such as a lack of pet ownership and attitudes toward pets; research evidence

fails to account for the negative climate of veterinary schools for URMs students who manage to gain acceptance to the field (Elmore, 2004). Additionally, scholarship on campus climate demonstrates differences in perception between URMs and non-URM veterinary students. For example, one study on campus climate in veterinary school suggested that campus climate was overall positive, however the research indicated that URM students had a more negative outlook on campus climate than their White counterparts (Greenhill & Carmichael, 2014). A breakdown by race revealed that a majority of URM and non-male students were exposed to harassment and other negative attributes of poor campus climates. An over saturation of White students presented a bias in the data that suggested a more positive campus climate than what URMs actually experienced. Institutions need to be mindful of their campus climate report that may position their IED as better than what is actually presented, specifically in disciplines that have a higher White population that may skew the data to situate institutions' campus climate in a more favorable light than what actually exists for URMs.

2.6.2 Inclusion, Equity, and Diversity Policies at Predominantly White Land-grant Universities

Diversity policies are especially critical to improve experiences of URM students, faculty, and staff at PWLGUs. While research on the diversity policies at PWLGUs is limited, the studies that exist hold promise into understanding PWLGUs commitment to IED. For example, Iverson (2007) used critical race theory to understand how diversity policies reflect and produce particular realities for people of color at PWLGUs. Iverson's findings suggest that PWLGU diversity policies situated people of color as outsiders, at-risk victims, commodities, and change agents. While likely well-intentioned, diversity policies can reinforce practices that support exclusion and inequity. Iverson's review of PWLGU diversity action plans indicated that harassment and

discrimination are often mentioned as concerning and intolerable behaviors, however instead of addressing preventative behaviors, most diversity plans suggest solutions on how offended students should handle these behaviors through support services. For example, one PWLGU's policy was to "create mechanisms to support and protect students who bring allegations of gender, sexual, and racial discrimination in order to lessen their vulnerability, fears of reprisals and harassments", however the statement fails to acknowledge any policies that seeks justice for the accuser or consequences for the accused if found in violation of the policies. Policies that only seek to comfort the accused further perpetuates a lack of empathy for people of color who are constantly forced to deal with harassment and discrimination.

In a subsequent study, Iverson (2012) analyzed 21 diversity action plans from 20 land-grant universities over a five-year period to identify institutional beliefs and perspectives about diversity along with the associated problems and solutions within their diversity action plans. Iverson's document analysis study indicated that PWLGU diversity action plans tended to focus on four major themes: 1) discourses of marketplace, 2) excellence, 3) managerialism, and 4) democracy. The PWLGUs in this study positioned people of color as resources that sought to promote diversity in hopes of economic gains that will enhance the university's competitiveness and marketability. Additionally, institutions viewed higher education as a marketplace to be sold to parents and students, fixating diversity as a resource to attract more "consumers" (Iverson, 2012). For example, several diversity action plans made mention of the increasing globalization of the workforce that exposure to diverse groups helps prepare them for and "makes us more competitive" among peer institutions.

2.6.3   Student Protest at Predominantly White Land-grant Universities

Protests on college campuses have continuously occurred for decades across the United States as students are often more informed, aware, and involved in the political and social climate than the majority of the general public. In particular, for people of color, protests in all forms have sought to demand, influence, and encourage the United States and its citizens to adhere to the concerns of marginalized and minoritized people and foster a more inclusive environment. For example, the "sit-in" style protests of the Civil Rights Era began with students from North Carolina A&T State University, an HBLGU in North Carolina, which led to similar sit-in protests at other colleges across the country. In another example, in 1968 at Purdue University with the increasing racial tension across the country following the Civil Rights Movement and the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, roughly 200 Black students protested by placing red bricks on the steps of a building where their president's office was located in order to demand a cultural center to serve as a safe space for Black students. Following the Purdue protest, the president conceded to developing a Black cultural center in 1969.

Protests on the topic of campus climate have not ceased in today's era of higher education. With the rise of the "Black Lives Matter" movement that often engages in protests to raise awareness to issues such as police brutality, student protests have become a common tool employed on college campuses to voice to the administration student's displeasure with diversity and the campus climate (White, 2016). For example, the negative campus climate at the University of Missouri flagship campus sparked one of the most recognized protests on a college campus in 2015 which led to the departure of the president and chancellor (Fortunato, Gigliotti, & Ruben, 2017). Black students have been shown to invoke protest and civic engagement on college campuses due to stigmas about their race carried by their non-Black peers and institutions (Fisher, 2018). When student protests occur, it is up to university administrations to create a plan

that addresses students and stakeholder concerns and produce a uniformed plan for all to enact

(Fisher, 2018). As Woods (2018) writes about the administrative response to the protest at the

University of Missouri, "It became clear over the course of the first few meetings that

administration failures during the protest were largely due to the failure of campus leadership to

agree on protocol" (p. 2). In sum, it is critical for universities to have a central administration

position that they can rely on to address the diversity and inclusion issues and student concerns

that often lead to protest on campuses.

2.7   Chief Diversity Officers in Higher Education

Within the last 30 years institutions have begun implementing and relying on Chief

Diversity Officers (CDOs) to carry out the university's IED missions. In fact, before CDOs were

common in higher education corporate sectors instituted similar positions to improve employee

relations, customer service, and market plans (Williams & Wade-Golden, 2013). As Williams

and Wade-Golden (2013) note, CDOs in the corporate sector developed the foundation for

diversity officers in executive administrative positions at higher education institutions. However,

with the CDO position being relatively new in higher education, institutions have varied in how

the position is structured. Williams and Wade-Golden (2013) provided a general definition of a

CDO:

> The CDO is a boundary-spanning senior administrative role that prioritizes
> diversity-themed organizational change as a shared priority at the higher levels of
> leadership and governance. Reporting to the president, provost, or both, the CDO
> is an integrative role that coordinates, leads, enhances, and in some instances
> supervises formal diversity capabilities of the institution and excellent for all.
> Within this context, diversity is not merely a demographic goal, but a strategic
> priority that is fundamental to creating a dynamic educational and work
> environment that fulfills the teaching, learning, research, and service mission of
> postsecondary institutions (p. 32)

Williams (2013) surveyed nearly 2,500 university diversity officers and found that only 117 carried some form of a "chief" title (i.e., vice-provost, vice-president, etc.). The institutional rank of the CDO position is pivotal to determining what type of influence they are likely to have at their institution. Additionally, CDOs can vary in organizational structure, funding, resources, and administrative support. Three primary organization archetypes of vertical structure are often present with the CDO position. The Collaborative model has small support staff and possess little formal power (Williams & Wade-Golden, 2013). The Unit-Based model positions CDOs with more central staff and often focus on inter-group relations and dialogue, faculty diversity recruitment and retention, and academic achievement of marginalized students (Williams & Wade-Golden, 2013). The Portfolio Divisional model involves characteristics of both the Collaborative and Unit-Based models and a number of different diversity related reporting units that centralizes the CDO position as the authority over all diversity matters (Williams & Wade-Golden, 2013).

For CDOs to effectively perform well in their position, obtaining administrative support is important to the duties of the position, and administrative or faculty resistance can signal an institution's lack of commitment to IED. Walker (1979) notes that "universities can be incredibly tenacious in their counteractions to being shoved … university administrators possess no immunity from the tendency of people in organizations to resist" (p. 98). As the demographics of American society shift to a more diverse network of individuals based on race and gender with an intersectionality of belief systems, sexual orientations, socioeconomic status among others; how we effectively work together becomes critical in the racial and social climate in America. Unfortunately, colleges and universities continue to host negative campus climates, widening

graduation rates between students of color and White students, and the lack of a more diverse faculty pool despite the increases in more students of color.

It is important to note that expectations and goals of the position can be confrontational to internal and external constituents if they are deemed as being counter to their values. For example, if institutions come out in support of the #BlackLivesMatter movement, doing so may conflict with the conservative sociopolitical culture of an institution and its members. In other words, CDOs are often bound by internal and external sociopolitical pressures and may not have the full authority or the protection (i.e., tenure) to be proactive in the pursuit of various IED initiatives. As a result, organizations have been developed to help institutions and those serving in the position of CDO better understand what the parameters of the CDO position should describe.

2.7.1   National Association of Diversity Officers in Higher Education

In 2006, a group of CDOs from various higher education institutions and in conjunction with the American Council of Education (ACE) met and formed an association dedicated to helping and collaborating with diversity officers in higher education. The association, known as the National Association of Diversity Officers in Higher Education (NADOHE), promote a vision to "lead higher education toward inclusive excellence through institutional transformation." According to their website:

> NADOHE is considered the authority and leading voice for diversity officers in higher education with aims to provide empirical evidence through research, identify best practices, provide professional development for diversity officers, inform and influence national policies, and create and foster a network of institutions and diversity officers.

While CDOs in higher education vary upon institutions, having an organization that provides best practices and advice for diversity officers allows for a consistent understanding of the profession.

The NADOHE has been responsible for providing unilateral answers to the role of CDOs in higher education. Some uniformity to the CDO position takes place at the national conference where as Harvey (2014) states "an integral part of the organization's agenda remains providing the ultimate decision makers in higher education institutions with the information and motivation to increase diversity and inclusion on their campuses" (p. 99). Further, NADOHE has also laid out guidelines for what positions qualify under the tag "chief" diversity officers, as the "chief" conveys more of an administrative, authoritative, and increase in responsibility than a lower level diversity officer (Stanley, 2014). Additionally, NADOHE has been responsible for the development and improvements of a list of standards of professional practices to guide the CDO position. Still, NADOHE has received criticism for not considering grass-roots activity when developing the organization and its outcomes (Harvey, 2014).

2.7.2   Twelve Standards of Professional Practice

In 2012, NADOHE developed a presidential task force that sought to create a list of standards of professional practice for CDOs in higher education. The literature and scholarship in the space of CDOs, scholarship on diversity, and existing standards for CDOs in the corporate sector, and several internal revisions were used to create the standards of professional practice. Table 2.1 shows the standards of professional practice developed by the presidential task force within NADOHE.

Table 2.1 The 12 Standards of Professional Practice for Chief Diversity Officers

Standard #	Description
Standard One	Has the ability to envision and conceptualize the diversity mission of an institution through a broad and inclusive definition of diversity.
Standard Two	Understands, and is able to articulate in verbal and written form, the importance of equity, inclusion, and diversity to the broader educational mission of higher education.
Standard Three	Understands the contexts, cultures, and politics within institutions that impact the implementation and management of effective diversity change efforts.
Standard Four	Has knowledge and understanding of, and is able to articulate in verbal and written form, the range of evidence for the educational benefits that accrue to students through diversity, inclusion, and equity in higher education.
Standard Five	Has an understanding of how curriculum development efforts may be used to advance the diversity mission of higher education institutions.
Standard Six	Has an understanding of how institutional programming can be used to enhance the diversity mission of higher education institutions for faculty, students, staff, and administrators.
Standard Seven	Has an understanding of the procedural knowledge for responding to bias incidents when they occur on college or university campus.
Standard Eight	Has basic knowledge of how various forms of institutional data can be used to benchmark and promote accountability for the diversity mission of higher education institutions.
Standard Nine	Has an understanding of the application of campus climate research in the development and advancement of a positive and inclusive campus climate for diversity.
Standard Ten	Broadly understands the potential barriers that faculty face in the promotion and/or tenure process in the context of diversity-related professional activities (e.g., teaching, research, service).
Standard Eleven	Has current and historical knowledge related to issues of nondiscrimination, access, and equity in higher education institutions.
Standard Twelve	Has awareness and understanding of the various laws, regulations, and policies related to equity and diversity in higher education.

Notes. The list was adapted from Worthington, R. L., Stanley, C. A., & Lewis Sr, W. T. (2014). National association of diversity officers in higher education standards of professional practice for chief diversity officers. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, *7*(4), 227-234.

Worthington, Stanley, and Lewis (2014) developed the 12 standards to meet specific goals for the CDO profession. As "diversity" has expanded to include attention to various focal areas (e.g., sexual orientation, religion, language, veteran status, country of origin, disability), standard one charges CDOs with providing inclusive and an up-to-date definition of "diversity". Standard two creates an expectation of CDOs to communicate the IED mission of an institution in verbal and written forms via traditional and nontraditional media outlets. Further, CDOs should be able to deliver the IED in various ways including expressing the educational benefits, through business cases, and employing social justice frameworks (Williams & Wade-Golden, 2013). As such, CDOs have various means (e.g., rewriting diversity mission, statements of support) and techniques (e.g., educational benefits, business case, social justice frameworks) to communicate diversity and standard two reflects effective communication.

Standard three charges CDOs with being familiar with the internal contextual landscape that is often influenced by the interactions among stakeholders and can affect how diversity is presented. The scholarship related to diversity is constantly growing and having the knowledge of the literature is a key component of the CDO profession and is illustrated through standard four. Because the curriculum is the place "institutional diversity goals and learning outcomes are articulated" (p. 231), standard five reflects how essential understanding curriculum is to the CDO profession. Depending on the culture, mission, and context of an institution, various delivery methods (e.g., presentations, workshops, seminars, focus group sessions, difficult dialogues, restorative justice, town hall meetings, conferences, institutes, and community outreach) should be available to enhance the diversity mission of an institution as outlined by standard six.

CDOs are involved in a unique time period where increase access to social media has led to real-time documentation of student protest and other issues related to campus climate. As a

result, effective leadership should be able to provide support and consultation to victims, assist in working through the institutional complaint and review process, engaging in law enforcement when necessary or needed, and issue clear statements with the media as outlined by standard seven. Literature supports the use of different assessment tools to document the educational benefits of diversity and is represented by standard eight. Standard nine suggests that it is important CDOs have an understanding of campus climate research in their universities approach to improving campus climate. Standard ten suggests that CDOs support and advocate on behalf of the faculty members who may challenge the hegemony of a discipline or the lack of representation within the faculty ranks. Laws and policies may or may not coincide with state or federal policies and it is important that CDOs are aware how an institution's policies match or go beyond that of governmental policies which is highlighted in standard eleven. Standard twelve ensures that CDOs are aware of the laws, regulations, and policies related to IED including any restrictions that may limit what the CDO is available to do.

While the standards of professional practice for CDOs are well-intentioned, they lack the critical language that provides the commitment and empathy to protect our most vulnerable community members (Allen, Rodriguez, & Esters, in review). For example, none of the 12 standards explicitly mention racism, sexism, xenophobia, or homophobia despite these topic areas being crucial to the racial and gender climate on college campuses. Further, the standards of professional practice do not outline an aggressive approach to addressing diversity crisis incidents on campus.

The standards of professional practice are meant to serve as guidelines for universities when employing the CDO position into their university administrative responsibilities (Worthington, Stanley, & Lewis Sr., 2014). However, it is also noted that the standards of

professional practice are not to serve as a qualification tool for who should serve in the CDO position or how offices of diversity should be governed. Still, improvements are needed to ensure CDOs are equipped with the skills to properly support diversity and inclusion efforts on college campuses.

2.8 Justification of Theoretical Perspective

Chief Diversity Officers face several uphill battles in their positional responsibilities. For example, 55% of CDOs believed their roles were not structured to get the most out of the position and 93% believed institutional changes were needed to better accommodate the position in an effort to reach the diversity and inclusion goals of their universities (Williams & Wade-Golden, 2013). However, one of the limitations of Williams and Wade-Golden's study is that they do not analyze the CDO position by institutional type, such as land-grant status. Disaggregating CDOs by land-grant status is significant because PWLGUs: 1) have notable racist histories, 2) a unique set of mission and goals that are more explicitly stated than non-land-grant universities, 3) a unique set of academic disciplines that are offered, and 4) a commitment to producing and sharing information for local communities through statewide extension offices. As a result, a critical examination of the CDO position within PWLGUs is needed (Leon, 2014).

Research has shown that CDOs often face challenges in vertical structure, lack of faculty and administrative support, funding, and overall size of the campus (Worthington, Stanley, & Lewis, 2014; Harvey, 2014; Leon, 2014). Studies also suggest that PWLGUs have done a poor job in framing diversity and often view diversity in terms of entrepreneurial achievements (Iverson, 2007; Iverson 2012). When reviewing these findings collectively, it is suggested that CDOs can often be the victims of mismanagement while also being responsible for failing to introduce a transformational diversity agenda. A CDO can be constrained by financial resources,

institutional support, and poor national racial and political climates (Williams & Wade-Golden, 2013). However, those entrusted in the position can also exhibit negative attributes such as not being informed of the current scholarship on diversity, a lack of scholarly productivity in diversity and inclusion research, and a lack of understanding of the benefits of positive campus climates, inclusion, or diversity. In an effort to examine how CDOs at land-grant universities frame diversity, see their roles and responsibilities for the benefit of underrepresented minorities, and how they acknowledge the existence of racism, sexism and xenophobia, a Critical Race Theory framework (Bell, 1971) was employed to frame this study.

2.8.1   Overview of Critical Race Theory

Critical race theory (CRT) first emerged from critical legal scholarship (CLS) in the 1970s. While CLS did focus on the inconsistencies in the American legal system, the operation of power, and how legal ideology created and supported the class structure in American society, it failed to account for the role race and racism played within legal scholarship (Crenshaw, Gotanda, & Peller, 1995; Ladson-Billings, 1998). Still, when concerns were brought forth by legal scholars of color, the relationship of CLS and race went largely ignored (Ladson-Billings, 1995). When founding fathers of CRT, Derrick Bell and Alan Freeman, grew frustrated with the slow racial progress of the United States following the Civil Rights Movement, they began looking at how race and racism factored into the legal doctrine in society (Ladson-Billings, 1998). In particular, Bell and Freeman noticed that traditional actions by leaders of the Civil Rights Movements, including protest and attempts to appeal to the "moral sensibilities" of neutral or supportive citizens, produced smaller and fewer gains in racial progress (Ladson-Billings, 1998). As such, CRT began as an intellectual movement that examines and critiques the role of policies and laws that

seek to maintain unequal social and political conditions based on the foundations of race and racism (Bell, Crenshaw, Gotanda, Peller, & Thomas, 1995).

While CRT began in the legal arena, it has since expanded into documenting the role of race in other scholarship. For example, in political scholarship, CRT was used to argue that equitable voting rights means that minority votes should account for more than their actual numbers (Guinier, 1991). Additionally, CRT has been used to examine who benefits from educational policies (Taylor, 2000), document the experiences of people of color (Yosso, 2005), and produce counternarratives to the existing narratives in society (Harper, 2009).

2.8.2 Tenets of Critical Race Theory

Critical Race theorists have described CRT as a set (or collection) of theories instead of one singular theory (Donnor & Ladson-Billings, 2017). As such, seven tenets are used as the foundation of CRT scholarship. The first tenet begins with the notion that racism is a normal part of American society. That is, racism is a permanent fixture of American society and should not be viewed as an anomaly. A second tenet is what Derrick Bell labels as "interest-convergence" theory or material determinism. As Delgado and Stefancic (2017) state "because racism advances the interests of both White elites (materially), and working-class Whites (psychically), large segments of society have little incentive to eradicate it" (p. 9). Therefore, interest-convergence theory seeks to expose those entities that only argue for diversity through some means of resource attainment (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017).

A third tenet of CRT is the social construction thesis. That is, critical race theorists observe societies inventing, manipulating, and retiring race when convenient. For example, common narratives around crime center it on casualties of race when the group is of minority status (e.g., Black on Black crime) but race is largely ignored when criminal activities are due to

individuals who identify as White. A critique of liberalism serves as the fourth tenet of CRT. The critique of liberalism addresses the slow and often incremental movements of traditional due process. Crenshaw (1998) argues that the eradication of racism calls for more aggressive changes to policies, but liberalism has no mechanism for such change and supports the slow process of legal precedence to gain rights for people of color. The fifth tenet of CRT is the notion of a unique voice of color. The use of providing raw and authentic experiences from people of color provides scholars with greater understanding that various people of color have shared experiences of systems working against them instead of individual personal grievances. Further, the different voices from multiple racial viewpoints better reflect experiences that White audiences may not be privy to (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). The voices of color tenet is necessary as people of color often face racial gaslighting techniques defined as a process that relies on the production of a set of narratives called racial spectacles that obfuscate the existence of a white supremacist state power structure (Davis & Ernst, 2019; Davis & Ernst 2011)

The sixth tenet focuses on intersectionality meaning that multiple identities overlap that grant people of color various experiences individually and simultaneously to give a unique perspective (Donnor & Ladson-Billings, 2017). For example, a person who identifies as gay and Latino will have a set experiences of being gay, Latino, and gay and Latino. The last tenet is the use of storytelling. In particular, storytelling in CRT is often used as a tool to produce counternarratives to refute the images often pushed in society. Storytelling can come in various forms including composite stories as well as fictional narratives. For example, Bell's book *Faces at the Bottom of the Well* uses fictional storytelling in stories like "Space Traders" to illustrate how the country is willing to trade Black lives for resources valued by Whites (Donnor & Ladson-Billings, 2017).

This study focused on the use of the "voice of color" tenet, "racism is normal" tenet, "race as a product of social thought" tenet, and the "critique of liberalism" tenet. Voice of color tenet posits that people of color have a unique experience and authenticates and provides credibility to their storytelling and how they document their lived experiences. For the "racism is normal" tenet, PWLGUs have a unique history with race that prevented minorities from attending their institutions and withheld funding from Black colleges with similar academic disciplines. While the current administrations of PWLGUs and state and federal officials are not responsible for the discriminatory actions implemented with the 1862 & 1890 Morrill Act, it is important to ascertain if CDOs at PWLGUs reviewed the history of their institutions as it relates to race; if they are aware of any actions in which they attempted to alleviate past discrimination; and if they have plans to do so. For example, some institutions have removed or replaced the existence of buildings and figures that have been engaged in racism serving as a model for institutions to right the wrongs of their past. For the "race as a product of social thought" tenet, CDOs are in a unique position to describe the academic benefits of diversity and its connection to the mission of land-grant universities. However, institutions rarely connect academic prestige to the diversity of their campus community, instead only use diversity as a mechanism to recruit other URMs students. Finally, using the "critique of liberalism" tenet in this study helped to explore how the numerous hurdles of being at a PWLGU influenced progress.

Indeed, some critical race theorists have noted the misuse of CRT in education-focused research. Further, a well-informed understanding of the theory is needed for an accurate representation of the scholarship in research studies. For example, a common misconception is that all tenets of CRT must be used in order for research to be considered CRT. Although the tenets of CRT can be used in concert with each other, not all tenets are necessary to be labeled

CRT scholarship (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). Further, critical race theorists have also expanded CRT beyond the Black-White binary as evident by the emergence of spin-off theories such as LatCrit and Tribal Crit that produce critical frameworks for specific populations (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). Additionally, CRT research in education could better serve the expansion of the scholarship by incorporating "a more interdisciplinary and cross-institutional perspective" (Donnor & Ladson-Billings, 2017 p. 206).

2.8.3 Critical Race Theory in Education

While CRT had been used predominantly in the legal arena, Ladson-Billings introduced the theory into education in 1995. Since its introduction into education, CRT has been used to examine diversity policies, curriculum development, instruction, faulty educational practices, and experiences of students of color at predominantly White institutions. For example, Gillborn's (2005) study used CRT to expose the inequities in educational policy and how they perpetrate acts of White supremacy. Studies have used CRT to illustrate how school curriculum does not include voices of color in its development and often includes distortions, omissions, and stereotypes in the explanations and histories of non-White cultures (Yosso, 2002). Critical race theory has also been used to expose faulty educational practices employed by educators when working with URMs. Additionally, CRT has been used to reveal how some teachers employed a deficit model when working with African American students. For example, while education and teaching strategies are thought to be race-neutral, a study demonstrated that minority students performed poorly when common educational strategies were employed and how counter-pedagogical strategies improved educational outcomes for minority students (Ladson-Billings, 1998).

In higher education, Iverson (2007, 2012) exposed how diversity action plans positioned students of color as outsiders to their land-grant institutions and that land-grant institutions framed diversity through an entrepreneurial lens. In another study, Harper (2009) used CRT to provide a counternarrative for African American males at PWIs who often had to battle against the various perceptions of their race, stereotypes, and attending an institution where their representation was extremely low. Harper's study demonstrated that African American males experienced feelings of "tokenism", were expected to represent their Blackness in a positive light, experienced racism, and negative attitudes about their belonging at their institution.

With an understanding of the connection between race, educational access and equity, educational outcomes, and experiences of people of color, the use of CRT has been used to expose the injustices among these related areas. Further, CRT scholars have found that continued racial analyses can provide greater depth into the educational barriers and deficiencies to support people of color as well as how these barriers are resisted (Taylor, Gillborn, & Ladson-Billings, 2016). Moreover, CRT scholars have argued for the expansion of CRT into other areas of education, most notably educational leadership. To date, limited scholarship is available that uses CRT to examine educational leaders, administration, and support staff in higher education (Donnor & Ladson-Billings, 2017). Nixon's (2014) study using CRT to document the experience of women of color who serve as CDOs revealed that despite the authority of the position they often still face microaggressions and conflicting dual responsibilities and remains one of the few studies that used CRT to examine the role of the CDO.

2.9   Need for Study

Little is known about the experiences of CDOs in higher education, and even less is known about CDOs at PWLGUs and their experiences with their institutions. Some research has

demonstrated how diversity policy documents at PWLGUs were having a negative impact on inclusion and diversity (Iverson, 2007). However, it is also important we begin to understand barriers associated with diversity at PWLGUs beyond research associated with the role of policy. The literature has identified poor inclusion and diversity on college campuses as a factor negatively impacting recruitment, retention, campus climate, and graduation rates for students of color (Ford, Grantham, & Whiting, 2005; Price, Gozu, Kern, Powe, Wand, Golden, & Cooper, 2005; Rankin & Reason, 2005). With few studies currently existing that provide a critical examination of the role of the CDO position within the land-grant university system, the present study makes a valuable contribution to theory, research and practice. Regarding theory and research, this study is needed for three reasons: 1) this study is one of a few that employs CRT to examine higher education leadership, 2) this study will provide a critical analysis of the CDO position within the context of land-grant universities that is currently non-existent, and 3) this study's use of CRT will provide a template to critically examine other academic administrators who are charged with leading diversity initiatives on college campuses.

First, most studies of higher education administration tend to use organizational and leadership theories. This study will employ a critical perspective to assess the effectiveness of a higher education administration position. Second, while studies have assessed diversity documents at land grant universities using CRT, through my review of the literature only one study has used CRT to assess a diversity position, however none have used CRT to study CDOs within land grant universities. Finally, using CRT as a lens to examine the CDO position will provide an opportunity for adaptation to other administrative positions that are connected to IED efforts on college campuses (e.g., cultural center directors & diversity programs).

As it relates to practice, this study is needed for the following reasons: 1) it expands the scholarship on CDOs to include the knowledge available to universities about the institutional barriers that exist for the role of the CDO position at land grant universities, and 2) this study can be used to improve how the CDO position is operationalized and supported. First, because the research is limited on CDOs, this study is valuable as it will provide institutions with information on the structural and institutional barriers CDOs face in the establishment and support of IED initiatives. Second, this study can lead to innovative research-informed practices that CDOs can use to help enhance their efforts in achieving their IED goals on their campuses.

2.10 Chapter Summary

This chapter included the literature review methodology, purpose of the study, and research questions. It also provided literature on the current state of diversity and inclusion in higher education at the undergraduate students, graduate and professional school students, and faculty and staff levels. This study also included literature on campus racial climate and the effects on student culture and student performance in academia. Further, this study included literature on the experiences based on gender in higher education.

Further, this chapter provided a review of the literature on the historical discrimination of LGUs and the current "atmosphere" associated with these institutions. In particular, this chapter focused on recent student protests that marginalized students who were upset with university administration, campus climate, and support for URMs. Additionally, this chapter provided an overview of the CDO position in higher education. Finally, this chapter illustrated gaps in the scholarship on CDOs and areas in which the scholarship should consider expanding including through critical examination (Leon, 2014).

Critical race theory was introduced as the theoretical perspective to guide the study. Critical race theory explains the role race has played in the everyday interactions of society thus framing policies, institutions, social engagements, and accessibility (Taylor, 2016). Critical race theory was used in this study to examine how diversity and inclusion functions and is supported through the CDO position. Further, using CRT provided a framework to examine and critique educational administrators in higher education.

CHAPTER 3.   METHODOLOGY

3.1   Chapter Overview

This chapter provides an overview of the research procedures and methods utilized to conduct this study. In particular, this chapter will explain the rationale behind the use of critical race and critical qualitative methodology and provide evidence for why the strategies incorporated were an appropriate fit to address the research questions. Where the data was collected, the participants selected for the study, the phenomenological method used to collect data, and the measures utilized to establish trustworthiness of the study will also be described. Finally, this chapter will highlight the role of the researcher and the limitations associated with the study.

3.2   Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to explore how Chief Diversity Officers (CDOs) function at Predominantly White Land-Grant Universities (PWLGUs). Specifically, this study sought to understand how CDOs perceive their own roles and responsibilities to support inclusion, equity, and diversity (IED) and how these areas aligned with their institution's goals, mission, and success. Finally, this study sought to explore how CDOs navigate their identities, the presence of racism, and the social climate being at a PWLGU within the broader United States.

3.3   Research Questions

1. What are the demographic characteristics of the Chief Diversity Officers from Predominantly White Land-grant Universities used in this study?

2. How do Chief Diversity Officers describe the role of race and gender in the mission and purpose of Land-grant Universities?

3. What are the challenges and successes faced by Chief Diversity Officers at Predominantly White Land-Grant Universities?

4. How have Chief Diversity Officers described their Predominantly White Land-Grant Universities acknowledgement and the history and presence of racism on their campus?

5. How do Chief Diversity Officers perceive their role as person of color within the context of the mission and vision of a Predominantly White Land-Grant University?

3.4 Institutional Review Board Committee

To protect the rights of participants involved, the researcher first completed the Collaborative Institutional Training Initiative (CITI) Course in The Protection of Human Research Subjects online training. Following completion of the training, an application, complete with all materials and instrumentation was submitted to the Institutional Review Board (IRB) and Committee on the Use of Human Research Subjects at Purdue University. The IRB granted approval for research to begin on January 29, 2019. The approval letter is attached in Appendix A, for the research study entitled "Using Critical Race Theory to Examine Predominantly White Land-grant Universities Use of Chief Diversity Officers" (IRB protocol: 1812021435).

3.5 Methodological Approach

This section will describe the methodological approaches used when developing this study. Three critical methodological approaches were used in this study due to their coherence for critiquing leadership and systems of power: 1) Critical Race Theory (CRT) Methodology and Leadership Inquiry, 2) Critical Leadership Inquiry, and 3) Critical Qualitative Inquiry. The three methodological approaches are not meant to convey three separate and different approaches to

the methodology, rather they serve to complement each other in that they each address perspectives of critical research where the other methodological approaches used in this study may fall short.

3.5.1   Critical Race Theory Methodology and Leadership Inquiry

In higher education leadership studies, critical race theory has been used for research designs that: (1) position race, racism, gender, sexism, and intersectionality of social identities at the center of leadership inquiry; (2) include historical, political, and/or sociological (among others) perspectives in the analysis of race-neutral or color evasive leadership assumptions, discourses, and practices that are adopted by the majority in the academy; (3) value the learned experiences of faculty, staff, administrators, and students of color in higher education through data collection, analysis and publication processes that encourages research participants to describe the intertwined experiences of race, power, and leadership in higher education; and (4) unapologetically articulate the pursuit of social justice and the eradication of hegemonic leadership norms as aims of inquiry (Carducci, 2016). As such, critical race scholars engage in data analysis methodologies in an effort to advance a transformative solution to the social, political, economic, and/or educational subordination of people of color (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002).

Critical race methodologies represent an essential strategy for countering majoritarian leadership narratives concerning the profiles and practices of higher education leaders. Further, critical race theorists employ common qualitative methodological norms of rigor and quality in research, which includes: reflexive subjectivity; in-depth descriptions that provides convincing support for the authors assertions; accurate and respectful documentation of participants experiences and intended meaning; and ability, if needed, to foster action and positive social

change (Jones, Torres, & Arminio, 2006). Further, Critical Race Methodology has been used for scholarship in educational settings (Parker, 2015). For example, Vaught (2011) used intensive interviews, document analysis, data of school funding resources, media accounts, and observations in order to demonstrate how White supremacy influenced and created a corrupt school system. Vaught's research provided a model for conducting CRT research with a primary focus on specific tenets as was done in this study. As a result, Critical Race Methodology helped inform the analysis of participant interviews.

3.5.2   Critical Leadership Inquiry

Critical leadership inquiry serves to critique "normative leadership ideologies and practices including power dynamics, language, authority, values, beliefs, myths, and identity constructions that foster inequality and oppression" (Carducci, 2016, p. 147). Additionally, critical leadership inquiry is defined by a critique of leadership essentialism rooted in positivist and leadership theories and best practices scholarship (Carducci, 2016; Collinson, 2011). Critical leadership inquiry has been used in higher education to evaluate models of leadership and institutional practices that foster the status quo of the position or the outcomes from the position. For example, Santamaria (2014) used critical leadership inquiry to examine how leaders of color introduced positive attributes of their identity through critical race theory. The author's findings suggested that alternative models of leadership in response to diversity inequities at universities were needed. Additionally, critical leadership inquiry can uncover the power dynamics that shape institutional policy around race, gender, and class that often position people of color in outsider or marginalized status (Carducci, 2016). Lips-Wiersma and Allan (2018) argued through critical leadership inquiry that student voice was important in the instructor-student relationship in critical leadership education.

Critical leadership inquiry is relevant to this study in that it seeks to examine and critique the structure of CDOs at PWLGUs where issues related to IED are common and prevalent (Elmore, 2004; Iverson, 2007, 2012). As such, critical leadership inquiry helped inform the type of data analysis employed and questions asked during the interview process. Critical leadership inquiry's purpose of "critiquing normative leadership ideologies" aligns ideally with the goals of this study as it seeks to provide a critique of a PWLGUs use of a central figure meant to connect IED with the mission of a university. Further, IED and the CDO position tend to face scrutiny by various members of the campus community over who should support it and the relevancy of the position. However, because of the recent emergence of CDOs within higher education, very little is known about CDOs perspectives on issues related to diversity and how they address issues that are often critical to the campus climate of an institution.

3.5.3   Critical Qualitative Inquiry

Critical qualitative inquiry is an additional element of this study worth exploring due to its focus on "a diversity collection of critical ontologies (being), epistemologies (knowing), methodologies (research design), axiologies (ethics), and praxiologies (doing) … to document, describe, transform, and overturn social injustice" (Pasque, Khadar, & Still, 2016). Critical qualitative inquiry involves a number of assumptions including: 1) power relations in the context of social and historical perspectives facilitate all thought; 2) facts are given priority in values and ideological inscription; 3) mainstream research practices foster the reproduction of systems of class, race, and gender oppression; and 4) privilege exists among certain groups over others and oppression is reproduced when privileged groups accept their privilege as natural, necessary, or inevitable (Kincheloe, McLaren, & Steinberg, 2012). Further, critical qualitative methodologists employ relevant critical theories and critical methodologies and methods that seek to challenge

neoliberalism, academic capitalism, and the marketization of higher education (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Pasque, Khadar, & Still, 2016, p. 76). Critical inquirers draw upon various critical theories to meet the goals of the paradigm. For example, critical race theorists have utilized critical qualitative inquiry to expose institutional and structural racism as a source of the racial equity gap in education (Dowd & Bensimon, 2015).

Critical qualitative inquiry is relevant to this study in that this research will seek to uncover deficiencies in the perspectives, procedures, and practices of CDOs and their institutions. Further, critical qualitative inquiry complements the theoretical framework and purpose used in this study in that it seeks to challenge the neoliberalism view of diversity policies and procedures of the CDO position at 1862 land-grant universities as well as other components of diversity, equity, and inclusion. Finally, the assumptions associated with critical qualitative inquiry align with those of critical race theory as its focus on historical context, challenges power dynamics, and exposes privileges, which are embedded within critical race theory.

3.6   Data Collection

One of the most common forms of data collection in qualitative research is through interviews. A research interview is presented as "a conversation that has a structure and a purpose" (Brinkman & Kvale, 2015, p. 5). Specifically, for this study data collection used a semi-structured interview protocol consistent with a phenomenological approach of getting to the essence of the experiences. Merriam and Tisdell (2016) describe semi-structured interviews as having a mix of more and less structured interview questions, flexibility in questions, specific data required from all respondents, lack of a predetermined order, and a significant portion of the interview is guided by a list of questions or issues to be explored. As a result, the following sections will describe the study participants, interview protocol, and data collection methods.

3.6.1   Data Collection Methods

An interview protocol was developed to address the research questions associated with the study along with a brief demographic survey. However, prior to data collection researchers are required to gain permission to collect data from individuals through the institutional review board (IRB) and the participants providing the data (Creswell, 2003; Creswell, Plano, & Clark, 2011). An application was submitted and approved by my institution's institutional review board. After gaining permission through the proper approval methods, I proceeded with the data collection methods including requests for participation and distribution of a brief demographic survey via email. When requesting participation of the subjects of the study, an email detailing the purpose of the research and the nature of their involvement was included so the participants were fully aware of their roles. The following sections highlight the development of the interview protocol.

3.6.1.1   Phenomenological Approach

This study employed a phenomenological methodological approach to address the interview and the interview questions, as phenomenology can serve in either a theoretical or methodological framework (Bhattacharya, 2017). Phenomenology is described as a method of reduction whereby all factual knowledge and reasoned assumptions about a phenomenon are set aside so that pure intuition of its essence may be analyzed (Velmans, 2006). Simply put, phenomenological approaches seek to identify the meaning people make of their experiences (Van der Mescht, 2004). Further, phenomenology focuses on a central theme of "meaning, structure, and essence of the lived experiences of a phenomenon for a person or group of people" (Bhattacharya, 2017, p. 98). While various types of phenomenology exist, this study specifically employed a critical phenomenology approach in the development of the interview protocol.

Critical phenomenology is described as "a conventional, third-person, scientific investigation of brain and behavior, which includes subjects' reports of what they experience" (Velmans, 2006). However, unlike other types of phenomenology that suggest subjects' "experiences are a reflection of perception and not reality", critical phenomenology does not assume the subjects are unaware or naïve about their experiences rather critical phenomenology assumption is that "subjects really do have "subjective, conscious experiences" (Velmans, 2006, p. 226).

Critical phenomenology is an ideal framework for this study as I sought to ascertain how CDOs explain their role within Predominantly White Land-Grant Universities (PWLGUs) who have demonstrated less of an affinity for diverse environments and often produce unwelcoming climates for people of color. Phenomenology is concerned with attending to the way things appear to individuals in their experience. No studies were found from my review of the literature that sought to identify the CDO's experience at land-grant universities with attention to how those within the position describe their experiences including the language and examples used. Further, phenomenology allowed for me to explore my own experiences in order to become aware of my own perspectives, biases and assumptions known as epoche and can be found at the conclusion of this chapter (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Those preconceived viewpoints and assumptions were bracketed (set aside and noted in *position of the researcher* section) in order to revisit the phenomenon. Additionally, phenomenology allows for me to constantly revisit the experiences CDOs describe to get to the true meaning through phenomenological reduction followed by a process known as horizontalization or laying out all the data and treating all of it as equal points (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). As a result, after going through the various stages "the reader should come away from the phenomenology with the feeling, 'I understand better what it is like for someone to experience that' (Polkinghorne, 1989, p. 46)" as qualitative research is not expected

to be generalizable but yet allows one to understand that it is possible for those who meet a criteria to have a similar experience (Creswell, 2013, p. 62).

3.6.1.2 Interview Protocol

A majority of qualitative research employs the use of interviews to obtain a special kind of information that allows the researcher to get a better glimpse of the perspective of participants (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016; Patton, 2015). A semi-structured interview approach, which includes an interview process guided by a list of questions or issues to be explored but flexible enough that other questions can arise, was used to conduct interviews (Brinkmann, 2018; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Aligned with Merriam and Tisdell's (2016) suggestions, interview questions used in this study were open-ended with the opportunity for probing to occur in the event a participant's answer needed further explaining or sparked additional inquiry. Prior to interviewing, each interviewee was asked to read and sign a consent form that illustrated the purpose and goals of the research, the benefits and risks associated with participation, and confidentiality (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011).

Due to the nature of the position having executive-level responsibilities with rigorous scheduling demands, I limited the number of interviews to two to respect the CDOs other time commitments. As a result, seven CDOs were selected to participate in two 60 to 90-minute interviews. Before interviews began, I discussed my motives and intentions, the protection of participants' identities through pseudonyms, who has the final say over the study's content, and other logistical items such as time and number of interviews (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). The two interview protocols (Appendix B) along with each interview was conducted for the purpose of asking about experiences and behavior questions, opinion and values questions, feeling questions, knowledge questions, sensory questions, and background/demographic questions (Patton, 2015).

The themes of the interview questions included: 1) general overview of the CDO position, 2) CDO relationships the broader campus, 3) successes and barriers to success of the position 4) racism on campus, 5) protocol for addressing diversity incidents, and 6) connections between diversity language and the PWLGU mission. Each interview was recorded via an external audio recorder.

3.6.1.3 Mock Interviews

Prior to using the interview protocol, mock interviews were conducted with two CDOs at regional colleges in the Mid-Atlantic area of the United States. The first interviewee served as the CDO of a public research university in Virginia that was recently designated as a Minority-Serving Institution (MSI) with an African American enrollment greater than 25%. The second interviewee served as the CDO of a public university in Georgia in which at least 30% of the student body identifies as a domestic underrepresented minority. The purpose of the mock interviews was to ensure that the interview protocol questions were clear, could be answered by someone within the CDO role, and were accomplishing the goals of this study. Following the mock interviews, several of the interview questions were revised based on the feedback from the CDOs. Revisions of questions included adding a question about navigating difficult relationships, separating questions for each individual internal constituent (faculty, staff, and students), and providing clarity on questions that may have more than one interpretation.

3.6.2 Study Participants

When developing a qualitative research methodology, it is important to ensure that your participants meet the requirements for the study and are able to articulate with a high degree their experiences. In order to ensure that this study was informed by those who met the requirements,

several approaches were used to contact the study participants. First, this study targeted the CDOs from the fifty-two 1862 land-grant universities in the continental U.S. in an effort to narrow down potential participants of this study. The criteria for participants in this study were twofold: (1) they must carry the title of "Chief Diversity Officer" at their institution, and (2) their institution must be classified as an 1862 land-grant university.

Participants were identified or selected who met my CDO criteria. Some characteristics that were considered when identifying interview participants for this study were: CDOs from institutions with known diversity controversies; geographical location (i.e. Northeast region, Eastern region, Southern region, Southwest region, Midwest region, West region); and structure of institution (flagship systems versus state systems). However, the main criteria for this study was participants must be or recently served as a CDO at a PWLGU.

I began by reaching out to national organizations involved in CDO scholarship, prominent authors of CDO literature, and networking with other colleagues to gain trust and identify potential study participants. However, the main source of contact was retrieving emails from university websites and contacting the CDOs directly. In total, 30 CDOs were invited to participate in this study via email from a master list of the 52 continental U.S. PWLGUS. Ultimately, seven CDOs agreed to participate. While no ideal sampling size exists in qualitative data collection, qualitative researchers must consider the questions asked, the data that is gathered, the analysis in progress, and resources available to determine the sample size needed (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Further, Lincoln and Guba (1985) argue that researchers should sample until a point of saturation or redundancy. Bhattacharya (2017) suggests 5 to 10 participants over multiple interviews are ideal within phenomenology methodological

frameworks. As a result, I interviewed seven CDOs with the considerations listed above in an effort to reach saturation.

3.6.2.1 "Chief" Diversity Officers

The Chief Diversity Officer position is a major focal point of this study. However, the novelty of the position in higher education can make it unclear about who occupies that position at an institution. Additionally, CDOs carry specific titles that illustrate their authority within the higher education administration hierarchy. For example, Williams and Wade-Golden (2013) identified 12 common titles of CDOs: 1) Vice Chancellor, 2) Vice President, 3) Vice Provost, 4) Associate Vice Chancellor, 5) Associate Vice President, 6) Associate Vice Provost, 7) Assistant Vice Chancellor, 8) Assistant Vice President, 9) Assistant Vice Provost, 10) Dean, 11) Executive Director, or 12) Special Assistant. As such, the participants in this study carried one of these or closely related titles at their home institution.

Participants were asked to complete a brief demographic survey to ascertain their length of time of being a CDO, age, race, if they began on an interim basis, and previous title. Table 3.1 provides a brief layout of the demographic background of the participants in this study. Pseudonyms were provided for the participants' names and the institutions they represent in an effort to protect their identity as this would provide a greater confidence to speak openly and freely about their experiences. Additionally, because CDOs are new and not all institutions possess the position, age ranges instead of exact ages were provided as an added protection for their identity as to ensure someone would not be able to identify participants' through a process of elimination.

Table 3.1 Demographic data of the study participants

Pseudonym Name	Gender	Age Range	Pseudonym Institution	Race	Tenure (in years) as CDO
Dr. Mercedes Knight	Female	50-59	White Harbor State University	Black/African American	1 year
Dr. Ororo Munroe	Female	50-59	University of Braavos	Black/African American	2 years
Dr. Jericho Drumm	Male	40-49	Meereen University	Black/African American	< 1 year (Interim)
Dr. Monica Rambeau	Female	50-59	Valyria State University	Black/African American	4 years
Dr. Isaiah Bradley	Male	40-49	Hardhome College	Black/African American	3 years
Dr. Roberto Da Costa	Male	70-79	Dorne State University	Latino	7 years (Retired)
Dr. James Barnes	Male	50-59	University of Westeros	White	2 years

3.7 Data Analysis

I began by having all the interviews transcribed by Rev.com, a third-party transcription service, which was then reviewed for accuracy, and transferred into NVivo 12 qualitative software to assist in data organization and analysis. NVivo 12 allows for the coding of the transcribed interviews and categorization of the coded text into thematic trends. Additionally, the software allowed the researcher to review the original transcription to determine the context in which a quote was referenced.

The transcripts were read in full in an effort to become familiar with the data. Coding relied on inductive and deductive reasoning at various stages of the process. Notes were taken on the transcripts for interest, relevancy, and importance to the study (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). The notes taken on the transcripts began the open coding process. After fully reading through the transcripts and completion of the open coding process, I began grouping the coding using axial coding and analytical coding. Axial coding refers to the process of grouping one's open codes (Charmaz, 2014; Corbin & Strauss, 2015). Analytical coding involves interpretation and

reflection on the meaning and forming your codes from that meaning (Richards, 2015). For example, one participant stated, "There is no other staff, no other resources, nothing" which was interpreted as a "general barrier to success for CDOs" and was grouped under the axial code "lack of staffing". Both coding tools were used to identify codes that would be placed in categories later. The researcher repeated this process for each of the remaining transcripts and identified any similarities between codes used from the first transcript and any additional codes developed (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). At the conclusion of reading and coding all interviews, the next step was to identify and group the codes into themes or categories for the data that are relevant and important to the research questions. The categories can be named based on the researcher's perspective, the participants exact words, and from the literature related to the study (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016).

3.8   Trustworthiness of the Study

Trustworthiness was established through various means throughout the study. In accordance with Lincoln and Guba's (1985) definitions of trustworthiness, four criteria were used to establish trustworthiness: 1) credibility, 2) transferability, 3) dependability, and 4) confirmability. First, the researcher employed member-checking for accurate representation of participants words and meaning to establish credibility. Member checking is defined as a method that ensures that interview transcriptions or analyzed data is able to be reviewed by the participants to verify and validate how the participants' words are represented in a qualitative study. Each of the interviews were sent to the interviewee to check for accuracy and verification of their intentions of statements made in the interview. Second, to establish transferability, rich descriptions via rigorous note taking were provided in an effort for the audience to compare instances of the phenomenon explained with those of other similar situations. Dependability,

defined as the consistency and repeatability of the findings (Lincoln & Guba, 1986), was established through detailed handwritten and electronic notes in the event that other researchers wished to mirror that which was accomplished in this study. Finally, confirmability or objectivity of the researcher and study were established through the development of an interview protocol with predetermined semi-structured open-ended questions that addressed the study's research questions.

3.9   Role of the Researcher

It is important to ascertain the positionality of the researcher as they are often shaped by their own experiences while also serving as an extension of the instruments used in their study (Creswell, 2003). As such, there are three key components to understand about myself as the primary investigator of this study. First, since the beginning of my doctoral program I have engaged in numerous social justice activities at a land-grant university including participation and leading student protest on campus, attending meetings about diversity with higher education executive administrators, conducting research focused on diversity and inclusion, and hosting programs where diversity and inclusion are primary focal areas. These experiences have influenced my thoughts on diversity and sparked calls for more aggressive policies and direct support of students of color. These experiences prepared me for understanding the procedures, policies, and politics of higher education administration, responses to students, and needs of the community as it relates to diversity and inclusion.

Second, my desire to become a higher education administrator has influenced me to learn more about the governance of higher education from different administrative positions. This includes attending conferences such as the National Conference on Race and Ethnicity in American Higher Education (NCORE), joining organizations such as University Council of

Educational Administration (UCEA), and attending workshops and seminars focused on diversity, inclusion, and social justice. Collectively, these experiences provided me the opportunity to learn more about barriers, strategies, and perceptions of higher education administration efforts in diversity and inclusion and the needs of people of color who attend institutions with poor campus climates.

Finally, as a student of color who has attended two 1862 land-grant universities and one 1890 land-grant university, I have experienced situations of low sense of belonging, cultural isolation, racism, tokenism, stereotyping, and other issues related to discriminatory practices at the hands of faculty, staff, and peers. Also, as a graduate of an 1890 land-grant university, I am aware of the importance of my social and academic identity that I received at my HBLGU institution and the validating experiences of why positive campus climate and diversity matters. Through these experiences, I became aware of the necessity of more work in the area of diversity and inclusion which fueled my commitment to provide honest and thorough analysis of all scholarship, especially as it relates to the field. For reflexivity, I developed two mock interviews to better understand any biases that may be found in the question as well as kept detailed notes on each interview to ensure I was aware of any influences in the interviews.

3.10 Limitations

Although I have outlined approaches to establish rigor and trustworthiness of the study, limitations still exist and should be considered when reviewing the findings of this study. While I worked with scholars and organizations within the CDO profession, the student-administrative relationship can be challenging as the theoretical framework requires the novice student to challenge professionals. As such, some administrators may feel challenged by a student's questions which could result in participants not being comfortable speaking because of the nature

of the relationship or do not want to critique their own job performance. Second, because the study focused on CDOs at seven PWLGUs, this study only is limited to a small number of CDOs and each university's CDO varies in their structure and authority and cannot be used to generalize to all PWLGUs. Finally, land-grant universities can vary in history, culture, and system structure (state vs. flagship), which can affect the academic structure, funding, and responsibilities of the CDO. While the type of PWLGU will not alter the data, it is important to make note that PWLGUs can be different in their academic and administrative structure.

CHAPTER 4.   RESULTS

4.1   Chapter Overview

This chapter will present the findings from a critical race theory qualitative study. First, this chapter will provide a review of the purpose of this study as well as the research questions that guided the study. To better understand how Predominantly White Land-Grant Universities (PWLGUs) utilize Chief Diversity Officers (CDOs) the findings of this study are presented in five themes that emerged from the interviews with the CDOs: 1) Motivations to be a CDO; 2) State of Diversity at PWLGUs, 3) Racism at PWLGUs, 4) Relationships with Stakeholders, and 5) Role of Politics at PWLGUs. These themes will address research question two through five. Prior to the first interview, the study subjects completed a brief survey to collect demographic information to answer the first research question.

The first theme, *Motivations to be a* CDO, highlights the influence and meaning of the personal and professional experience on the participants' career trajectory that led to them becoming a CDO. The second theme, *State of Diversity at PWLGUs*, describe how CDOs perceive the diversity at land-grant universities including what the state of diversity means for their workload and the successes and challenges of being a CDO at their specific PWLGU. The third theme, *Racism at PWLGUs*, documents the historical and modern displays of racism on PWLGU campuses that CDOs are forced to address by virtue of the position. The fourth theme, *Relationships with* S*takeholders*, details the meaning CDOs make of the relationships they have with internal and external stakeholders and its influence on their roles and responsibilities. The final theme, *Role of Politics at PWLGUs*, describes how politics have permeated PWLGUs campuses and what this means for the role of the CDO.

The CDOs in this study participated in two rounds of semi-structured interviews. Using a semi-structured interview protocol allowed for the participants to respond to specific questions while also giving them an opportunity to discuss elements that may be unique to their institution or their personal experience. Common themes emerged from the data that were both shared experiences of all CDOs and unique experiences of a few. While all data is worth reporting on, some data was utilized that I believe better reflects the overarching argument/framework. As a result, not every experience was captured within the results section, rather those testimonies that best describe a shared reality and those from unique experiences that demonstrate the uncovered themes are represented.

It is important to note that the CRT tenets assisted in offering supportive context for the experiences of the CDOs that were documented in this section and will be explored further in Chapter 5. Additionally, critical leadership inquiry and its position of "critiquing leadership norms and practices" and the assumptions associated with critical qualitative inquiry, such as the ways privilege manifests itself in inequality, also aided in offering supporting context as it helped inform the interview questions and analysis related to the sections and will also be further explored in Chapter 5.

4.2   Research Questions

1. What are the demographic characteristics of the Chief Diversity Officers from Predominantly White Land-grant Universities used in this study?

2. How do Chief Diversity Officers describe the role of race and gender in the mission and purpose of Land-grant Universities?

3. What are the challenges and successes faced by Chief Diversity Officers at Predominantly White Land-Grant Universities?

4.   How have Chief Diversity Officers described their Predominantly White Land-Grant Universities acknowledgement and the history and presence of racism on their campus?

5.   How do Chief Diversity Officers perceive their role as a person of color within the context of the mission and vision of a Predominantly White Land-Grant University?

4.3   Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to explore how Chief Diversity Officers (CDOs) are used at Predominantly White Land-Grant Universities (PWLGUs). Specifically, this study sought to understand how CDOs perceive their own roles and responsibilities to support inclusion, equity, and diversity (IED) and how these areas aligned with their institution's goals, mission, and success. Finally, this study sought to explore how CDOs navigate their identities, the presence of racism, and the social climate being at a PWLGU within the broader United States.

4.4   Motivations to be a Chief Diversity Officer

Motivations to be a CDO highlights how CDOs describe their position and the experiences that influenced their desire to work in IED. The *voices of color* tenet of critical race theory (CRT) provides an opportunity for the testimony of people of color to be considered as an authentic account of the experiences that are unique to them, whereas in this study the people of color refer to the CDOs of color. The *voices of color tenet* was relevant for this section as I positioned the lived experience of the CDOs of color as an authentic account of what has occurred in their interactions with their university without seeking to minimize their experiences beyond what they perceived. A common narrative from the interviews with the CDO's focused on what motivations existed for them to take on a position, that is often under scrutiny from conservative viewpoints, at institutions known to struggle with diversity. For people of color, their motivations were rooted

in beliefs about their identity and opportunities to help other marginalized communities. The CDOs of color in this study detail how they were motivated by experiences from their childhood as a person of color, experiences as a student of color at predominantly white institutions, and experiences as faculty and administrators of color. These experiences would later help shape their trajectory to be a CDO, at times as an expectancy due to their race rather than out of sheer intent. Further, some CDOs in this study described situations where they perceived that they were considered for the CDO position solely based on their identity even though they expressed no interest in the position, however this was not always the case.

Dr. Roberto Da Costa, a Latino male from Dorne State University, describes how his past experiences of being a Latino kid growing up in the U.S. shaped his desire to want to work in diversity:

> I had a strong sense early on that I want to change American society in the direction to make it a fairer, and a just open society. So, I dug for research with a Spanish language community and the United States with some aspect of minority access to telecommunications, or oriented policies in telecommunications…I have a strong sense that America may become a diverse nation demographically on its own. It won't necessarily become a fair and just diverse nation on its own. That requires intent from all of us.

Dr. Mercedes Knight, a Black woman from White Harbor State University, illustrated how her journey to becoming a CDO was first developed in undergraduate education with her attendance at an all-women's college:

> So, I've always done some diversity work, even before… As an undergrad, I worked at a women's college. So, there was always this kind of social justice mission and piece to things. All of my service was around that. So that has always been a part of my career.

Dr. Isaiah Bradley, a Black male from Hardhome College, expressed how it was his passion and purpose for social justice and to serve communities that were important to him that drove him to becoming a CDO:

> I think for me it's at the intersection of where my purpose meets my passion, right?...I think I just came up through this kind of social justice framework and this opportunity to kind of serve, be a servant leader and serve communities that, kind of, are important to me.

While these testimonies exemplify how identity played a positive role in their intent towards their careers, others described how their identity became an inescapable reason for being named a CDO. Dr. Ororo Munroe, a Black female from the University of Braavos, revealed the lack of opportunities to further her career acquiesced her into the CDO role:

> Well, you know, to be honest, I really didn't want this role… I really wondered if I hadn't snapped up this opportunity, if there would have been other opportunities to advance my career. But, as an African-American woman, I really don't like being in a minority position.

Dr. Munroe further stated that while universities have made strides to be more representative of women, this has not translated to women of color. These concerns were raised during a forum at a conference for women where White women touted opportunities for their leadership development while women of color are not provided any. As she described her interactions with the speaker:

> "What do you have to say for those of us that are women of color that've never had anybody to do that for us? All things are not equal." And what I wanted her to understand is that, make no mistake about it, just because somebody did it for you we don't get the same. And a lot of times, you know, as somebody has reminded me, they see their wives, their mothers, their sisters, their daughters in other white women, and they don't see that in us necessarily.

For people of color, their identity has also led to expectations of fulfilling diversity roles resulting in a reluctance to do so. Dr. Monica Rambeau, a Black female from Valyria State University, describes such an experience of becoming a CDO after her president was embroiled in a diversity controversy over insensitive comments that were made:

> She [the president] looks around her organization, and there is only one person who is Black and has a PhD, and it's me. They call me into the office...They tell me they want me to do this. I tell them, I say, "No, I don't want to do this. I don't

think this is well-defined. I think that this is where careers can go to die"...They told me then, it like 'kinda didn't matter whether I was good at it or not. I was going to do it.

For CDOs of color, their career trajectories have been driven by a number of reasons including helping other marginalized communities as they see themselves as marginalized. However, other times, CDOs of color see a lack of opportunity and expectations of fulfilling these roles due to their identity as their only motivations to serve in the CDO capacity. The *voices of color* tenet allowed their experiences to be seen as authentic and credible while also demonstrating how non-people of color in those positions would probably not be driven under the same premise. For example, Dr. James Barnes, a White CDO from the University of Westeros, described his motivations as happenstance rather than intent "Of course it came with this job, so it's a little different than maybe someone who went down a career path." As it stands, he was allowed to choose the role whereas at least two of the CDOs of color were not given the same choice and instead was forced to take the CDO role. However, while the CDOs of color experiences are based on helping marginalized communities, they found their need at PWLGUs through their observations for the state of diversity at PWLGUs.

4.5   State of Diversity

The second theme, state of diversity, describes the CDOs understanding of the diversity and inclusion profile of their university and the meaning they make of this profile that influences their job responsibilities. Two tenets of CRT serve as a relevant lens to view the state of diversity: 1) *critique of liberalism,* and 2) *race as a product of social thought*. *The critique of liberalism* tenet is relevant for the state of diversity as it demonstrates the slow-moving process employed by universities to address diversity at our nation's land-grant universities over the last 150 years. Further, *critique of liberalism* also addresses the pressure placed upon CDOs to address issues

with diversity at an institution in a narrowly defined timeframe. *Race as a product of social thought* provides an opportunity to observe how race is embedded in the land-grant mission and if it is reflected in the demographics of the institution. Additionally, *race as a product of social thought* is relevant to understanding how success is defined for CDOs at PWLGUs as a mechanism to observe if race-based achievement exists among institutions and how it is used. Both *critique of liberalism* and *race as a product of social thought* tenets have the opportunity to demonstrate that while diversity is an important element of the land-grant university purpose, it can be one of the least attentive elements of PWLGUs. As a result, to best demonstrate the usefulness of the CRT tenets to unpack what attention is afforded to diversity at PWLGUs, I believe this section was best divided into three parts: 1) state of diversity at land-grant universities, 2) chief diversity officer workload, and 3) successes of chief diversity officers.

4.5.1   State of Diversity at Land-Grant Universities

The mission of land-grant universities was to expand educational opportunities to the working class (Lee & Graff, 2017). For CDOs at PWLGUs this meant that in modern terms, the mission is a call for diversity. As Dr. Rambeau has pointed out, part of defining diversity is tied to the mission of land-grant universities:

> If you think diversity isn't embedded in the land grant, you are wrong. Nowadays, the industrial classes are Black, they are Brown, they are undocumented, they are poor. So if we are not serving those students, we are not achieving our land grant purpose.

Dr. Rambeau's analysis about diversity in the context of a land-grant university is important given the history of PWLGUs, particularly PWLGUs in the South where alternative land-grant universities for Blacks were created in an effort to keep segregation at play, thus working against its own mission. However, for some institutions' diversity was easier to obtain

than others. Dr. Da Costa admits that being in a diverse state has afforded their university to

uphold the diversity intended in the land-grant mission a bit better, but it was not always that way:

> It went through an identity transformation prior to the 1950's and 60's...Well, Dorne College was an all men's, almost all white, college. So, in the process of becoming a more diverse state and accepting a more diverse student body, Dorne State transformed itself into a land-grant situation that also focuses on the issues of diverse communities.

Dr. Bradley expounded on the importance of ensuring that institutions were intentional about the

role of diversity within the land-grant mission as they can serve as a bridge between the

community and the information developed through research via extension offices:

> Yeah I mean when you think about this notion of engaging in service to the students of the state in of itself, you know, this notion of diversity, equity, and inclusion is everything from students to faculty to staff to residents in counties throughout the state, workforce development, bringing research to those communities in ways that can enhance their lives.

However, despite the obvious connection between the land-grant university mission and diversity,

institutions continue to enroll and employ people of color below their representation within

national census data . Dr. Barnes explained that an additional part of the incremental progress on

diversity seen at PWLGUs is partially due to the historical lack of diversity and longevity offered

through the tenure process at the faculty level:

> Obviously the university is what it is in terms of history and that affects I think the composition of our faculty, staff, and students. On the faculty side, those investments you know, those don't turn quickly because if you're 85%, 90% male faculty and they don't retire for 35 years, then the turnover is fairly slow.

Dr. Jericho Drumm, a Black male CDO from Meereen University, describes other difficulties in

upholding the mission of land-grant universities in the face of the ideologies of those who frequent

these types of publicly-funded institutions:

> Then you've got the white students and white legislators, and other people who are saying, "I don't understand the need for this diversity stuff." You know, "Why are we doing this? It's a waste of taxpayers [sic] dollars, it's a waste of money."

Even though CDOs are able to establish the relationship between the land-grant mission and diversity, the challenges they face can be overwhelming given that the position's success requires buy-in from multiple layers of stakeholders at their university. As such, it was important to ascertain how CDOs perceive their workload and the challenge it possesses in operating the position.

4.5.2 Chief Diversity Officer Workload

Because of the lack of diversity at PWLGUs, the incremental changes associated with diversity at PWLGUs over the last 150 years, and the volatile nature of campus climate, the CDO workload is often massive. For example, Dr. Knight described her office as being understaffed leaving just a few personnel to complete strategic plans and goals. Majority of the CDOs in the study shared common experiences with workload including staffing shortages, siloed diversity offices across campus that lead to competing and overlapping programs, and underdeveloped goals all foster increased and pressurized workloads. However, some CDOs presented some unique perspectives when discussing workload challenges. As a result, testimony from Drs. Da Costa, Drumm, Rambeau, and Knight provided a dearth of experiences that captured common and unique challenges of the CDOs in this study as it relates to the CDO workload.

Dr. Da Costa, who recently retired from his post, described a workload culture that saw limited staffing, no predefined goals, and the competitive nature of independent diversity offices. Dr. Da Costa explained that staff from his office were constantly being hired by other departments to support their diversity goals. As he states, "Eventually the office shrank down to almost nothing. Right now, the office has no director, it has one secretary and that's it." In addition to the limited staffing, Dr. Da Costa also provided testimony on added workload that comes with being

the inaugural CDO to address diversity issues that were present well prior to the hiring of a CDO that was not recognized by previous administrations. Dr. Da Costa described a conversation with executive leadership where he inquired about the parameters of the job

> In my very first meeting with the chancellor and his staff I said, "okay I would like to lay out the parameters of the job. What are the goals you have for it?" They said, "oh, you decide those. You tell us what you ought to be doing."

However, one of the most challenging aspects of Dr. Da Costa job was the competitive nature of diversity. Dr. Da Costa described a culture of viewing diversity as a financial gain more than a social improvement. As a result, Dr. Da Costa experienced individualized diversity offices competing for a spot to be amongst the top diversity programs at the university while simultaneously limiting the CDO office:

> People saw Dorne State University as the diverse university, and they were very proud of that, but they all wanted a piece of it…So, because diversity was so high, such a highly visible and desirable issue, a number of administrators sought to carve out their part of that domain. And had a negative effect on the office.

Dr. Drumm identified similar experiences as Dr. Da Costa in the added workload that can come from siloed diversity offices across campus. As Dr. Drumm elaborated "we had people programming on top of each other, people were doing events and activities at the same time." The redundancy of overlapping programs added to the CDO workload for Dr. Drumm in that he had to use resources and time to bring programming together that could have been dedicated elsewhere. Similar to Dr. Da Costa, Dr. Drumm is serving as the inaugural CDO at Meereen University and described the identical challenges of not having metrics for success for the office because of the novelty of the position at the university. Dr. Drumm expressed how being the first CDO provided an outlook on the massive growth that lies ahead "In terms of evaluating to track goals and success, well we haven't developed those yet...We still have a lot of building to do."

For Dr. Drumm, the lack of goal-tracking metrics was just one of the pressures of the workload as the contradictory actions taken by the state government to defund the office all while the university was placing diversity within the strategic plan represented competing expectations:

> I will tell you, during the same time that the State Legislature was defunding the office, the Board of Trustees was adding Diversity and Inclusion as a sixth metric to our strategic plan: Meereen Vision 2020. And so, there were two things happening simultaneously. They were getting rid of the office and then we were adding it to our strategic plan.

Dr. Drumm's frustration with the political process will be explored further in the *Role of Politics at PWLGUs* section later in chapter four. While Dr. Drumm's only role was that of a CDO, others in this study workload included serving in multiple positions. Dr. Rambeau, in discussing her workload, reflected on her insistence on continuing simultaneously in her Vice President role in addition to the CDO role when her institution forcefully appointed her to that position in which she previously attested to. Dr. Rambeau noted that sometimes her dual-role of serving as CDO and another executive-level leadership position can cloud priorities where the CDO role takes a secondary priority level, such as what occurred during the college admissions scandal that made national news in 2019 "one of the other hats I wear is I'm Vice President for Student Affairs. So I am dealing with, you know, this admissions scandal because two of our campuses [had students in that scandal]". In addition to her responsibilities associated with being in a dual-role, Dr. Rambeau notes it is often the unrecognized labor that goes unaccounted for while serving as a CDO. For Dr. Rambeau this unrecognized labor is what others ignore when evaluating the utility of a CDO. The unrecognized labor can be described as the unwritten responsibilities that come more so out of a sense of duty to minoritized and marginalized communities than professional commitments. Dr. Rambeau describes her version of unrecognized labor as the checking in with students to ensure they have a sense of support and

belonging while at the university and that this support is associated with an administrator of color:

> Probably a big challenge is labor, the amount of unrecognized labor...So we actually do, my colleague and I, we do these kind of, I call them, for lack of a better word, well baby checkups 'cause I'm old, right?...going around to the campuses and meeting with students and hearing from them and trying to connect them to resources and people we know on campus who can be helpful. But it can be important because there aren't that many Black administrators.

Dr. Knight provided additional testimony on the CDO workload in which she also details the unrecognized labor she exerts. For instance, Dr. Knight describes times where people are often tapping her for intellectual capital due to the questions they may have, blocking her from doing her actual duties "some heavy-handed leadership who are all about diversity...calling you in every two minutes and you're like, "Oh my God, just let me do my job." Like Dr. Rambeau, Dr. Knight finds herself providing unrecognized labor to ensure faculty of color are not situated in the uncomfortable position of being the spokesperson for their race due to being the only faculty of color in a department or college. However, this unrecognized labor comes at her expense:

> The problem you're trying to solve is to get people to do the heavy lifting with this [diversity]...you have to do the heavy lifting and you end up doing it alone. So what you're trying to protect your faculty from, your faculty of color, is being tapped to do every service that comes their way.

Dr. Knight admits the mental and physical toll can be mounting at times, so much so that colleagues have reached out to her about her well-being. While she admits that her team often requests her to go to therapy or find other outlets such as working out, Dr. Knight's attitude is more of a "do as I say, not as I do" and has not made the attempts. Still, for Dr. Knight it is a raise of concern when colleagues recognize the battle fatigue that can occur as a person of color in the CDO role at such a large PWLGU. However, as she states she is not in the habit of hazing herself and she feels if she needs to leave, she will:

'Alright, I'm here to help." Not in an obnoxious way, but if it gets too crazy, I can bounce. I can go. And that might be kinda the first gen in me. We weren't supposed to get this far." So at any time, I can go.

The CDO workload is something that higher education cannot ignore given that many times these positions are created out of a diversity crisis, demonstrating a need for the position with an unimaginable workload to come with it. Further, many of the CDOs are attempting to improve campuses that have made very little progress in diversity over the last few decades. Several other factors further inflate the workload of the CDO such as overlapping diversity programs, lack of clear goals, and unrecognized labor to support minoritized communities. Still, CDOs demonstrate some level of success that institutions had not had prior to their arrival.

4.5.3   Successes of Chief Diversity Officers

While CDOs described the connection between the mission of land-grant universities and diversity, very little had been done to ensure diversity is seen as a priority. As a result, CDOs were hired to serve as the lead strategist for improving the diversity of their institution to better align URM representation with national census data and an inclusive environment. Even when CDOs are hired, the workload that goes beyond their normal call of duty can often stand in the way of progress. Still, despite the incremental changes to the diversity of the institution and mounting workload, CDOs in this study described success through various initiatives they believe move the university forward. CDOs report their success in four key areas: visibility, leadership support, funding, and improving campus climate.

4.5.3.1   Visibility

For a number of CDOs, the lack of visibility was seen as a major barrier for the success

of the CDO position. Visibility is described as both accessibility for and intentional acts of being

seen by students and faculty. Being visible was a means to familiarize the campus with the office

and to be seen as a resource for faculty, staff, and students on campus in the event of future

diversity-related incidents. Some CDOs have previously attested to the notion of being visible.

For example, Dr. Rambeau's when describing the "unrecognized labor of CDOs" mentioned her

"baby check-ups", in which she reaches out to students or sees students in passing and holds a

conversation with them to ensure they are doing well. That level of visibility, while not a direct

initiative, was a conscious decision of wanting students to see administrators of color who are a

rarity at her university. Of the seven participants, three described some form of visibility as a

duty and as a success.

Dr. Knight illustrated how visibility was more of a direct initiative she promoted in her

five-year plan of being intentional about the visibility and promotion of her office and resources

available, sometimes in an effort to combat negative incidents on campus. Dr. Knight employed

what she calls "functional visibility", a method of investing in branding to promote her office's

visibility through social media, an improved website, newsletters, and physical presence on

campus. However, she also expresses a subtle warning as it relates to this type of visibility:

> But in some contexts, specifically land-grant, specifically deep south schools,
> there are some institutions where office for diversity needs to be intentionally
> underground, intentionally hidden. They do the work quietly, but they do the work
> without drawing the attention of powerful or antagonistic alumni.

Dr. Bradley whose campus was embroiled in protests prior to his arrival also touted how important

it was for his office to be visible and accessible:

> Our campus is engaged; we're having important dialogue, particularly after the
> protests of things that I've seen and I think we're in a good place. I think we're

highly engaged and acceptable and visible. Students have our phone number, they can contact us day and night. I think that that's a huge difference.

4.5.3.2   Gaining Leadership Support

Leadership support acknowledges the importance of diversity work on campus and is seen as a catalyst to bringing lower level employees into supporting diversity events and initiatives at the university. Of the seven participants, three outline how instrumental leadership support had been in the success of the position. Leadership support was described as the buy-in by other leaders as well as the level of authority afforded to the CDO position. Dr. Barnes mentions that obtaining leadership support was a major part of his success within the role. Dr. Barnes, who is serving in the CDO and in the Provost role and reports directly to the president, has allowed his authority to have a greater influence on institutional buy-in for diversity initiatives. Dr. Barnes authority also meant he would be able to reinstate a lower level diversity position that had been removed with the previous provost:

> A lot of places the chief diversity officer's obviously a separate position… I do believe that there's some real value to this idea, because the provost is the chief academic officer of the campus… I think getting the new administrative position for diversity hired is a big deal. So, I think that was a big commitment by the campus to try to help us do better in that area.

While his own leadership support is important, Dr. Barnes also credited several other leadership figureheads that he believes helped define the success of the position. For example, University of Westeros King Center's director has been heavily invested in improving the conditions for women faculty and their experiences at the university leading to conversations that they were not having on a larger scale. Dr. Barnes also noted trainings that search committees go through to ensure fair, diverse and equitable hiring practices are adhered to was a big step forward in

diversity success. Dr. Barnes stated how these initiatives in leadership support help his overall job of providing positive campus climates:

> I do think there's some things that have happened that have been positive, or at least have been helpful in us moving toward a more respectful climate.

Like Dr. Barnes, Dr. Rambeau found leadership support to be one of the key elements for the CDO's success at PWLGUs. Dr. Rambeau described her president's support through the identity of an "advocate and ally". As Dr. Rambeau explains, her president is not in the business of critiquing and being a micromanager of effectiveness especially considering the role her president had played in the diversity controversy that led to needing a CDO. Whether out of guilt or authenticity, Dr. Rambeau acknowledges the effort of her president:

> She's definitely been an ally and she's willing to speak and put her money where her mouth is when it comes to diversity and equity.

Similarly, Dr. Munroe, who described her president as her biggest supporter, sees the president's influence as being a key component to the work of the office. As she puts it, when different individuals and groups resist diversity it comes off as they are resisting the president. Additionally, when diversity incidents have arisen on campus, her provost have moved to condemn the actions and expressed an emotional appeal to the community of fostering better inclusivity among its constituents giving her an added boost of campus support.

4.5.3.3 Funding

Independent funding streams help ensure the longevity of programs long after grants and other funding mechanisms run out while also bypassing the competitive process that is customary with outside grants. While PWLGUs often rely on federal and state funding for much of their programs, some universities, although not common for diversity programs, seek in-house funding initiatives to foster their diversity, a move that protects their office in the event that they are

defunded like that of Dr. Drumm's university. As a result, Dr. Munroe was the only CDO who described a separate funding mechanism to support IED-related programs. Dr. Munroe discussed funding as part of the success at her university because it protects the different initiatives on campus and is a way for students to have vested interest in the diversity programs since it is tied to their student fees, giving them more of an interest to be in attendance at the different programs.

> One of the things that I have again are student fees, monies from student fees that allow us to support programming throughout this campus. And the campus Inclusivity Support Funding is where our students work with our faculty and staff to offer programming across our diverse campus that helps to expand people's knowledge about an engagement with diverse people and diverse topics

4.5.3.4   Improving Campus Climate

Improvements in campus climate is a common source of success within diversity in higher education. Campus climate is a measure of the sense of belonging and inclusivity of the different layers of a population at a university. All seven of the participants described some method of focusing on improving the campus climate of the university. A critical mass of people of color, education on diversity, and developing inclusive excellence standards are some ways in which institutions have attempted to improve campus climate. Dr. Rambeau attempted to improve campus climate by growing a critical mass of students of color through partnerships with Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs):

> For our students, I think the challenge is climate, of feeling respected. We have a partnership with HBCUs and we bring HBCU students to our campuses as research fellows in the summer and if they get admitted to the university as a graduate student, we have a fellowship for them that's pretty good.

Dr. Da Costa implemented four distinct initiatives as mechanisms for improving campus climate. First, Dr. Da Costa took the approach of ensuring that people had a common understanding of how diversity works through a series of workshops and promotional materials. He then implemented an annual symposium of invited lecturers to discuss diversity. Further, Dr.

Da Costa addressed departments who were failing to hire a diverse faculty pool by developing metrics and accountability systems for their departments. Finally, Dr. Da Costa also saw improving campus climate through educating the faculty members on diversity and inclusion through a faculty seminar series because they are often the first to interact with students as affiliates of the university.

Dr. Drumm, also mentioned how the new diversity training that was implemented at his university as well as courses to address inclusion and diversity were his mechanisms of improving climate at his institution. However, getting initiatives off the ground following the defunding of the office was a success in itself. While Dr. Drumm is reserved in stating what he is able to do because of the state government's hold on the diversity office, he still has managed to get programs up and running such as an Excellence in Intercultural Diversity Teacher Certificate Program to provide teachers with inclusive excellence training. Dr. Drumm also discussed how advisors now have a cultural competency training that they must go through to ensure they can properly and appropriately engage with students. However, the Inclusive Leadership Academy was the biggest achievement:

> We have an Inclusive Excellence For All Academy that we'll take every fall to take individual leaders across campus to do this Inclusive Excellence For All Academy and then in the spring we will take individual departments to this Inclusive Excellence For All Academy

While most of the CDOs have not been in their position for long, Dr. Knight characterized how she measured success not by just what she can start but also by completed actions. Dr. Knight discussed strategies she has implemented to support diversity and how her efforts were so successful that she completed her five-year plan in ten months that also resulted in a faculty pipeline program that she believes will enhance diversity within the faculty ranks. Still, despite notable initiatives and successes within the role of CDO, there is some hesitancy to define

successes within diversity. Dr. Rambeau explains why basking in successes can prove to be difficult due to the volatile nature of campus climate:

> But, I will tell you, it's rare that people in these roles feel successful. And that's probably a good thing. I never wanna feel successful because this is institutionalized racism and if I get too comfortable and turn my attention away, then I'm not doing my job. So I don't wanna be comfortable. I wanna critique every success for what it is we can do more of or better.

The state of diversity at PWLGUs as perceived by the CDOs point to a variety of challenges and successes for those who embody the position. The *critique of liberalism* and *race as a product as social thought* tenets were ideal sub-theoretical frameworks to best understand the state of diversity as they helped unpack some of the incremental processes that PWLGUs invoke when dealing with their diversity and will be explored later in Chapter 5. However, while the state of diversity provides a benchmark of the diversity of a university, it is the relationship with racism that is at the heart of the PWLGU issues that exist as it relates to diversity and inclusion.

4.6   Racism at PWLGUs

The third theme that emerged from the interviews, racism at PWLGUs, details the historical and current acts of racism at PWLGUs and its function in the experiences of CDOs. The *racism is normal* tenet of CRT acknowledges that racism is deeply ingrained within American society to a point that it is normalized in our daily operations and dismissed as a problem. In other words, a post-racial society has never existed, and that racism is still supported in both covert and overt methods in society. To best demonstrate the ways racism has existed and been supported at PWLGUs and what it means for the CDO, this section was divided into three sub themes: 1) racism in recruitment, 2) racism on campus, and 3) racism in policy.

4.6.1 Racism in Recruitment

Race has long played a role in the recruitment of students, staff, and faculty in higher education (Pilkington, 2013). While rhetoric around diversity now establishes "diversity" as a value in higher education, affirmative action policies are still needed to ensure universities are operating in "good faith". Still, universities have needed to adopt additional strategies to ensure diversity was authentically being addressed. This section reviews the role of race and racism in recruitment for students, faculty, and staff through the testimonies of Drs. Rambeau, Barnes, and Bradley.

During the recruitment phase, Dr. Rambeau explained how she has tried to ensure that recruiters "have less of a deficit mindset" when it comes to Black and Brown students. In other words, she wants recruiters to better understand the experiences of Black and Brown students to ensure that students are not erased as academically inadequate or uninterested. For example, Dr. Rambeau showed some frustration describing people who believe that Black and Brown students are not successful because of a perception of low financial literacy "as if poor people don't know how to use money" as she puts it. Dr. Rambeau also complained about how her university has further hindered recruiting through race-neutral admissions. Race neutrality is seen as a threat in recruiting because it limits the contextualization of the experiences of students of color in admissions. Ironically PWLGUs have a history of barring students on the basis of race. Further, Dr. Rambeau illustrated dealing with an individual's beliefs about certain stereotypes, as it pertains to people of color, is actually racism:

> We also have a board of regents who were the first group in Valyria to pass legislation barring race, ethnicity, and gender. So families and communities understand that the Valyria State University started all this. We have long memories. They don't forget. And so a lot of it is getting them to say no, you're actually racist, you're actually biased, and you're creating structures and procedures that are actually not race neutral because your idea of race neutral is white people centered.

The unfortunate reality of racism in recruitment and the use of color evasive methods is that universities are often attempting to minimize the effects of racism that is tied to their lived experiences such as the differences in funding of education in Black and White communities that contributes to issues of access. However, the role of race and racism in recruitment is not just in terms of how we view students, but also the perception that students have on the disciplines offered at PWLGUs. Dr. Barnes warns that the perception of agriculture for students of color may not be inviting, particularly for African American and Hispanic students:

> The industry itself because of the nature of labor, the way the industry was part of slavery, and slavery was part of the industry, and then even with our say Latino, Hispanic community where many people work in farm jobs, farm labor jobs doesn't necessarily, it doesn't have a positive image for a lot of people.

Dr. Barnes also admitted that this not just a domestic issue, but one that is reflected in international recruitment as well:

> Even in developing countries, most people, they wanna get out of agriculture because that's all they know and what they see in those cases, it was what they did to live. It wasn't what they really wanted to do.

As Dr. Bradley sees it, "significant amounts of racism could impact their [the students] ability or desire to be part of or pursue disciplines that they feel lack the level of diversity and representation at the institutional rank." In other words, diversity, or lack thereof, in certain disciplines can hinder diversity progress. Further Dr. Bradley sees issues with guidance counselors and advisors steering students of color away from certain majors as early as three years old. As a result, Dr. Bradley explains that disciplines with an attachment to racism can be less appealing for students of color and that the institution's connections to racism itself plays a role in the recruitment of students of color as institutions association with racism can be turn-offs for

potential applicants. Dr. Bradley's overall conclusion is that racism has permeated the recruitment process in various ways resulting in difficulty in attracting people of color.

> There are issues that relate to racism and the ability to impact people. So I think definitely aspects of racism can impact recruitment and retention and student success in those areas for sure.

> With such low representation at our nation's PWLGUs, one must recognize the role that

racism has played in the recruitment of students of color. It is through these testimonies that we get a glimpse at the challenges CDOs are facing to reconfigure the thought process of how PWLGUs operationalize their recruitment.

4.6.2 Racism on Campus

Every CDO in this study acknowledged major racist incidents having occurred on their campus. As administrators, CDOs are made aware of unique displays of racism that infiltrate their campus that most others are probably less aware of. Every participant in this study described incidents of racism whether through direct actions, policy decisions, or relationships and connections with symbols and donors. As such, to explore some of the unique displays of racism on campus that CDOs experience, this section described four areas: 1) institutional sanctioned racism, 2) racism of donors, 3) symbols of racism on campus, and 4) racism in policy.

4.6.2.1 Institutional Sanctioned Racism

While administrators seemingly understand the need for diverse and inclusive campuses, their actions can sometimes tell a different story. Dr. Knight described how other administrator's actions have worked against diversity and inclusion, despite the mission of land-grant universities calling to expand education to a more diverse audience. At Dr. Knight's institution, university

leaders from the Civil Rights era donated Ku Klux Klan robes, a white supremacist organization

that terrorizes Black citizens in the United States, to the university library:

> Our library has a collection of Klan robes that our university leaders donated to
> the university. All of that. When you're talking about those kinds of things, land-
> grant is the last thing that comes to mind. Everybody was a Klan leader. Okay.
> That's the first thing that comes to mind.

Other CDOs describe incidents where administrators can put them in awkward situations when

the administrator's actions and rhetoric counter the purpose of the CDO office. Administrators

of color are not immune to placing the CDOs in predicaments that are counterproductive to

diversity. Dr. Rambeau described an incident where a Latinx administrator attempted to excuse

the need for a Black Cultural Center, that Black students requested, saying "we're all African".

Dr. Rambeau's response to this incident illustrated her disappointment with her fellow

administrator:

> No don't tell the black student that they're all African that means you basically just
> dissed them... It reminds me that even people who work in diversity get it wrong.
> In this case, you know, she insulted these students, she didn't realize she was
> insulting them. I don't think she intended to, but she didn't understand that when
> you make everybody an African, you diminish and reduce and make them invisible.

Administrator actions are not the only unique racism experiences for CDOs to maneuver

around, the history of the university also has significant contributions to the racism that the CDOs

have to address. An example of this is Dr. Rambeau's frustration with her university's attempts

to improve recruitment of Native American students while ignoring their institution's role in

practices that harms Native American culture and ancestors. As Dr. Rambeau described, skeletal

remains from Native American tribes were discovered during renovations to her campus in which

the university had a choice to return the skeletal remains to the tribes for proper burial. However,

those skeletal remains were never passed on and instead placed in boxes and have been stored

since the 19th century, thus affecting recruitment:

So when people say, we can't get Native American students to come, like 'cause we've got their ancestors' bones in boxes. They know this. So that, yeah, Native American repatriation, remains repatriation is maybe our equivalent of confederate statues because our researchers say well we haven't studied these or we don't know what tribes they're coming from and we've had these bones since, you know, since the 19th century.

Dr. Da Costa, who recently retired, also described how racism in the history of the university complicated his position to challenge any notions that disrupt inclusive campuses. Dr. Da Costa's university chancellor allocated funding, at his request, to explore the university's ties to slavery and discovered that the founders of Dorne State, despite being a school in the northern United States, were slave owners. Additionally, he admits that slave labor was used in the construction of the university and shady business agreements stole land from Native Americans. However, despite the revelation of Dorne State's ties to slavery, they kept the names of the slave owners on buildings and allocated naming a plot of land after one of the slaves. These examples, while not comprehensive of every CDO's experience, demonstrate a consistency in the presence and normalization of racism at PWLGU campuses.

4.6.2.2 Racism within Donors

Donors share a special relationship with our higher education institutions in that they provide financial gifts to the university to support various initiatives when and where funding may be scarce. However, several of the CDOs in this study described racism among their donors that have eroded the campus climate. Dr. Munroe's university received a multi-million dollar gift from a famous donor where that donor's name was to be unveiled on a building that represented one of their university's colleges. However, it was found that the donor had used racist epithets and the gift was returned, resulting in lost revenue that they were expecting. Dr. Munroe described what it meant to have other supportive administrators address this incident:

> What I think was really important was that the person that made the suggestion is our Provost, who was the former Dean of the College of Business. And he was literally in tears as he talked about inequities and that we owed it to our constituents to do something. And he started tearing up and that meant a lot to me.

Dr. Barnes pointed to two significant issues in terms of donor support at his university. In the first situation, Dr. Barnes described an incident on campus where a racist joke was made by a former administrator who had presented a gift to the university some decades ago. As a result of his donation the university planned to name a facility after him, however when it was discovered that the racist joke was made, the university had a decision to make regarding whether to move ahead with naming of the facility. As a result, the joke forced the university to distance themselves from the former administrator by removing his name from the facility, however the university still kept that gift and installed a plaque in that facility in commemoration of the administrator. In the second incident, a wealthy donor was caught using racial epithets after pledging a multi-million dollar gift to the university. Dr. Barnes described what it meant to deal with the fall out with that donor:

> I think they did the right thing under the circumstances and returned the money. And, I think all that was in the press. The downside, in terms of potential negative impact on our climate here, was greater than the [multi] million. And, so the money went back. So, I think they're sensitive to those kinds of things that undermine a positive climate.

As Dr. Barnes notes, the potential impact to campus climate was not worth the multi-million dollar gift. As mentioned in previous sections, campus climate is often volatile and accepting funding from donors who engage in racist behavior could serve as a detriment to the relationships the university builds with communities of color.

4.6.2.3   Symbols of Racism on Campus

Universities have long had ties to racism by virtue of being in the United States. For example, testimony of Dr. Da Costa described how university founders were shown to have been

slave owners. Despite our current understanding behind the atrocities associated with racism and discrimination universities have been slow to address their own ties and symbols to such actions. CDOs, while relatively new in higher education, often have to address the universities long historical connections to racism as an unexpected task which calls for identifying the symbols of racism on campus. Dr. Knight previously described how senior leadership donated KKK robes for display at their university library. Dr. Rambeau discussed the Native American skeletal remains in boxes as an issue that rises to the level of insensitive racialized practices. However other CDOs also described their university's own direct symbols of racism.

In Dr. Munroe's interview she described a painting that is still displayed on campus, that depicts African Americans in a "negative light". In this picture African Americans are seemingly represented as slaves cleaning where the White individuals were regarded as overseers. She admits that this has been an uncomfortable sight for years "And so for decades that had been a point of contention among students and staff." She even acknowledged that students have brought this up, including to the president:

> We were at the president's home and that wasn't even among their top five or ten concerns. But one of the students talked about that painting and what it meant to him, that after all these years that's how we're reflected and what it meant when his cousin came to campus.

Dr. Drumm, whose office was shut down over certain diversity policies they adopted to support members of the LGBTQ community, detailed how groups have utilized their free speech safe spaces as a mechanism to spread hate and other propaganda. Dr. Drumm describes a recent incident among those who used the space for anti-Semitic purposes:

> So we have kind of a free speech thing that we have, and what happened was there was an anti-Semitic things that were written there recently. And so we had to deal with those and that's why we're having diversity training.

What can be inferred from Dr. Drumm's institution and the state government is that support for inclusion is thought of as a negative attribute to possess whereas hate speech is valued and necessary.

4.6.2.4   Racism in Policy

Institutional policy serves as the set of laws that govern what universities will admit or prohibit on campus and how the university plans to function. Although there are university policies that are meant to promote and protect diversity and inclusion, some policy conflicts with IED. As such, CDOs describe ways in which racism is so covertly operationalized in policy and leads to coercing other minorities, whether well-intentioned or not, to support policies that they would normally disagree with. For example, Dr. Rambeau describes how race-neutral policy at her university works against Black students in that those students are often from low-socioeconomic backgrounds where there are less available resources and less available experiences to put in cover letters and resumes. Thus, even when implementing race-neutrality, the students' experiences as a person of color are demonstrated in other ways, and as a result being neutral in a racialized society is an ineffective strategy. Dr. Rambeau pointedly describes the pervasiveness to escape race is probably one of the worst things to happen since segregation:

> It's all predicated on race and yet the only people who can't express their race are Black people. So it's the most insidious law that has ever existed and it pits our other major populations against us in wedge issues. So it's probably the worst thing that's ever happened in terms of policy, educational policy for Black students, after segregation.

Not only is racism affecting policy in terms of recruitment, racism within policy is also noticeable within the institution itself. Dr. Da Costa detailed during our interview that his institution has a policy that allows for any group of at least five to create an organization for any cause of their choosing and the university will have to support their organization. What results

are factions of white supremacy organizations forming on campus. As Dr. Da Costa explained, the Chancellor thought it better to allow everyone instead of being selective, no matter who it hurt in the process:

> The Chancellor decided that in the long run that was probably beneficial to the university rather than setting the university up as an arbitrator of who could say what and who can't say what.

CDOs also discussed the protocol for responding to diversity-related incidents on their campus, in which there was some variety to how they handle such situations. For example, Dr. Barnes illustrated how his university attempts to localize responses when diversity related incidents arise. Dr. Barnes says his university has adopted a principle of "not in the business of responding to everything that happens", because as he puts it "the general feeling here is that when you give these things life by responding to them it really is feeding whoever was trying to draw attention." Dr. Barnes described an incident at one of his university's dormitories where racist propaganda was discovered the university had the dean of the college respond in a localized way. However, Dr. Barnes admitted that this a localized response frustrated people on campus who thought a statement for the entire university would have expressed an acknowledgement of the severity of the incident. Dr. Barnes provided a rationale for responding in such a way:

> The president of the university general philosophy is to try to periodically restate what we think is important… We respond locally where appropriate… Because many want you to know, every time one of these incidents happen to come down with ... but again I think people get numb to those too, and all of a sudden when you do issue one it doesn't mean anything because it's the third one this semester and folks just get numb to the whole thing.

However, Dr. Drumm warned that responses like what Dr. Barnes describe can be perceived negatively by groups who are affected:

> I think that sometimes we don't call things what they are. We don't say, it was a racist, bigoted act. We say, "An incident happened where it doesn't match up to

our values." Our students don't want to hear that. They want to know that you know what happened, you recognize what happened, and that you address it.

While studies have documented that CDOs experience the traditional acts of racism, fewer studies have documented the diversity-related experiences that are unique to administrators that I believe were important elements to illustrate. The testimonies by the CDOs demonstrate how prominent racism continues to be in American higher education institutions including directly on campuses, through donors, and within policy. The hurdles with addressing racism display how it is a normative ideology supported by institutions that has been embedded into the institutional culture. However, the relationships with internal stakeholders provide a glimpse into the campus climate for campuses that are plagued with overt and covert discrimination.

4.7   Relationships with Stakeholders

Relationships with various stakeholders was a fourth theme that emerged from the data. In particular, this section illustrates the meaning CDOs make of the relationships within and outside the institution's purview for their duties and responsibilities. The *voices of color* tenet lends itself to develop an understanding of how administrators of color process their own identities and experiences with racism into how they navigate the various relationships. Further, the *voices of color* tenet serves to create an opportunity to understand the lived experiences of CDOs and how their experiences informed the type of relationship they wish to have with various stakeholders. Because CDOs described experiences with people inside and outside of the university and those experiences have some subtle differences in their description, this section was best divided into two sections: 1) relationships with internal stakeholders, and 2) relationships with external stakeholders. Figure 4.1 identifies the different internal and external stakeholders that emerged in discussions with participants and the associated topics for each of the stakeholders.
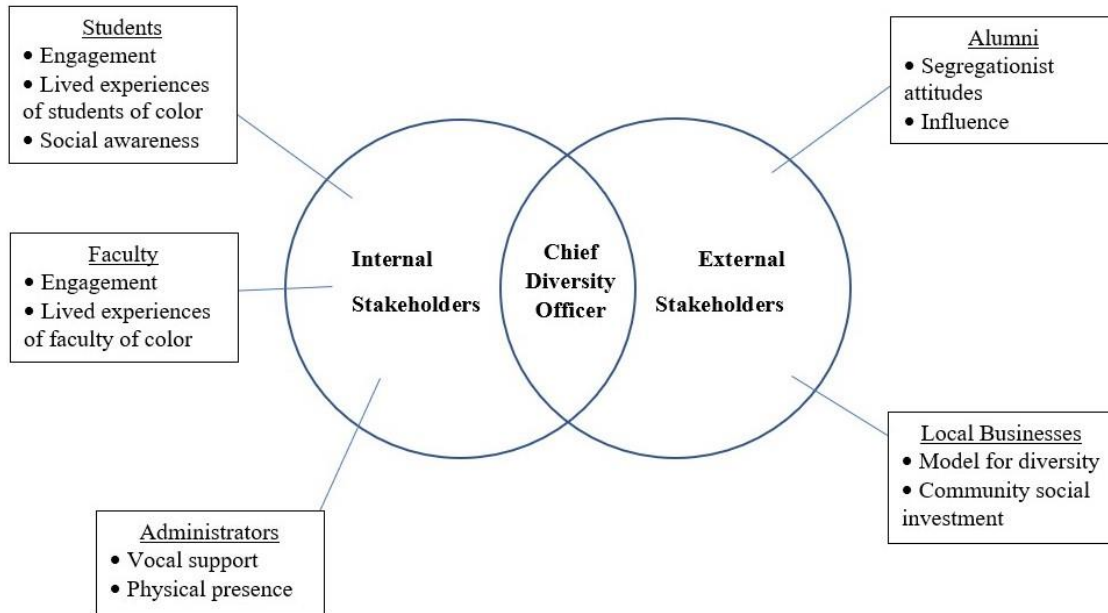
Figure 4.1 Internal and external stakeholders and the associated topics that were mentioned in discussion with the CDOs.

4.7.1   Relationships with Internal Stakeholders

While the specific roles and responsibilities of the CDO position vary across institutions, their primary purpose is to serve as the leader of the IED mission and strategic plan at their university. As such, it is critical that CDOs develop relationships with various groups who have a shared responsibility to develop strategies that foster IED success. Internal stakeholders are the individuals who are currently employed or enrolled at the university and these groups commonly consist of faculty, staff, students, and administrators. Every participant in this study was able to provide testimony for at least one of the internal stakeholders. Thus, this section describes the relationships CDOs have with students, faculty, and administrators, as well as what it means to the CDO to have positive or negative relationships with each group.

4.7.1.1 Students

While several CDOs characterized what it means for them to have positive student engagement, this section details three CDOs testimonies whose involvement were representative of some commonly shared experiences to that of other CDOs in this study and presented some unique descriptions of their relationships as well. As previously mentioned in sections 4.4.2 and 4.4.3, Dr. Rambeau's "baby check-ups" and Dr. Bradley providing his cellphone number to students describes the intentionality of CDOs to develop relationships with students. For example, Dr. Bradley discussed how his visibility with students translated into a strong relationship with them after a protest removed any of their confidence in university leadership. As Dr. Bradley illustrates, it was the lack of engagement from previous administrators when students were trying to reach out to them that played a catalyst into the student protest that rocked their campus and led to the development of his position. As a result, Dr. Bradley was really intentional about his engagement "I really took it upon myself to engage the student leaders and students in general upon my arrival there."

Self-reflection as a student of color played a role in some CDOs relationships with students. For example, Dr. Munroe knew she wanted a very meaningful relationship with students because of her own experiences as a student of color at a PWI. She considers the relationship she intends to develop with students, especially students of color, as part of answering her passion. Her efforts have been so successful with students that she has been labeled a "student-friendly" administrator, and all because she understood from her own experiences what it was like as a student who was part of both URM and low-income statuses.

> I can remember my own lived experiences on being new on PWI campuses and being treated as though you don't matter… I was perceived as one that advocates for students, and particularly underrepresented minority students, first-gen Pell-eligible students. Because those are all identities that I hold.

Dr. Drumm, who had previously served as the head of diversity for his university's business school, prided himself on having strong relationships with students. Dr. Drumm confessed that students were his biggest supporters because of their sociopolitical awareness on national related issues that centered the experiences of people of color including police brutality, racial bias, and diversity and inclusion. Dr. Drumm understood that many students are aware of the type of campus climate they want at their university. As Dr. Drumm explains, students, particularly students of color, do not have the luxury of going home every day and escaping the issues on campus so they often have a more vested interest in ensuring the campus climate reflects their needs. Additionally, he admits faculty, staff and administrators of color have fewer concerns than students about the on-campus climate of the university because "at the end of the day we can go home. Back to our lives and create a life that is more inclusive of what we want to do." Despite this acknowledged privilege he and other faculty and administrators possess, it has not hindered the support he has from the students and the work he continues to do in his advocacy for students of color. During an open forum to hear students' perspectives about their experiences, he stated:

> Students really called the cabinet on the carpet about our lack of cultural competency, or their lack of cultural competency… You know I was up there with the cabinet so literally when they would ask questions they would say, "And anyone can answer this question, except Dr. Drumm." Because they knew where I stood on Diversity and Inclusion issues.

This type of open forum that Dr. Drumm engaged in helped forge a renewed strength in him, however this strategy may have backfired on other administrators who were on the panel and who were called out for their lack of support and understanding of IED. Yet, for Dr. Barnes, who is a White male CDO and serves in a dual administrative role, he does not have the same level of engagement with students of color that was illustrated by the other CDOs in this study. In fact, Dr. Barnes engagement with students is limited to student leadership who are often White

and he had not mentioned any direct engagement with students of color. Instead Dr. Barnes has left the engagement with students of color to the responsibility of those in multicultural departments and other diversity leadership on campus with less authority cutting them off from his leadership. However, Dr. Barnes acknowledges meeting with undergraduate and graduate student presidents to stay in the loop on student issues that may come up in meetings in an effort to stay informed of those concerns. However, these concerns are not often representative of students of color.

4.7.1.2   Faculty

For some, faculty can serve as supporters or resistors to the CDO office. For example, Dr. Barnes stated that faculty were his biggest resistors to his efforts on campus, however Dr. Knight was keen on serving as an advocate for faculty of color at her university. Dr. Knight's university is structured such that the student affairs department handles student concerns, thus her primary engagement was with faculty. Her strong relationship with faculty is a result of viewing her role through a protective lens due to normally seeing faculty when something is wrong. As she mentioned in section 4.4.2, Dr. Knight is constantly protecting faculty of color from racial battle fatigue. However, in doing so she admits she becomes a victim to the very thing she is protecting faculty of color from:

> There's nobody to protect you...So the thing that you're fighting for is the thing you actually become more a victim of, which is representing the race everywhere, all the time, in every corner.

Dr. Munroe used her experience as a former faculty member to forge new relationships while now serving as an administrator. In her reflection, Dr. Munroe concedes that the "faculty experience" is a powerful attribute to have when working to build relationships with faculty. Due to her time within her university's Office of Faculty Advancement, she built a greater level of

trust with faculty members because she understood the faculty tenure-track process and all that was associated with it. Further she states, "recruiting diverse faculty, the hiring of these diverse faculty, ensuring that they are promoted and retained and that they too feel a sense of belonging" were important to her and strengthen the relationship and respect she received from faculty. It is because of these experiences and passion she is able to "make better sense of the campus" in conjunction with her own "lived experience of being an underrepresented minority faculty."

4.7.1.3   Administrators

Previous testimony from section 4.5.3 described one of the successes of CDOs as gaining support from other administrators. As a result, some CDOs have developed healthy relationships with administrators on campus. In his testimony, Dr. Barnes acknowledged there exists different belief systems on campus about the importance of diversity. Those belief systems, as Dr. Barnes describes, include individuals who support diversity, those who oppose diversity, and those who are stuck in the middle unsure of how they feel about diversity. However, it is the latter group where Dr. Barnes thinks administrators are best utilized in an effort to offer guidance and support for diversity for groups who may not understand the impact of diversity. As a result, Dr. Barnes sought to construct positive relationships with other administrators as a means to help bring others, who are under their purview and who look to leadership for guidance, into supporting IED:

> There's this group in the middle I think that is looking for guidance and direction, they want to do the right thing… I think it's really critical that administration may not change a group's mind that's decided this is not important but they can certainly help the group that's looking maybe to be better in a particular area.

In Dr. Munroe's case, she described other executive leadership positions as her biggest supporters. In her testimony, Dr. Munroe illustrated what it means to have the university president as her biggest ally because as she puts it "any stakeholders that are resistant, they're not resisting me, they're resisting the President's vision and our chief defender." For Dr. Rambeau, senior

administrators are also her easiest relationship to navigate because as she sees it, they are not having to do the real leg work "their main job is to be the champions and being a champion doesn't actually require you to do much." However, she believes this relationship could be better if administrators went beyond rhetoric and started putting some action behind their words

> You must go beyond rhetoric and take a communicative lead… They can be brought to the table, right? The hard part is when you actually try to get them to do stuff right. So I say "great, I'm so glad you're a champion of diversity. Who are you sponsoring? Right? I'll go, who are you, who are you helping?"

While most CDOs in this study describe good relationships with various internal stakeholders, Dr. Da Costa expressed that there are small pockets of resistors to diversity and inclusion

> There's both enabling and opposing behavior. Sometimes from the same people [people within groups who some support enabling behaviors and some who support opposing behaviors] in terms of convincing them to move toward, in my case, a more diverse faculty.

Based on the testimony provided, outside of the pockets of resistors, internal stakeholders overall seem to support the CDO and continue to form strong relationships. However, as noted in previous sections of this chapter, some internal stakeholders also are known for their racism and bias. Thus, while internal stakeholders promote a healthy relationship with CDOs it is their actions that have contributed to the work overload of the CDO position. However, it is the CDOs' relationship with external stakeholders, which include alumni, that exposes a more contentious relationship.

4.7.2   Relationships with External Stakeholders

In this study, external stakeholders are individuals who have relationships with the university but are not enrolled or employed by the university. Given the participants' testimony in the racism with donors section, it was important to dig a bit deeper into the relationships CDOs

have with the external stakeholders who are not part of their daily interactions but still have some level of influence within the university. As a result, each of the CDOs described their relationships with donors/alumni and the local community, however a majority of their testimony focused on alumni relationships. This section explores the testimony of Drs. Knight and Bradley as their testimonies demonstrate some commonality with other CDOs but also some unique experiences with alumni and the local community.

Dr. Knight's experience with alumni gave her the impression that this group was her biggest resistor. Dr. Knight describes alumni as "Old Harbors", a term associated with an older generation of alumni from before the university integrated when there was stronger support for confederate era beliefs. Further, White Harbor State University alumni who are from that segregated time period also serve in the capacity of donors and administrators giving them power to inform the mission and serve as the voice of the university. As a result of their influence their beliefs can penetrate the university culture making it difficult for Dr. Knight's duties. Often when it comes to making change on campus, such as removing symbols of Confederacy or white supremacy, this group becomes her biggest challengers. As Dr. Knight explains "It's getting through them that is a challenge." She continues "because many old Harbors are also in leadership positions at the institution… Inside the institution exerting influence." For Dr. Knight this type of relationship means she has to be careful when navigating the conflicting views about diversity from alumni who have influence and power within the university. However, not all relationships with external stakeholders are confrontational.

Dr. Knight details the relationship she shares with the local community through a historically underrepresented business program in which local minority businesses are given priority in business contracts with the university. The development of a business program focused

on underrepresented minorities confirmed to the community that her willingness to support IED

was meant to be a reciprocal relationship. However, she also made the local community aware

that they needed to mirror her interest of fostering an inclusive environment as well

> I told them, "I'm not going to bring faculty here, not going to recruit students, I'm not going to do all of that if you come here and you run them off. I want you to work with your police. I want you to have some with the schools and the superintendents, they need to have someplace to go and something to do and a place to get their hair cut. All of that needs to happen before we start bringing folks into this community."

Dr. Bradley has developed positive relationships with multicultural alumni who attended

the institution prior to his arrival as it demonstrated the university's commitment to fostering a

better IED than previous years. However, it was the community businesses where he really saw

the benefits of his position

> An unexpected benefit is the community has really become engaged and they've actually adopted our framework, utilized it with their companies. So that's been really, really unique that I haven't seen other places.

It is clear through these participants' testimony that external stakeholders play a bigger

role in fostering a diverse and inclusive campus than previously thought. With so many of the

on-campus community engaging with the off-campus community, this relationship dynamic was

noteworthy to explore in the context of the CDO position. However, other external stakeholders

such as alumni who have more direct ties to the university seem to have a more controversial

relationship with CDOs. While this study examined briefly CDO-alumni relationships and

community engagement, external relationships should be studied further when discussing how

hurdles to diversity and inclusion and the role power and authentic relationship building effect

the CDO position.

4.8 Role of Politics at PWLGUs

Racism has emerged more prominently in politics in recent years due to the divisive rhetoric shared by politicians beginning with the election of Donald Trump and the growing sociopolitical awareness of younger adults. As such, CDOs provided accounts of the political relationships between universities and governments as an area of concern for the responsibilities of their office. The final theme that emerged from the data, the role of politics at PWLGUs, addresses the impact national and state politics have on the diversity and inclusion goals at PWLGUs and what it has meant for the CDO office. This section provides testimony from Drs. Munroe, Knight, Drumm, and Rambeau to detail their account of the relationship between politics and their office.

Every participant of this study highlighted the role politics has impacted their duties as CDO and what it means to have politics so heavily tied to their office. Two tenets of critical race theory, *racism is normal* and *critique of liberalism*, best position the lens in which to understand the implications of politics on the CDOs' role at PWLGUs. The *racism is normal* tenet is a relevant tenet to use because it provides the perspective to understand how politics work against diversity through political decisions that ignore the realities of people of color while simultaneously favoring Whiteness. The *critique of liberalism* tenet was used in this section to describe how the political neoliberal processes of color evasiveness and neutrality promote slow moving processes and incremental progress that often work against the responsibilities of the CDOs. In other words, not too much diversity too soon.

Dr. Munroe has observed challenges from both national and state governments. At the national level, Dr. Munroe admits to "never seeing the country so divisive in her lifetime." She puts much of the responsibility on the rhetoric coming out of the White House on how differences among identities are discussed and how it has felt like an "us vs. them" mentality. Further, she

states "we have a president that is really stoking the fire as it relates to some of the division that

exists in our country." She adds, "We talk about making America great again. What's that

referencing?" a famous slogan used by the U.S. president Donald Trump that has a seemingly

double entendre meaning to attack the previous U.S. president, Barack Obama, on the condition

of his race and the progressive attitudes that foster support for marginalized and minoritized

communities. This rhetoric has provided support for anti-diversity views that would been tabooed

to express in previous years. Additionally, some of the discourse that comes out of the White

House about "making America great again" also has penetrated their state politics and increased

the challenges she has on campus:

> It's a very conservative state. We have a very conservative governor. And so I
> think some of the ways in which issues of difference and also issues of making
> this country what it once was has permeated within our state.

Being in a "red state", or highly conservative state, means that certain political figures

support of anti-diversity views gives credibility to those on campus who hold similar views further

jeopardizing the work of CDOs. Politicians support for anti-diversity viewpoints can be

damaging for CDOs when their PWLGUs often rely on state and federal funding. As such, having

such a conservative and divisive president while being located in a state with conservative and

divisive state leadership including a republican governor has affected her campus' climate in that

those who have a shared anti-diversity belief are likely to be more confident in expressing those

beliefs publicly. As a result, Dr. Munroe has to be more vigilant about what happens in politics

and on campus

> I think with us having a Republican President, a Republican governor, both of
> whom are very outspoken and divisive, I think it makes our campus an
> environment where we have to be ever so vigilant to not only be mindful of issues
> of diversity, equity, and inclusion, but also have a post on things so that if issues
> go awry we can help to mitigate those issues while also trying to bring about a

community of belonging whereby our diverse student populations want to come here.

Dr. Knight also detailed the additional responsibility of ensuring campus is an inclusive environment for different racial and ethnic backgrounds while being located in a conservative red state. As she puts it, it is not necessarily being a republican that poses a risk to diversity, but those who disguise as "republican" to promote far-right ideology, an ideology that sees people of color as inferior to that of White racial groups. Far-right ideology, often promoted by white supremacists, has led to republican students inviting White supremacists' speakers, such as Richard Spencer, to campus making it increasingly difficult to develop a positive campus climate for students of color. As Dr. Knight explained, far-right ideology has co-opted Republican student groups as a way to promote their divisive messaging

> The conservative leaders who use the language of conservatism to mask that they are members of or sympathizers of the alt right (another term for far-right) or neo-Nazis, race baiters, all of that. When we talk about White Harbor, White Harbor is a conservative campus. But then the climate today is complicated by speakers who use the nomenclature of Conservatism to come to White Harbor, which is a conservative campus, but those speakers are really often something that is not conservative, but is race-baiting or racist.

Those who identify with the far-right ideology also hold a connection to the state's confederate era history of her state which poses a unique challenge. For example, Dr. Knight previously described in section 4.5 how university leadership donated KKK robes for display. She particularly warns how dangerous it can be being at a public university in a conservative state to push for IED. Using examples that have happened in other states, like Arizona and Wisconsin, where institutions were challenged on their race-based processes she shares this warning "some legislators see an easy mark or an easy target, low hanging fruit to attack institutions of higher learning and to attack race, right?"

It is not only conservative states that can pose challenges for the institution and the CDO position. Dr. Rambeau whose institution is in a more liberal state has barred the use of race-based admissions and hiring. Race-neutral practices frustrate her because as she stated, "essentially the argument was, we need to be race neutral. Well you know there's no such thing as race neutral." She also sees the divisiveness mentioned by other CDOs in politics as disruptive to the overall campus climate. However, unlike the details in other interviews, her state legislature is more supportive of diversity and inclusion and it is the campuses that are pushing back. For Dr. Rambeau, this signals that her university will continue to be disinvested because the diverse state legislator does not see the campus as representative of the identities they represent.

> One of the reasons that our legislature is impatient and one of the reasons I think that in 100 years you might not see the Valyria State University ranked among the elite is that we, our legislature is much more diverse than it's ever been and people of color vote their people and as long as they continue to see that our faculty don't work with those people and our students don't work with those people, they will continue to disinvest in us. And when that happens, then there won't be a Valyria State University.

Revisiting Dr. Drumm's testimony in section 4.4.1, who has probably had the most significant interaction with politics, we recall the state government defunded their office because of the usage of gender-neutral pronouns and respect of various religious ideologies during Christmas programming. Unlike the experiences of Dr. Rambeau, Dr. Drumm described the state legislator as his biggest resistor to his office duties. Initial talks with the state legislator were going to strip his institution of $15 million dollars, however after several negotiations it ended with the loss of the office and the loss of the Vice-Chancellor of Diversity position. When the office was reimplemented the following year, Dr. Drumm assumed the role on an inaugural and interim basis. With this threat of defunding as an option ahead of future decisions, it provides a level of difficulty to understand how far to go when it comes to diversity and inclusion. As Dr.

Drumm details, while the state was defunding the institution of their diversity office, the university's Board of Trustees was putting diversity and inclusion plans and metrics into the university's 5-year strategic plan.

> So the State Legislature was defunding the office because the Legislature funds us, and then the Board of Trustees who manage us on a day to day was adding it in because they understood the importance of it.

Dr. Drumm saw the opposing decisions of the state legislature and board of trustees as additional challenges to the work of the office in that it was akin to walking on eggshells when the office was reestablished. As Dr. Drumm alluded to in during the interviews, during that time where the diversity office was defunded and subsequently brought back, there was divisive rhetoric coming from Donald Trump's campaign as well as skepticism by the state government that meant he needed to do some strategic convincing about the direction of the office. However, with the state legislator being one of his biggest challenges, Dr. Drumm also saw this as an important opportunity to encourage students, who often support diversity and inclusion but also are one of the lowest voting demographics, to vote as a way to remove that barrier for himself. As he attested to, those with more conservative views were pandering to their voting block to discourage support of diversity and he needed to provide some rebuttal for students who support the office. As Dr. Drumm stated

> Trying to convince them of the importance of this role and the need to have it and the work that we do, it was tough to try to help them understand when I push a little bit. All of those things are really important to us… so we do encourage students to get out and vote. Because many of the Legislators who give us the hardest time, are Legislators who represent Meereen in the State Legislature.

Within the United States, politics have penetrated just about every sector of our way of life and higher education is not excluded. However, for CDOs, politics and the subsequent political decisions can have an adverse effect on the daily and yearly operations. For the

participants of this study, political ideologies have posed some unique challenges to their office duties and goals. Chief Diversity Officers hands can be tied at times when state and national politics investments in our nation's PWLGUs are threaten due to negative views surrounding diversity as described by Dr. Drumm experience. Critical race theory tenets, *racism is normal* and *critique of liberalism*, helped define how politics have normalized racism and discrimination on campuses as evident by their defunding of offices for inclusive practices and how status quo processes can be detrimental to the efforts of the office. While documenting the relationship between political affiliations and support of diversity concepts was not the focus of this study, some of the responses by the CDOs in this study warrant further studies on political affiliations and diversity perspectives are warranted.

4.9   Chapter Summary

This chapter included the purpose of the study, the research questions, and the findings of the study presented in five thematic areas: 1) *Motivations to be a CDO*; 2) *State of Diversity at PWLGUs*, 3) *Racism at PWLGUs*, 4) *Relationships with Stakeholders*, and 5) *Role of Politics at PWLGUs*. The five themes addressed research questions two through five found in section 4.2. Each of the themes in this chapter characterized the study participants experiences, relationships, perspectives, and behaviors as they made meaning of their role as a CDO at a PWLGU. The themes also considered the external factors, such as politics, that facilitated what type of experiences the CDOs mentioned in this study. The theme *Motivations to be a CDO* focused on understanding why and how participants decided on being in their position at a PWLGU taking into account their own identity and history of their institution. The theme, *State of Diversity at PWLGUs* described how CDOs describe the state of diversity at their institution and what it means for their overall job duties. The third theme, *Racism at PWLGUs*, documented the racism that

CDOs are aware of, and how racism has been normalized at their university. The theme, *Relationships with Stakeholders* identified the types of relationships CDOs have with internal and external stakeholders. Finally, the theme R*ole of Politics* described how politics and political decisions have had an adverse effect on the CDO position and how CDOs navigate that space.

CHAPTER 5.   CONCLUSIONS

5.1   Chapter Overview

This chapter will present a discussion on each of the themes that emerged from the interview with the participants as well as a summary of the conclusions for the study. First, the chapter will provide an overview of the purpose of study, as well as the guiding research questions. Next, this chapter provides my analysis of the participants' testimonies, draws upon conclusions based on that analysis, and offers implications for theory. The four tenets of CRT used in this study served as the subtheme to provide a broader discussion of the themes that emerged: 1) voices of color, 2) racism is normal, 3) race as a product of social thought, and 4) critique of liberalism. Finally, this chapter will describe implications for practice as it pertains to Chief Diversity Officers (CDOs) as well as recommendations for future research.

5.2   Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to explore how Chief Diversity Officers observe their usage at Predominantly White Land-Grant Universities. This study sought to understand how CDOs perceive their own roles and responsibilities to support inclusion, equity, and diversity (IED) and how these areas aligned with their institution's goals, mission, and success. Finally, this study sought to explore how CDOs navigate their identities, the presence of racism, and the social climate of their university.

5.3   Research Questions

1.   What are the demographic characteristics of the Chief Diversity Officers from Predominantly White Land-grant Universities used in this study?

2.   How do Chief Diversity Officers describe the role of race and gender in the mission and purpose of Land-grant Universities?

3.   What are the challenges and successes faced by Chief Diversity Officers at Predominantly White Land-Grant Universities?

4.   How have Chief Diversity Officers described their Predominantly White Land-Grant Universities acknowledgement and the history and presence of racism on their campus?

5.   How do Chief Diversity Officers perceive their role as a person of color within the context of the mission and vision of a Predominantly White Land-Grant University?

Research question 1 was answered in chapter three as it was a topical demographic question. Research questions 2-5 were answered in chapter four where themes emerged from the data that best addressed each of the research questions. Critical race theory was used as a theoretical framework to provide the analysis for the themes that emerged and their alignment with the research questions. Figure 5.1 outlines the connections between the CRT tenets used in this study and the themes that emerged from the study.

Voices of Color	Racism is Normal	Critique of Liberalism	Race as a Product of Social Thought
• Motivations to be a CDO • Relationships with stakeholders	• Racism at PWLGUs • Role of Politics at PWLGUs	• State of Diversity • Role of Politics at PWLGUs	• State of Diversity

Figure 5.1 A list of the themes that emerged from the study and their relationship to the CRT tenets.

5.4   Voices of Color

The *voices of color* tenet of critical race theory provided an ideal sub-framework to understand two themes that emerged in this study: 1) Motivations to be a CDO, and 2) Relationships with Stakeholders. As described in previous chapters, the *voices of color* tenet position the experiences of people of color as authentic and credible absent of gaslighting perspectives. Racial gaslighting refers to a process that relies on the production of a set of narratives called racial spectacles that obfuscate the existence of a white supremacist state power structure (Davis & Ernst, 2019; Davis & Ernst 2011). In other words, gaslighting seeks to challenge a person of color's experience as not being the result of racism but the result of some other underlying factors absent of race.

Two findings from this study emerged that will be discussed further in the following sections. First, this study shows that CDOs of color have unique experiences that have contributed to their professional responsibilities as a CDO that go beyond traditional training and understanding and at times those experiences are exploited by PWLGUs to foster IED on their campuses. Second, I conclude that the various relationships for CDOs of color are complex in that people of color often evaluate their own identities and influence in the type of relationships they wish to have with different stakeholder groups. Both conclusions address research question five "*How do Chief Diversity Officers perceive their role as a person of color within the context of the mission and vision of a Predominantly White Land-Grant University?*"

5.4.1   Conclusions and Discussion for Voices of Color and Motivations to be a CDO

The *Motivations to be a CDO* section (section 4.3) detailed why and how the unique lived experiences of the study participants contributed to a passion to serve as an advocate for

marginalized and minoritized communities that gave meaning to the relationship they have with their role. The CDOs in this study saw their role as a response to the exclusivity of American society that positions people of color as outsiders (Iverson, 2007). Simply put, White culture has minoritized and marginalized people of color as outsiders who must assimilate as if American culture does not inherently include people of color (Iverson, 2007). This assimilation notion calls into question whether higher education institutions in America believes in a holistic diversity that features the culture of people of color as an equal display of America as they often ignore the ideas that are meaningful to people of color.

The exclusivity of American society was recognized by Dr. Da Costa as a child and his exposure to an "unfair and unjust" society served as a motivation for him to pursue a career in IED. However, when he arrived at his university, leadership lacked any understanding of how to create the CDO position leaving him to undertake a massive workload to develop it. When universities fail to do their due diligence in the creation of the CDO position while expecting the incoming CDO to lay the groundwork they are, in effect, exploiting the lived experiences of people of color that will undoubtedly go into the position's development. As Patton (2016) suggests, U.S. higher education is deeply rooted in racism and White supremacy that hurts people of color. If leadership at PWLGUs, such as the provost and president, decide to hire a CDO with no understanding of the diversity issues on campus, it can illustrate a lack of authenticity in addressing diversity and only serves to appease the condition of hiring a CDO following a diversity crisis as illustrated by the Diversity Crisis and Institutional Response Model (Williams, 2013) from chapter 2. Institutions bear the brunt of responsibility for their lack of attention to properly developing the CDO position with clearly defined roles and responsibilities.

In addition to the motivations associated with observing an unjust society, participants in this study also reflected on their own experiences as former students to describe their motivation to accept the CDO role. Some CDOs saw their role as a means to help students of color avoid negative experiences that they too were once exposed to when they were students. For example, Dr. Knight's reflection of attending an all-girls college and working in a social justice capacity as a student turned years of preparation into her passion to serve vulnerable communities. Dr. Munroe also reflected on her experiences as a former low-income and minority student that facilitated a level of empathy that she uses while performing in the capacity of CDO. Both Black women merged their lived experience of dealing with and understanding racism and sexism with their duties as CDO to better support diversity as those "-isms" are still prevalent in today's institutions. This is consistent with other studies that demonstrate women of color lived experiences has contributed to them being strong advocates for diversity and critical perspectives (Boss, Karunaratne, Huang, Beavers, Pegram-Floyd, & Tullos, 2019).

For Dr. Munroe however, who was also searching to serve in a leadership position, she saw the CDO role as her only leadership opportunity because other leadership roles were not available. Being a Black woman did not afford her the same opportunities as White women because White male leadership saw a more familial bond with them and thus and essentially provided White women more career options, whereas Dr. Munroe had to take what she could. This finding is consistent with another study that explored leadership experiences among White women and Women of Color which revealed that Women of Color were more likely to have limited career opportunities in leadership than White women (Key, Popkin, Munchus, Wech, Hill, and Tanner, 2012). Hence, Dr. Munroe's motivation was two-fold: 1) a sense of duty to people of color, and 2) a limitation of career opportunities. The higher education landscape has forced

people of color, especially women of color, into a corner by limiting their career mobility and affording them only certain positions when and where their identity background was seen as a benefit to the university.

Dr. Munroe was not the only CDO reluctant to take on their position. Dr. Rambeau was forced into her position because campus leadership was involved in a diversity-related incident and being the only person of color with a doctoral degree within the president's cabinet, she saw leadership as wanting to take advantage of her identity. The demands by administration that Dr. Rambeau serve as a CDO because of racial motivations revealed how PWLGUs often recognize the unique experiences of people of color and attempt to capitalize off it through demands that people of color serve in diversity-related roles. However, there is a difference between giving people of color control of how they use their experience and expertise as it relates to their identity, and demanding they use their experiences and expertise to take on certain diversity-related positions because of the university's failures to provide a diverse and inclusive campus. Denying taking on a CDO position may not be an option as potential threats of retaliation and fractured relationships with internal stakeholders, such as other administrators, can be detrimental to an individual's career goals. This finding is consistent with Pyke's (2018) study that demonstrated when URMs say "no" to diversity service they are often badgered to fulfill the position or leadership turns to other minorities in lower-level positions who have less authority to say no to the request. Simply put, it can be reasoned that PWIs, and by virtue PWLGUs, place value on people of color solely based on their experiences as a member of a minoritized and/or marginalized group which has resulted in people of color being overrepresented as CDOs and underrepresented in other leadership positions such as university presidents despite their leadership abilities. For example, a study of college presidents revealed that 83% of presidents

identified as White (Espinosa et al., 2016), however Williams and Wade Golden (2016) study of

CDOs found that 87% of CDOs identified as one of the URM identities. The heavy representation

of people of color in the CDO position demonstrates that universities can find people of color to

serve in diversity leadership positions, however that data suggests that same courtesy is not given

in presidential searches.

Some CDOs have made deliberate decisions to negotiate their roles at their universities to

ensure they are not sacrificing goals they may have been working towards prior to accepting the

CDO position. For example, Dr. Rambeau negotiated to serve in a dual-role capacity, keeping

her current title within executive-level leadership while simultaneously serving as the CDO on

campus when her institution attempted to force her into the CDO position. Dr. Rambeau

expressed a desire to remain in her current role because it communicated more authority and

engagement with students than a traditional CDO might have.

Some CDOs in this study made the conscious decision of serving in the CDO role to

support people of color who remain at the university where the negative campus climates exist.

Not all students of color have the privilege to transfer to another university when their institution

is plagued by climate issues for a myriad of reasons including financial, family, and academic

major not being offered. Dr. Bradley was intentional about pursuing a CDO position because he

saw the students who were still willing to stay at the institution and needing to have someone on

campus who they could trust, would fight for them, and be available to them. Dr. Bradley's hiring

following protest is consistent with the literature on the Diversity Crisis and Institutional

Response model mentioned in chapter two, where universities often take a reactive approach to

addressing diversity which leads to protest and the hiring of a CDO out of necessity (Williams,

2013). Similar to Dr. Knight, Dr. Bradley saw this position as being aligned with his passion for social justice by serving students who felt they were ignored by previous leadership.

Even external factors such as politics sometimes play a role in how CDOs carryout their duties and also results in them not fully understanding what the CDO is able to do in their position. For example, Dr. Drumm assumed his role after politicians defunded their diversity office over inclusive practices being promoted by his office. Despite Dr. Drumm's passion for diversity work, his role as CDO was restricted by politicians who are easily provoked over pronoun usage and religious holiday ceremonies but hypocritically allow hate speech.

The *voices of color* tenet allowed the study participants to demonstrate how people of color often carry their lived experiences related to their identity into their professional careers. Even when forced into their roles, the CDOs of color in this study did not shy away from the responsibilities because they saw the need to support marginalized and minoritized communities where having someone with their skills, knowledge, passion, and intentionality would be better than the alternative of someone who was not as committed to the position. Further, it was clear that some CDOs' relationships with their PWLGUs exemplified elements of principal agency theory of academic governance, mentioned in section 1.3 that shows the university leadership (acting as the principle) lacks the knowledge, time, and/or energy to focus on IED and the CDO (acting as the agent) addresses the areas in which leadership cannot focus on. However, consistent with the criticism associated with PAT, the testimonies from CDOs suggests that their expectations and motivations for the position are not always aligned with other PWLGU stakeholders expectations for the position, as CDOs have taken on and transformed the role to meet their own expectations. It is critical that institutional leadership understands that not all people of color have a desire to work in diversity and that they have agency and autonomy.

Further, it is critical that institutional leadership also address their own biases when considering a person for a diversity-related position with questions of "*why would this person be a good fit for this position?*"

5.4.2 Conclusions and Discussions for Voices of Color and Relationships with Stakeholders

The *Relationships with Stakeholders* (4.6) section described the relationships CDOs had with various stakeholder groups that represent two categories: internal and external stakeholders. Internal stakeholders consist of students, staff, faculty, and administrators, whereas external stakeholders consisted of alumni, donors, and local businesses. The *voices of color* tenet allowed for CDOs of color to provide first-hand testimonies of the experiences they have with navigating the various stakeholder groups and their biases they hold.

5.4.2.1   Internal Stakeholders

Intentional close-encounter engagements with students that offer support and understanding, specifically for students of color, position CDOs in a favorable light. For example, CDOs of color in this study were intentional in their engagement with students of color because of their own experiences as students who dealt with "-isms" which provided them some insight into current students' needs. For example, Dr. Munroe believed she is perceived by students as a student-friendly administrator because she was once a low-income URM student herself and has contributed to how she approaches the CDO role. Even Dr. Rambeau's self-described "baby checkups" was related to her awareness as a former student and current administrator about the rarity of seeing administrators of color. At times faculty and administrators of color often help retain students of color by assisting them in navigating being in a predominantly White space that can be threatening to their well-being as these spaces can promote racism. This finding is

consistent with other studies that demonstrated higher faculty engagement contributed to higher

retention of students of color (Chang, 2005).

Students often serve as the pulse of the campus climate of the university and when students

feel as if they are not being listened to, they will force the administration to do so. As Freeman's

(2016) study suggests, students see the allowable formal mechanisms for student voice as a way

for those in power to maintain control leading to feelings of disempowerment. Simply, those

mechanisms that only allow students to be heard when administrators can maintain their power

are deemed acceptable while other mechanisms that favor student empowerment absent of

administrators control (e.g., protest, sit-ins) of students' power are not approved. Dr. Drumm's

testimony on the student forum that was held with administrators revealed how students were

very supportive of him and displeased with other administrators. As Dr. Drumm described,

faculty, staff, and administrators have the luxury of going home and being selective of the people

and environments that foster their desired inclusion while students must live and dine on campus

with thousands of others where they have less control over the inclusion they want to see. As a

result, students have more of a stake in demanding the campus climate of an institution to be

improved than just about any other group of individuals. However, due to their limited power

and authority, students often rely on protest to get their voices heard. A survey on campus protest

revealed that 47% of university presidents acknowledged students had organized on campus

around racial diversity issues (Espinosa, Chessman, & Wayt, 2016). Further, 89% of students

who engage in protest on college campuses demanded changes in leadership including the

addition of a diversity leadership position (Chessman & Wayt, 2016). Dr. Bradley came into his

role following protests and understood why students were protesting, knew the failures of the

previous administration, and understood what it was like being a student of color in today's society to foster how he approached the position.

While not the purpose of this study, it is important to note that unlike the CDOs of color who were intentional in their engagements with students of color, Dr. Barnes, a White CDO, took a different approach. Rather, Dr. Barnes chose to delegate engagement with URM students to the multicultural groups, individual diversity offices, and cultural centers on campus. Likely not intentional, the lack of disengagement may signify a different approach between White CDOs and CDOs of color that may demonstrate why students of color can feel neglected by administrators and why people of color are heavily sought to fulfill diversity roles. Indeed, you cannot accept the role of CDO and ignore the constituents with who the role supports. Additional studies are needed to examine how White diversity officers perceive their racialized experiences to ascertain how they utilize their own backgrounds which are reflective of a majority identity to support marginalized and minoritized groups.

Unlike students however, faculty of color rely on their university for their economic (e.g., salary) and professional (e.g., research) livelihood and are often hesitation to speak up about diversity issues as studies show that retaliation, though illegal, is a legitimate fear for whistleblowers in higher education (Pyke, 2018). This means faculty of color can be subjected to poor campus climates long after the students have moved on, and in some cases CDOs see a greater need to support faculty more than any other group. In Dr. Knight's case, as an administrator who also recognizes her identity as a Black woman, she has a self-assigned responsibility of protecting faculty of color from potential racial battle fatigue. However, Dr. Knight acknowledged that she becomes a victim of the same racial battle fatigue in her efforts to protect faculty of color. This is alarming for both faculty of color and Dr. Knight as studies have

documented the adverse health effects of constantly battling racial stress (Arnold, Crawford, & Khalifa, 2016) including how racism raised emotional stress levels for African Americans (Izard 1972; 1977; Smith, Yosso, & Solórzano, 2006), racism and attempts to address racism raised blood pressure levels (Krieger & Sidney, 1996), and that prolonged exposure to racialized stress may have additional long-term health consequences (Smith, Yosso, & Solórzano, 2006).

Previous testimony on administrators in section 4.4.3 *Successes of Chief Diversity Officers* relay the importance of the CDO-administrator relationship in the success of the CDO, however administrators often only offer surface level verbal support for IED. For example, Dr. Barnes sees administrators as serving as a communicative lead for those who may be on the fence about supporting IED and the various diversity-related offices. Dr. Munroe acknowledged having her president serve as her biggest supporter establishes those who resist IED as also resisting the president. However, Dr. Rambeau described how she wished administrators were more hands on rather than just serving as "talking heads." Administrators can often fall short of putting rhetoric into practice as evidenced by a college presidents study that showed presidents agreed diversity had increased in importance over the last three years but was not listed among their top usages of time (Espinoza et al., 2017). Additionally, administrators can serve as a gatekeeper of resources and if they are far removed from the daily challenges of students or faculty of color, they can ignore their issues in the distribution of those resources (Solórzano and Yosso, 2002).

5.4.2.2 External Stakeholders

Relationships with external stakeholders was such a unique concept that no other study in my review of the literature examined the relationships between CDOs and external stakeholders. The CDOs in this study described relationships with the surrounding communities as including the sharing of values consistent with IED and university plans for engaging the community to

more effectively welcome people of color as members of the community. Dr. Knight communicated these sentiments to local businesses in that she wanted to make sure that they were doing their part in promoting IED. As Dr. Knight laid out, she could not in good conscious bring people of color to the community and have people of color face an unwelcoming community. However, her program of prioritizing underrepresented minority businesses for university contracts meant the community recognized proposed IED initiatives as being complementary to the university's efforts to foster a relationship with the community. Dr. Bradley also expressed similar influences in the community where engagement with local businesses led to businesses implementing IED measures that mirrored the university's guidelines.

As evidenced by the participant testimonies of this study, relationships with older alumni can be complicated for CDOs due to controversial opinions related to diversity often held by alumni that demonstrate a lack of cultural competence. For Dr. Knight, an older generation of alumni, known as "Old Harbors", are her biggest resistors to improving campus climate as they often hold conservative and White supremacists' viewpoints while exerting their power and influence on campus in a dual donor role. Alumni at Dr. Knight's institution pose significant challenges in the progress of the university in that the progressive stances that are often employed by diversity offices contradict the alumni belief systems such as removing Confederate symbols that communicate racist overtones. Campus leadership must make clear that a sense of belonging and an inclusive campus is critical to the growth of the university with or without the alumni support.

Based on the participant testimonies, CDOs have to be aware of the different types of stakeholders in order to combat the growing concern around IED. Relationships with internal and external stakeholders possessed different meanings for the CDOs depending on the level of

engagement of the CDO with the stakeholder. The findings of this study were consistent with the literature on stakeholder theory of academic governance (section 1.3), as stakeholders have the power to hold the institution accountable when they are not meeting the needs of their collective stakeholder group. The CDOs in this study focused their internal stakeholder relationships on developing support for faculty, staff, and students, particularly from marginalized and minoritized backgrounds. However, internal stakeholders can still pose significant threats in relation to campus climate and as Dr. Da Costa noted, there is no one real internal group that poses issues, rather there are small pockets of resistors within the stakeholder groups that are areas of concern. In external stakeholder relationships, older alumni with negative views from a time period of segregation continue to serve as a barrier of success for the CDO position. Still, other external stakeholders, such as local businesses, show promise in external relationship building when the relationships serves to benefit both sides.

5.4.3 Implications for Voices of Color Tenet, Critical Leadership Inquiry, and Critical Quality Inquiry

The experiences of CDOs of color are unique and their identity can be consequential when serving in their position. *Voices of color* of CRT is an empowering tenet as it authenticates the experiences of people of color and provides credibility to their descriptions and experiences. Nixon (2017) provided some of the initial *voices of color* groundwork in her study that used CRT to analyze women of color experiences as CDOs revealing that women of color CDOs often had to navigate their institutions as "others", navigating microaggressions and stereotypes in an administrative role, and balancing competing expectations and are consistent with the findings in this study. The *voices of color* tenet in this section provided an opportunity for CDOs of color,

who share both power and marginalized identities and experiences, to have their thoughts shared, justified, and treated as authentic and credible .

The findings of this study suggest CDOs of color make meaning of their motivations to be a CDO and the relationships with stakeholders through unique displays of care and passion for IED and experiences navigating society via their own identity that have sometimes been exploited by PWLGUs. For example, Dr. Rambeau being forced into her position but still being understanding of the need for students and faculty of color to see an administrator of color at the university represent why CDOs still take on such a role. This finding suggests that while the CDOs of this study all eventually agreed to serve in the capacity of CDO, PWLGUs do capitalize on the racialized backgrounds of people of color despite their objections to fulfill such a role ignoring their voice altogether. As stated previously, people of color should be allowed to decide when and how to use their racialized experiences and not at the expense of their own pursuits and well-being.

Further, as it relates to critical leadership inquiry, the findings suggest that PWLGUs have fostered poorly developed CDO roles with little regard for the people of color who the role supports and the people of color who assume the role of CDO. Still, CDOs have managed to evolve the position to be more in aligned with the needs of people of color due to their own experiences. This finding is consistent with Santamaria's study (2014) that used critical leadership inquiry in conjunction with CRT to examine how leaders of color introduced positive attributes of their identity into their role. In terms of critical qualitative inquiry, the findings suggest PWLGUs have favored the well-being of Whites through the reproduction of an unwelcoming climate for people of color as evident by persistent poor campus climates described by the CDOs in this study. Further, the appointment of a diversity officer can mean that diversity

is not fundamentally supported by the university's community (Ahmed, 2012). For example, Dr. Knight description of the racial battle fatigue she deals with demonstrates how prevalent it has become on her campus that it has manifested itself into her role despite her position being there to assist others overcome such a battle.

5.5   Racism is Normal

Based on the data presented in chapter 4, I conclude that PWLGU leadership are aware of racism that has plagued their campuses, however, there exists little concern outside of the CDO office to remedy its effects on the broader campus. This conclusion addresses research question four "How have Chief Diversity Officers described their Predominantly White Land-Grant Universities acknowledgement of the history and presence of racism on their campus?" The *racism is normal* tenet of CRT reveals that racism has become normalized in American society through policies, practices, and daily unquestioned interactions that expose biases, lack of cultural competencies, and seek to promote a White supremacist and/or White-centric ideology. Further, the *racism is normal* tenet rejects any claims that a post-racial society exists since racial minorities have never enjoyed a time where they were free of racism and discrimination in the broader U.S. society. As such, two themes were tied to the *racism is normal* tenet: 1) Racism at PWLGUs (section 4.5), and 2) Role of Politics at PWLGUs (section 4.7).

5.5.1   Conclusions and Discussions for Racism is Normal and Racism at PWLGUs

In the *Racism at PWLGUs* section (4.5) three sub-themes emerged from the data that represent the normalization of racism on PWLGU campuses: racism in recruitment, racism on campus, and racism in policy. The *racism is normal* tenet was an ideal framework to utilize in the *Racism at PWLGUs* section as participants described how acts of racism were supported and

promoted by members within and outside of the university purview. As such, this section will provide an analysis of the three sub-themes associated with racism at PWLGUs.

In recruitment, a race-neutral admissions process is seen as White people-centered when it positions White students as being better prepared than people of color by virtue of their social connections (e.g., recommendation letters from prominent figures) and socioeconomic status. Dr. Rambeau's university uses race-neutral admission standards that she describes as anything but race neutral due to society being so racialized in the types of experiences afforded to students of color such as inaccessible college-preparation programs, extracurricular activities, along with other qualities noted by today's colleges and universities (Harper, 2010). Further, Dr. Rambeau's testimony suggest recruiters can employ a deficit mindset, that when reproduced fosters systemic racism (Truong, Museus, McGuire, 2016). In other words, when stereotypes are consistently reproduced effecting practice, it then results in systemic racism. Thus, she has made it a priority to ensure recruiters now address their biases before engaging with students.

When we consider the key academic disciplines offered at PWLGUs, recruitment for students of color gets even more difficult and complicated as PWLGUs offer disciplines not traditionally found at other institutions, such as agriculture, that often are often assumed to be perceived negatively by people of color. As acknowledged by Dr. Barnes, the agriculture industry and its relationship to slavery have led to difficulties in recruiting students of color due to the agriculture industry systematically limiting opportunities for African American and Hispanic individuals through practices that positioned them as laborers only (Washington & Williams, 2019). As Dr. Bradley mentioned, disciplines associated with racism can be less attractive fields for people of color. However, with the presence of organizations such as Minorities in Agriculture, Natural Resources, and Related Sciences (MANRRS) and the successes of HBLGUs, it is difficult

to conclude that minorities are not interested in agriculture, rather PWLGUs are not aligning their messaging with the interest of students of color.

When students do eventually enroll on campus, PWLGUs have subjected their students of color to institutionally-sanctioned racism. The KKK robes Dr. Knight mentions that were donated by university leadership or the boxing and storing of Native American skeletal remains at Dr. Rambeau's university both represent institutional sanctioned racism and questions the cultural competencies of leadership, the university's commitment to IED, awareness of the needs of people of color, and puts CDOs in an uncomfortable and powerless positions. Universities should listen more intently to what people of color acknowledge as racists and adjust their campus position to mirror their concerns since leadership, who are often White, do not possess a comprehensive understanding of racism, the lived experiences of dealing with racism, and its effects on people of color (Cabrera, 2014).

Racism has also shown up in donor relationships with the potential to disrupt campus climate. Both Drs. Barnes and Munroe described incidents where donors have used racially derogatory wording that resulted in the returning of funding and removal of names from buildings. As Dr. Barnes described, it was better to keep the campus climate intact than destroy it by keeping the money because the impact would have been far greater. Indeed, institutions who treat their diversity and inclusion in an expendable manner in favor of profit-producing efforts could see decreased student enrollment, a campus climate that trends downward, and additional losses in revenue greater than the donor gift. Institutions should continue to employ university leadership with a similar commitment to IED and understanding of the invaluable costs of IED.

Predominantly White Land-Grant University campuses have also continued to uphold symbols of slavery despite its negative connotation for African Americans. Dr. Munroe's description of a slavery painting at her university and Dr. Da Costa's university being founded by slave masters and naming buildings after them all represent PWLGUs upholding their slavery connections and correspond to severe inadequacies by PWLGU leadership to address their ties to slavery and the meaning it has for African Americans. Universities can often communicate confusing messages to their constituents when they promote IED yet reward racism on their campuses. Welshon (2019) argues "universities must tolerate intolerance only so long it does not jeopardize the dignity of their community members or imperil their academic norms and standards" (p. 46).

Finally, in terms of university policy, support for racism can be found within how universities choose to govern themselves. For example, at Dr. Da Costa's university there exists policies that allow for the formulation of student groups for any topic of their choosing so long as they have the support of five members. This has led to several White supremacist organizations appearing on campus with full support of the university administration. Policies that allow for groups to form who represent anti-diversity viewpoints hinder efforts to support IED and upsets the academic pursuits of students of color as racism has shown to have an adverse effect on student's stress and learning (Cheng, McDermott, Wong, & McCullough, 2020). An institution or an individual cannot support racism and authentically support students of color as those two ideologies oppose one another.

5.5.2   Racism is Normal and the Role of Politics at PWLGUs

Several participants described how the election of Donald Trump created issues on their campus. For Dr. Munroe, politics means she has had to address an "us vs. them" mentality because she has never seen the country so politically divisive with the emergence of the slogan "Make America Great Again," or MAGA for short, as a popular calling card to promote racist ideology aimed at Black leadership. Dr. Knight also highlighted that today's Republican party has been co-opted by far-right ideology and shifted to more racist tones with the election of Donald Trump and his MAGA rhetoric resulting in PWLGUs being more welcoming of far-right supporters through conservative student groups. In states with conservative leadership, conservatism has challenged the need for IED confirming that current conservative beliefs are rooted in Whiteness as the central ideology and that the experiences of people of color come second to their interests. In Dr. Drumm's circumstance, doing progressive IED work countered the beliefs of conservative state leadership resulting in millions of dollars in lost funding. However, funding has also been threatened to be stripped by progressive states when conservatively-led institutions lack improvements on their IED metrics as described by Dr. Rambeau. Both Drs. Drumm and Rambeau's experiences with their state governments reflects resource dependency theory of academic governance (section 1.3) and is evidence that academic governance structure should be considered the in the development of the CDO position.

Racism has been supported and at times institutionalized at PWLGUs. Through policy and institutional sanctioned racism, PWLGUs have placed a burden on CDOs long before their hiring and will continue to hinder their progress despite notions that IED is imperative for the progress of the institution. If PWLGUs are serious about IED, they must support policy changes to curb hate and discrimination or continue as a silent perpetrator of hate. As Civil Rights icon

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr stated, "those who stand neutral in the face of injustice have chosen the side of the oppressor."

5.5.3 Implications for Racism is Normal Tenet, Critical Leadership Inquiry, and Critical Qualitative Inquiry

Racism is normal tenet was used to explore the complicity of PWLGUs in upholding racism that is normalized in American society. Study findings substantiate that PWLGUs have and continue to support racism, White supremacy, and symbols that represent oppression and hate for people of color. For example, University leadership donating KKK robes for display, PWLGUs allowing White supremacist organizations to formulate with campus approval, and the hanging of slavery paintings all represent how PWLGUs have contributed to the normalization of racism. Findings of this study also suggest that PWLGUs are hypocritical in their support of IED when they seek to maintain support for racism. Such competing perspectives between the mission of PWLGUs and the ways in which racism has permeated campuses often means a hefty workload by adding institutional supported racism as one of the concerns to address for the CDO and questions the legitimacy of the PWLGU's attempt to foster positive inclusive climates.

The *Racism is normal* tenet also served to help unpack how racism in politics has made the challenges for today's CDO greater than ever. Thus, findings of this study suggest that racist political influences on PWLGU campuses is at an all-time high with the election of Donald Trump. This suggests that PWLGUs are not immune to political influences and that executive leadership at PWLGUS should serve as better advocates for IED. Likewise, threats to funding imposed by state governments means that PWLGUs must develop independent funding streams when necessary for such cases where state leadership is reluctant to support IED efforts.

When we consider critical leadership inquiry, the study findings suggest that leadership at PWLGUs' response to racism are detrimental to the well-being of students of color. This finding is supported by other studies that suggest insufficient leadership response to racism is connected to hidden biases in leadership (Walter, Ruiz, Tourse, Kress, Morningstar, MacArthur, & Daniels, 2016). For example, given what we know about the effects of racism on the health of people of color, university officials have still promoted acts that represent racism such as the welcoming of controversial right-wing speakers who are White supremacists. PWLGU leadership must be ready to address how their campuses continues to perpetuate racism and White supremacy and what it means for their overall mission as a land-grant university. As it relates to critical qualitative inquiry, this study's findings suggest that PWLGUs have been marketed as institutions that sought to expand educational access but have operated as exclusive institutions on the basis of race for decades. Iverson's (2007) study of PWLGU diversity action plans positioned people of color as outsiders to the university, providing further evidence that PWLGUs have maintained rights of exclusivity. With minimal progress made in URM representation, PWLGUs must employ robust changes that exemplify a commitment to diversity and their land-grant mission.

5.6 Critique of Liberalism

The *critique of liberalism* operates on three assumptions: liberalism uses a color evasive approach, liberalism believes laws are neutral, and liberalism holds a belief in incremental change as long as progress is made (DeCuir & Dixson, 2004). However, liberalism ignores the effects of an unjust system that often disadvantage people of color through color evasive methods until a more just system is accepted, usually by the White majority via a slow-moving process. Two themes that emerged from this study are best analyzed through the *critique of liberalism* framework: 1) State of diversity at PWLGUs, and 2) Role of Politics at PWLGUs.

Two conclusions were drawn from this study based on the emergent themes that will be discussed in detail later in this section. First, despite each CDO readily identifying the connections between IED and the mission of land-grant universities, PWLGUs have only made incremental progress since their inception in 1862. Second, PWLGUs have sought to maintain incrementalism in lieu of more robust and aggressive change. Both conclusions address research question three "*What are the challenges and successes faced by Chief Diversity Officers at Predominantly White Land-Grant Universities?*"

5.6.1 Conclusions and Discussions for Critique of Liberalism and State of Diversity at PWLGUs

Given the racism that is associated with the history of PWLGUs, it is not surprising that PWLGUs continue to struggle in the area of IED. According to the Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System, African Americans and Hispanic students accounted for just 4.7% and 9.6% respectively of all students enrolled at our nations PWLGUs in 2018. In other words, PWLGUs that excluded the attendance of African Americans at their onset and have only increased African American representation on campus to four percent over the last 150 years.

Despite each CDO in this study providing an understanding of how IED is tied to the mission of land-grant universities, PWLGUs continue to fail at addressing the diversity aspect of their mission. For example, Dr. Rambeau recognizes Black and Brown people, who may be undocumented and/or poor, as the working class as of today that was promoted by the founding fathers of land-grant institutions but yet they remain underrepresented at PWLGUs. As Dr. Drumm shared, White students and legislators often challenge the need for diversity and consider it a waste of taxpayers' dollars contributing to the incremental changes in the diversity of the university along with limited staffing and insignificant budgets that exacerbated the workload for

CDOs. In Dr. Knight's case, her office was left up to her and another data staff member to carry out the goals of the office and Dr. Da Costa saw his office shrink because the university began rewarding diversity efforts that saw people from his office accept other diversity officer roles around campus.

Consistent with Nixon's (2014) study of women of color CDOs, being the first CDO at an institution saw hefty workloads due to poorly defined goals, lack of metrics, unknown responsibilities, inconsistencies in the development of the position, and competing expectations. Confusion on the roles and responsibilities around the CDO position can leave some CDOs performing unrecognized labor to meet the needs of people of color, such as Dr. Rambeau's "baby checkups" that is difficult to quantify and often goes ignored by PWLGUs when they do not understand the purpose and benefit of the labor performed. When CDOs have to develop the position responsibilities, as was the case with Dr. Da Costa, it can place the CDOs as the "fixers" of the university culture. It should be mentioned that CDOs should not be hired to fix a century's worth of university problems, rather they should be hired to serve as the lead and organizer of the university's IED strategic plans (Allen, Rodriguez, & Esters, in review).

Despite the challenges of the workload, CDOs have managed to achieve some success in four areas: visibility, leadership support, funding, and improving campus climate. In terms of visibility, CDOs in this study discuss how important it was to be accessible and available to students and faculty of color to promote a sense of normalcy of seeing administrators of color who share their interest in fostering a sense of belonging for people of color. In terms of leadership support, CDOs describe how meaningful it is to have the support and buy-in of other campus leadership for the success of their office because they often serve as the catalyst for the

broader campus support of IED. For example, Dr. Barnes described how leadership serves as a voice for those who are unaware of how to support IED.

Funding, while not a common theme among participants, was identified as a success for Dr. Munroe. Dr. Munroe describes how her university developed a funding mechanism tied to student fees to support IED at her institution in addition to traditional campus budget plans. Developing internal funding mechanisms offer protections against politicians who disagree with the promotion of an inclusive campus as was the outcome from Dr. Drumm's experience. Finally, the development of initiatives to improve campus climate was the fourth area of success that was achieved through partnerships with HBCUs, facilitating workshops on various IED subject matter, and developing certificate programs to drive the campus climate progress forward.

While CDOs were able to describe several themes to illustrate success, none of the CDOs identified improvements in any data metrics that show significant increases in representation of URMs on campus or an increase in students' sense of belonging. Given PWLGUs' ties to racism and studies that document the negative attitudes of White students toward diversity (Bonilla-Silva & Forman, 2000; Bonilla-Silva et al., 2004; Cabrera, 2014), it is not surprising that newly appointed CDOs have not observed increases in diversity data metrics to much of any degree. However, the lack of significant improvements in diversity metrics does not speak to the ineffectiveness of the CDO, rather it represents the challenge associated with being at a PWLGU and that support of IED must go beyond just hiring a CDO.

5.6.2 Conclusions and Discussions for Critique of Liberalism and Role of Politics at PWLGU

Politics often invoke liberalist ideologies in that they promote race neutrality, are often slow moving, and lack the capacity for robust change. When politics are involved with an institution's support for IED, conservative leadership can pose a significant challenge to the efforts of the CDO if the states deem the CDOs to be too progressive in their approaches and will attempt to halt progress. For example, the defunding of diversity offices by state governments due to pro-LGBTQ support as experienced by Dr. Drumm validate how immersed politics are embedded within the PWLGU system. To combat political efforts that are detrimental to IED, Dr. Drumm attempted to use politics to serve his interest by encouraging students to vote. However, the time distance between election seasons, terms of elected officials, lack of student voting, and student voting in their hometowns all suggest that voting, while helpful, will be difficult to invoke the change that is needed.

Conservatively-led institutions can also delay progress when they move to race-neutral efforts that is ultimately limiting URM representation which leads to questions by state governments who are much more racially diverse. The color-evasive approach that Dr. Rambeau's institution decided to employ signaled to politicians that her institution was ignoring the realities of people of color. As Dr. Rambeau pointed out, institutions not willing to create opportunities that foster diversity, including who they are enrolling and how they are working with underserved communities are less likely to obtain additional funding support from their state.

5.6.3 Implications for Critique of Liberalism Tenet, Critical Leadership Inquiry, and Critical Qualitative Inquiry

The *critique of liberalism* tenet was useful to examine the incremental progress in IED over the last 100 years at PWLGUs, frustrating the CDOs who are employed to lead university diversity efforts (Allen & Esters, 2018). Some CDOs revealed they are not in favor of race-neutral admissions process because it slows the racial progress of the institution by ignoring the realities of people of color. As such, the findings of this study suggest that PWLGUs invoke liberalist views to govern their institutions because they believe race-neutrality better serves IED, however the CDOs see it as a hindrance to their office's full capacity. The findings of this study also suggest that PWLGUs are fundamentally liberal institutions with greater regard for neutrality than racial progress. As Dr. Rambeau pointed out, when institutions operate under race-neutral pretenses, they are actually operationalizing racism by ignoring what experiences are actually afforded (or not) to people of color that are sought through the admissions process, which only serves to benefit the White majority. This finding is consistent with other CRT scholars, such as Taylor (2000), who have argued that civil rights affirmative action legislation was shown to benefit White women more than people of color and at times have demonstrated that it decreases the diversity within professions (Hacker 1992; Taylor).

Critical leadership inquiry carries a philosophy that normative leadership ideologies that sustain negative beliefs and myths (e.g., stereotypes about people of color) must be challenged and discontinued. As such, this study's findings suggest that PWLGUs have maintained their incremental progress through belief systems that continue to position people of color as outcasts. For example, the attitudes of White students around diversity suggest that those efforts are not needed despite what it means for people of color. This is consistent with Iverson's (2007) study on PWLGU diversity data plans that showed that people of color were often seen as outsiders.

Predominantly White Land-Grant Universities must develop better practices that seek to illustrate that people of color are just as important to the university as anyone and that PWLGUs are not contributing to an "us and them" mentality but one that promotes inclusivity without erasure of URM culture (Iverson, 2007; 2012). However, with only modest gains in URM representation on PWLGU campuses and very little power afforded to some CDOs, it remains to be seen if PWLGUs have the capacity to implement improvements in campus diversity. In terms of critical qualitative inquiry, the findings suggest that robust changes to diversity has been sacrificed for the sake of liberalism in that PWLGUs have been found to support incrementalism and color evasive approaches to recruitment. Both liberalist views ensure that PWLGUs have remained largely White via incomplete guidelines for the position, limited staffing, and insignificant funding calling into question PWLGUs authenticity in the success of the CDO.

5.7   Race as a Product of Social Thought

The final tenet of CRT used in this study, *race as a product of social thought*, posits that race is socially invented, with no connections to a genetic or biological disposition, to be used and retired when it is convenient. The racial construction thesis removes autonomy and agency from an individual's control over their identity. For example, Dr. Rambeau's fellow administrator telling Black students "we are all African" to dispute their calls for a Black Cultural Center represents the retirement of race when it was convenient. As such, I conclude from the findings that CDOs understand the function of diversity within the PWLGU's mission as naturally including IED, however PWLGUs and subsequent leadership have failed to explicitly connect IED to the mission of land-grant institutions. This conclusion addresses research question two "*How do Chief Diversity Officers describe the role of race and gender in the mission and purpose of Land-grant Universities?*"

5.7.1   Conclusions and Discussion of Race as a Product of Social Thought and State of Diversity

In the *State of Diversity at Land-Grant Universities* section (4.4.1), CDOs agreed that the expansion of education for all, promoted by the founding fathers of land-grant universities, included URMs as they represent today's working class. However, as current IPEDs data from 2018 reveals, PWLGUs have ignored their racial diversity and remained largely White as evident by enrollment trends that continue to show African Americans, for example, constituting less than 5% of those enrolled at PWLGUs but make up over 13% of the national population. While some attempt to excuse the underperformance of URMs at PWLGUs as a disinterest in certain academic areas (e.g., agriculture), data reveals that HBLGUs with less funding and smaller campus enrollments but similar academic disciplines, consistently outperform PWLGUs in the enrollment and graduation rates of African American students (Allen & Esters, 2018). This suggests that it is not the academic areas that have made it difficult to attract URMs but the campuses themselves.

Dr. Bradley agreed that PWLGUs should be more effective at serving URM communities given their surplus of resources, however as it currently stands, PWLGUs have continuously struggled with forming meaningful relationships with communities of color which can have lasting consequences. For example, when it comes to the distribution of information which is often controlled by PWLGUs through Extension programming; URM communities are often not considered a priority resulting in accessibility issues for these communities, especially in states without HBLGUs. In many ways, PWLGUs have fallen short in their efforts to develop meaningful relationships with URM communities. Dr. Barnes also shared that the demographic profile of PWLGUs is comprised primarily of White males, who in many cases make upwards of 80% of the faculty and often do not retire until late in their careers thus making it difficult to bring

in a more diverse faculty. Subsequently, what often results are PWLGUs that lack faculty diversity which is needed to better serve communities of color.

5.7.2 Implications for Race as a Product of Social Thought Tenet, Critical Leadership Inquiry, and Critical Qualitative Inquiry

The *Race as a product of social thought* tenet was used to identify how race is used and retired when convenient for the PWLGUs and their representatives. Findings from this study indicate that PWLGUs have not authentically maintained a commitment to ensuring that their mission holds true for people of color and that the current hegemonic structure may be too grand of a challenge to change without the leadership in place who serves as the voice of accountability. Findings of this study further suggest that PWLGUs may be in a situation where diversity at most institutions will be incremental at best due to the historical favoritism towards a White patriarchal system that Dr. Barnes described. The findings of this study also substantiate claims that PWLGUs' habit of identity construction, when convenient, seeks to foster inequalities, ignore the needs of people of color, and reproduces privileges for some and disadvantage others, which is consistent with critical leadership inquiry and critical qualitative inquiry. Dr. Rambeau's testimony of a fellow administrator's "we are all African" comment in response to Black students demands for a Black Cultural Center demonstrates how the needs of people of color were conveniently erased in an attempt to diminish any differences between races.

5.8 Implications for Practice

The implications for practice serve to promote practices that foster an improvement in the methods that are currently employed by PWLGUs that were highlighted in this study. The first implication for practice is that land-grant universities need to be intentional in connecting IED to

the mission of land-grant universities. The findings of this study revealed that CDOs recognize the connection between diversity and the mission of PWLGUs. However, currently this connection is vague at best and the PWLGUs in this study have not reflected diversity in their student enrollment and hiring. Existing literature on diversity plans of PWLGUs show that they often have an opposite effect than intended in their designs that position people of color as outsiders and treat diversity as an economic gain more than social change (Iverson, 2007; 2012). As such, PWLGUs should begin to explicitly state and heavily promote how diversity connects to the mission of PWLGUs and it should also be reflected in hiring and the enrollment of students of color.

The second implication for practice is for universities to increase their staffing and financial support for CDOs. The findings of this study demonstrated limited staffing posed a significant barrier to the office thus increasing the workload for the CDO. Funding was also a significant area of concern for CDOs as funding determines the capacity of the office in terms of programming, recruitment, and retention of students of color (Jones, 2017). Therefore, it is important for institutions to ensure that support for CDOs is authentic and consistent, with substantial budgets and unequivocal support by executive-level leadership in an effort to create transformative programs created to not just support students form marginalized backgrounds, but also faculty and staff. These retention approaches can send a message to the university about its desire to be an inclusive and diverse campus.

Associated with staffing and funding issues, this study's findings also suggest that many PWLGUs employ a collaborative model, described in section 2.7, for their CDO position in that they are often structured with small support staff and possess little formal power (Williams & Wade-Golden, 2013). It is imperative that PWLGUs, given the challenges highlighted in this

study, explore the use of unit-based model or a portfolio divisional model for the structure of the CDO position as these approaches communicate a greater range of power and control in that they have more of a central staff that assists in addressing key metrics such as recruitment and retention of URMs. None of the CDOs in this study described such improvement in metrics as a success of their position.

Another implication for practice includes developing clear guidance and structure of the CDO position prior to assigning anyone the role. Further, PWLGUs should ensure that search committees are equipped with similar guidelines to show alignment with the CDO position. This study's finding suggests that the CDO position is sorely underdeveloped, laden in inconsistencies and conflicting goals (Nixon, 2014). For IED to be successful, it requires commitment from all, with the CDO serving as the strategic leader. As such, PWLGUs should be more attentive to properly developing clear position descriptions so search committees and potential applicants have a better understanding of the qualification and expectations that will enable them to meet the needs of marginalized and minoritized communities. Far too often, administrative positions are seen as White, often leading to clearly defined parameters of authority that meet the needs of majority culture, however diversity positions are often seen as minority designations that Whiteness has very little interest in developing, thus leading to poorly defined criteria for the position (Wolfe & Dilworth, 2015).

A fifth implication for practice recommends that university presidents serve as better advocates for IED when state politics attempt to influence and defund IED offices because of political disagreements with strategies that support IED in higher education. This study's findings support the notion that state governments have significant influence on an institution's budget and often threaten institutions when their goals do not align. It would benefit institutions to

remind states of the land-grant mission and purpose and how IED is embedded within both. Further, institutions should be readily available to support IED offices when conservative politicians who have no desire for authentic diversity disagree with the direction of the institution. Additionally, university presidents often engage with state politicians to garner funding support. As such, IED should be an area that university presidents share with politicians advocating at the very least to not disinvest in their university's IED efforts.

Finally, the findings of this study demonstrate that universities, especially PWLGUs, have histories rooted in racism and they should begin to develop appropriate and aggressive protocols to address their past including in the form of reparatory commitments. During the 2019 political season, there existed considerable conversations in American politics around slavery and reparations. However, states and their PWLGUs have flown under the radar in these conversations despite many of them having attachments to slavery and discrimination, limited the progress of HBLGUs by withholding significant funding to these institutions in favor of PWLGUs, and continue to remain largely homogenous in terms of race all which have limited the progress of African Americans and other minority groups (Allen & Esters, 2018). As revealed in this study, PWLGUs have admitted to using slaves to erect buildings, naming buildings after former slave owners, and boxing the remains of Native Americans whose lands they occupy. Reparatory investment acknowledges the wrongdoing of the institution and seeks to establish a commitment to rectifying its standing with marginalized communities.

5.9   Recommendations for Future Research

This study is one of the few that has examined the role of the CDO from a critical race theory framework and explored how CDOs saw themselves as being supported by the university,

navigating state and national politics, and how their identity influenced their work. Further, this study demonstrated the complicity of PWLGUs in fostering racism and discrimination that has been normalized in America. In sum, there is a significant opportunity for additional research to be pursued related to CDO scholarship.

First, future studies should seek to examine differences that exist for CDOs of color and White CDOs who are entrusted to lead an office of diversity. Of the seven participants in this study, six identified as a person of color and one identified as White. While some similarities exist, such as the vision of how IED is embedded within the land-grant mission, some considerable differences existed in the relationship with identity and the role of CDO. Due to only one White CDO participating in this study, a future study would allow researchers to identify how White CDOs compartmentalize identity and provide support for marginalized communities given their social privilege in society in contrast to CDOs of color who are not afforded the same social freedoms.

There also exists an opportunity for a comparative analysis of CDOs at MSIs vs CDOs at PWIs to ascertain similarities and differences that can inform how CDOs make meaning of their roles based on institutional racial demographics. While Minority-Serving Institutions (MSIs) tend to serve large numbers of marginalized communities, the intersectional identities (e.g., gender, sexual orientation, socioeconomic status) can often face similar negative campus climates that mirror marginalized communities' experiences on PWI campuses.

Given the intersectional identities that an individual holds and the marginalization and minoritization that can occur between different identity sub-groups, it is important to ascertain: if CDOs exist at the different land-grant universities (1862, 1890, and 1994s land-grant

universities), comparisons in how the CDO position is supported at the different land-grant universities, and the perceived level of effectiveness while serving as CDO at these institutions. Different land-grant universities have been created to meet the educational needs of certain minority groups. For example, HBLGUs were designed to support the land-grant mission for African Americans when PWLGUs were not admitting them (Comer, Campbell, Edwards, & Hillison, 2006). Tribal Colleges that are classified under the 1994 Morrill land-grant act were created to address the educational needs of Native Americans in agriculture, military sciences and mechanical arts (Martin, 2006). A study that explores diversity at different land-grant institutions will help to identify how MSIs and PWIs with similar academic disciplines but created to serve different minority groups are meeting the needs of various marginalized and minoritized groups on their campuses.

Future studies should ascertain the extent to which colleges and universities will or have adopted more inclusive and diverse strategies when those strategies are associated with significant financial contributions. In other words, how effective is incentivizing diversity efforts in improving campus climates. Interest convergence theory is a tenet of CRT that exposes how the majority will adopt change strategies when there is a benefit to the majority or an underlying cost for them when they do not. Several of the participants in this study described incidents where financial contributions needed to be returned, investments into diversity contributed to siloed diversity offices and initiatives all attempting to leverage diversity funding, or students protesting the university resulting in decreased student enrollment which leads to significant costs (e.g., loss of tuition dollars) to the institution. For example, when Arizona decided to get rid of Martin Luther King Jr. Day; the NBA and NFL boycotted the state, resulting in Arizona to pull back on their decision (Ladson-Billings, 1998).

Future studies are needed to understand how the different diversity officer positions and programs on a campus complement and conflict with each other. Findings in this study revealed that decentralized diversity work poses a barrier to the CDO position and the university in general due to conflicting and overlapping programming that can exist. Further, a study on the collaborations of different siloed diversity offices PWLGUs could also provide insight on the relationship CDOs have with other diversity offices on campus and if any differences are due to disagreements based on initiatives pursued by the CDO including whether those initiatives are too passive or aggressive.

Future studies should closely examine the satisfaction of the CDO position with internal stakeholders to ascertain the perspectives of marginalized communities who often face the consequences of poor campus climate. For example, while studies have shown that faculty, staff, of color experience the campus climate differently than their White peers (Bonilla-Silva & Forman, 2000; Bonilla-Silva, Lewis, & Embrick, 2004; Cabrera, 2014), it is not known how satisfied people of color are with the CDO position. Also, studies have demonstrated that oversaturation of White individuals in survey data skew the campus climate to be more favorable than it actually is.

Yet another potential study could identify if the presence of a CDO is associated with closing graduation gaps and improved campus climate. Studies have demonstrated that poor campus climate lowers students of color sense of belonging, academic success, and persistence to graduation. Additionally, it is important to note that none of the CDOs in this study mentioned closing graduation gaps, increase faculty diversity, or improve campus climate as their success stories. Studies like this will allow institutions to rethink how to best structure the CDO position

such that it contributes to an institution's efforts of enhancing the academic success for all students.

Finally, future studies should consider comparisons along gender identity, including those outside of the gender-binary framework. This study included three women and four men whose approach to the CDO role presented some common and unique characteristics about how they approached diversity and inclusion. However, because it was not the goal of this study to compare gender differences, it remains to be seen how gender identity influenced their approach to their role as CDO. Further, studies that examine intersectionality and the impact it has on how women CDOs approach their job roles may be worth exploring.

REFERENCES

Allen, B. C. M. & Esters, L. T. (2018). Historically Black land-grant universities: Overcoming barriers and achieving success. *Penn Center for Minority Serving Institutions*. Retrieved from https://cmsi.gse.upenn.edu/sites/default/files/HBLGUs_0.pdf

Allen, B. C. M., Rodriguez, A., & Esters, L. T. (in review). Using critical race theory to redefine the 12 professional dispositions of chief diversity officers. *Journal of Critical Scholarship in Higher Education and Student Affairs*.

Arnold, N. W., Crawford, E. R., & Khalifa, M. (2016). Psychological heuristics and faculty of color: Racial battle fatigue and tenure/promotion. *The Journal of Higher Education*, *87*(6), 890-919.

Association of Public and Land-Grant Universities (2012). *The land-grant tradition*. Retrieved from www.aplu.org/library/the-land-grant-tradition/file.

Austin, I., & Jones, G. A. (2015). *Governance of higher education: Global perspectives, theories, and practices*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Bell, D. (1992). *Faces at the bottom of the well: The permanence of racism*. New York, NY: Basic Books.

Bell, D. A., Crenshaw, K., Gotanda, N., Peller, G., & Thomas, K. (1995). *Critical race theory: The key writings that formed the movement*. New York, NY: The New Press.

Benton, M. A. (2001). Challenges African American students face at predominantly White institutions. *Colorado State University Journal of Student Affairs*, *10*, 21-28.

Bonilla-Silva, E., & Forman, T. A. (2000). "I am not a racist But...": Mapping White college students' racial ideology in the USA. *Discourse & society*, *11*(1), 50-85.

Bonilla-Silva, E., Lewis, A., & Embrick, D. G. (2004). "I did not get that job because of a Black man...": The story lines and testimonies of color-blind racism. *Sociological Forum* 19 (4), 555-581).

Boss, G. J., Karunaratne, N., Huang, C., Beavers, A., Pegram-Floyd, V., & Tullos, K. C. (2019). "It's a double-edged sword": A collaborative autoethnography of women of color higher education and student affairs administrators who teach in the college classroom. *Journal of Women and Gender in Higher Education*, 12(2), 166-185.

Brinkmann, S. (2018). The interview. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds). *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research* (5th ed.). Los Angeles, CA: Sage Publications.

Brown, K. M. (2004). Assessing preservice leaders' beliefs, attitudes, and values regarding issues of diversity, social justice, and equity: A review of existing measures. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, *37*(4), 332-342.

Cabrera, N. L. (2014). Exposing Whiteness in higher education: White male college students minimizing racism, claiming victimization, and recreating White supremacy. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, *17*(1), 30-55.

Carducci, R. (2016). Transforming higher education institutions through critical qualitative leadership inquiry. In P.A. Pasque & V. M. Lechuga (Eds.), *Qualitative Inquiry in Higher Education Organization and Policy Research*, 142-158. New York, NY: Routledge.

Cheng, H. L., McDermott, R. C., Wong, Y. J., & McCullough, K. M. (2019). Perceived discrimination and academic distress among Latinx college students: A cross-lagged longitudinal investigation. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 67 (3), 401-408.

Cheryan, S., Ziegler, S. A., Montoya, A. K., & Jiang, L. (2017). Why are some STEM fields more gender balanced than others? *Psychological Bulletin*, *143*(1), 1-35.

Chessman, H., & Wayt, L. (2016). *What are students demanding?* Retrieved from Higher Education Today website: https://www.higheredtoday.org/2016/01/13/what-are students-demanding/.

Christy, R. D. (2017). *A century of service: Land-grant colleges and universities, 1890-1990*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Clauss-Ehlers, C. S., & Parham, W. D. (2014). Landscape of diversity in higher education: Linking demographic shifts to contemporary university and college counseling center practices. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development*, *42*(2), 69-76.

Cochran, G. R., Ferrari, T. M., & Chen, C. Y. T. (2012). Trends affecting Ohio State University extension in the 21st century and the implications for human capital. *Journal of Agricultural Education*, *53*(2), 43-57.

Collinson, D. (2011). Critical leadership studies. In A. Bryman, D. Collinson, K. Grint, B. Jackson, & M. Uhl-Bien (Eds.) *The SAGE handbook of leadership*, 181-194. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Comer, M. M., Campbell, T., Edwards, K., & Hillison, J. (2006). Cooperative extension and the 1890 land-grant institution: The real story. *Journal of Extension*, *44*(3), 1-6.

Crenshaw, K. (1998). Playing race cards: Constructing a proactive defense of affirmative action. *National Black Law Journal*, 16, 196-250.

Creswell, J. W. (2003). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods design*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications

Creswell, J. W., & Plano Clark, V. L. (2011). *Designing and conducting mixed research methods*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Davis, G. F., & Cobb, J. (2010). Resource dependence theory: Past and future. *Research in the Sociology of Organizations*, 2821-42. http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/S0733 558X(2010)0000028006.

Davis, A. M., & Ernst, R. (2019). Racial gaslighting. *Politics, Groups, and Identities*, *7*(4), 761 774.

Davis, J. H., Schoorman, F. D., & Donaldson, L. (1997). Toward a stewardship theory of management. *Academy of Management review*, *22*(1), 20-47.

DeCuir, J. T., & Dixson, A. D. (2004). "So when it comes out, they aren't that surprised that it is there": Using critical race theory as a tool of analysis of race and racism in education. *Educational researcher*, *33*(5), 26-31.

Denson, N., & Chang, M. J. (2009). Racial diversity matters: The impact of diversity-related student engagement and institutional context. *American Educational Research Journal*, *46*(2), 322-353.

Devins, N. (2003). Explaining Grutter v. Bollinger. *University of Pennsylvania Law Review*. *152*, 347-383.

Delgado, R., & Stefancic, J. (2017). *Critical race theory: An introduction*. New York, NY: NYU Press.

Dillman, D. A., Phelps, G., Tortora, R., Swift, K., Kohrell, J., Berck, J., & Messer, B. L. (2009). Response rate and measurement differences in mixed-mode surveys using mail, telephone, interactive voice response (IVR) and the Internet. *Social science research*, *38*(1), 1-18.

Dillman, D.A., Smyth, J.D., & Christian, L.M. (2009). *Internet, mail, and mixed-mode surveys: The tailored design method* (3rd ed.). Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

DiMaggio, P., & Powell, W. W. (1983). The iron cage revisited: Collective rationality and institutional isomorphism in organizational fields. *American Sociological Review*, 48(2), 147-160.

Donnor, J. K., & Ladson-Billings, G. (2017). Critical race theory and the post-racial imaginary. *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, *5*, 195-213.

Dowd, A. C., & Bensimon, E. M. (2015). *Engaging the" race question": Accountability and equity in US higher education*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Eisenhardt, K. M. (1989). Agency theory: An assessment and review. *Academy of management review*, *14*(1), 57-74.

Emerson, R. M. (1962), "Power-dependence relations". *American Sociological Review*, 27, 31
40.

Espinosa, L., Chessman, H., & Wayt, L. (2016). *Racial climate on campus: A survey of college presidents*. Retrieved from Higher Education Today website:
https://www.higheredtoday.org/2016/03/08/racial-climate-on-campus-a-survey-o college-presidents/.

Fisher, M. T. (2018). Still fighting the good fight: An analysis of student activism and institutional response. *Public Relations Review*, *44*(1), 22-27.

Flint, M. A. (2019). Ruptures and reproductions: A walking encounter with a campus tour and a Confederate monument. *Cultural Studies/Critical Methodologies*, 19(2), 91-104.

Ford, D. Y., Grantham, T. C., & Whiting, G. W. (2008). Culturally and linguistically diverse students in gifted education: Recruitment and retention issues. *Exceptional Children*, *74*(3), 289-306.

Freeman, R.E. (1984). *Strategic management: A stakeholder approach*. Boston, MA: Pitman Publishing Inc.

Freeman, R. (2016). Is student voice necessarily empowering? Problematising student voice as a form of higher education governance. Higher Education Research & Development, 35(4), 859-862.

Fries-Britt, S., & Griffin, K. (2007). The Black box: How high-achieving Blacks resist stereotypes about Black Americans. *Journal of College Student Development*, *48*(5), 509 524.

Gasman, M., Abiola, U., & Travers, C. (2015). Diversity and senior leadership at elite institutions of higher education. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, *8*(1), 1-14.

Gasman, M., & Conrad, C. F. (2013). Minority serving institutions: Educating all students. *Penn Center for Minority Serving Institutions*. Retrieved from https://www.gse.upenn.edu/pdf/cmsi/msis_educating_all_students.pdf

Gasman, M., & Nguyen, T. H. (2014). Historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs): Leading our nation's effort to improve the science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) pipeline. *Texas Education Review*, 2(1), 75-89.

Gagliardi, J. S., Espinosa, L. L., Turk, J. M., & Taylor, M. (2017). *The American college presidents study*. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education.

Good, J., Halpin, G., & Halpin, G. (2002). Retaining black students in engineering: Do minority programs have a longitudinal impact? *Journal of College Student Retention: Research, Theory & Practice*, *3*(4), 351-364.

Greene, J. C., Caracelli, V. J., & Graham, W. F. (1989). Toward a conceptual framework for mixed-method evaluation designs. *Educational evaluation and policy analysis*, 11(3), 255-274.

Griffin, K., Baker, V., O'Meara, K., Nyunt, G., Robinson, T., & Staples, C. L. (2018). Supporting scientists from underrepresented minority backgrounds: Mapping developmental networks. *Studies in Graduate and Postdoctoral Education*, 9(1), 19-37.

Guinier, L. (1991). The triumph of tokenism: The voting rights act and the theory of Black electoral success. *Michigan Law Review*, *89*(5), 1077-1154.

Gurin, P., Dey, E., Hurtado, S., & Gurin, G. (2002). Diversity and higher education: Theory and impact on educational outcomes. *Harvard Educational Review*, *72*(3), 330-367.

Hardy, I., & Woodcock, S. (2015). Inclusive education policies: Discourses of difference, diversity and deficit. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, *19*(2), 141-164.

Hart, J., & Fellabaum, J. (2008). Analyzing campus climate studies: Seeking to define and understand. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, 1(4), 222.

Harper, S. R. (2009). Niggers no more: A critical race counternarrative on Black male student achievement at predominantly White colleges and universities. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, *22*(6), 697-712.

Harper, S. R., Patton, L. D., & Wooden, O. S. (2009). Access and equity for African American students in higher education: A critical race historical analysis of policy efforts. The Journal of Higher Education, 80(4), 389-414.

Harvey, W. B. (2014). Chief diversity officers and the wonderful world of academe. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, *7*(2), 92.

Hawkins, A. F. (1991). Equity in education. *Harvard Journal on Legislation*, 28, 565-568.

Henderson, K. A. (2011). Post-positivism and the pragmatics of leisure research. *Leisure Sciences*, *33*(4), 341-346.

Hersh, M. (2000). The changing position of women in engineering worldwide. *IEEE Transactions on Engineering Management*, *47*(3), 345-359.

Herring, C., & Henderson, L. (2012). From affirmative action to diversity: Toward a critical diversity perspective. *Critical Sociology*, *38*(5), 629-643.

Hillman, A. J., Withers, M. C., & Collins, B. J. (2009). Resource dependence theory: A review. *Journal of Management*, 35(6), 1404-1427.

Honigmann, J. J. (1982). Sampling in ethnographic fieldwork. In R. G. Burgess (Ed.), *Field research: A sourcebook and field manual*. (p. 79-90). London: Allen & Unwin.

Hurtado, S., Clayton-Pedersen, A. R., Allen, W. R., & Milem, J. F. (1998). Enhancing campus climates for racial/ethnic diversity: Educational policy and practice. *The Review of Higher Education*, *21*(3), 279-302.

Hurtado, S., Newman, C. B., Tran, M. C., & Chang, M. J. (2010). Improving the rate of success for underrepresented racial minorities in STEM fields: Insights from a national project. *New Directions for Institutional Research*, *2010*(148), 5-15.

Iverson, S. V. (2007). Camouflaging power and privilege: A critical race analysis of university diversity policies. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, *43*(5), 586-611.

Iverson, S. V. (2012). Constructing outsiders: The discursive framing of access in university diversity policies. *The Review of Higher Education*, *35*(2), 149-177.

Izard, C. E. (1972). *Patterns of emotions: A new analysis of anxiety and depression*. New York, NY: Academic Press.

Izard, C. E. (1977). *Human emotions*. New York, NY: Plenum Press.

Jones, L., Castellanos, J., & Cole, D. (2002). Examining the ethnic minority student experience at predominantly White institutions: A case study. *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education*, *1*(1), 19-39.

Jones, S., Torres, V., & Arminio, J. (2006). *Negotiating the complexities of qualitative research in higher education: Fundamental elements and issues*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Jones, S. (2017). *Incentivizing diversity: Midwestern performance funding policy and diversity indicators* (FFR 2017-1). Edwardsville, IL: Illinois Educational Research Council at Southern Illinois University Edwardsville.

Key, S., Popkin, S., Munchus, G., Wech, B., Hill, V., & Tanner, J. (2012). An exploration of leadership experiences among white women and women of color. *Journal of Organizational Change Management*, 25(3), 392-404.

Kincheloe, J. L., McLaren, P., & Steinberg, S. R. (2011). Critical pedagogy and qualitative research. *The SAGE handbook of qualitative research*, 163-177.

Kline, P. (1999). *The handbook of psychological testing*. London: Routledge.

Ladson-Billings, G. (1995). Toward a theory of culturally relevant pedagogy. *American Educational Research Journal*, *32*(3), 465-491.

Ladson-Billings, G. (1998). Just what is critical race theory and what's it doing in a nice field like education? *International journal of qualitative studies in education*, *11*(1), 7-24.

Lane, J. E., & Kivisto, J. A. (2008). Interests, information, and incentives in higher education: Principal-agent theory and its potential applications to the study of higher education governance. *In Higher education* (pp. 141-179). Dordrecht: Springer.

Larson, M. S. (1977). *The rise of professionalism*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Leath, S., & Chavous, T. (2018). Black women's experiences of campus racial climate and stigma at predominantly White institutions: Insights from a comparative and within group approach for STEM and non-STEM Majors. *The Journal of Negro Education*, *87*(2), 125-139.

Lee, C. N., & Hopson, M. (2019). Disrupting Postracial Discourse: Black Millennials' Response to Postracial Ideology and the Continued Impact of Racial Microaggressions on College Campuses. *Southern Communication Journal*, 84(2), 127 139.

Lee, J. M., & Keys, S. W. (2013). *Land-grant but unequal: State one-to-one match funding for 1890 Land- grant universities*. (APLU Office of Access and Success publication no. 3000-PB1). Washington, DC: Association of Public and Land-grant Universities.

Leon, R. A. (2014). The chief diversity officer: An examination of CDO models and strategies. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, *7*(2), 77.

Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

Lips-Wiersma, M., & Allan, H. (2018). The student voice in critical leadership education: An exploration of student–faculty partnership learning in sustainability education. *Leadership*, *14*(2), 240-255.

Lisnic, R., Zajicek, A., & Morimoto, S. (2018). Gender and race differences in faculty assessment of tenure clarity: The influence of departmental relationships and practices. *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity*, 1-17.

Lo, C. C., McCallum, D. M., Hughes, M., Smith, G. P., & McKnight, U. (2017). Racial differences in college students' assessments of campus race relations. *Journal of College Student Development*, *58*(2), 247-263.

López, G. R. (2003). The (racially neutral) politics of education: A critical race theory perspective. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, *39*(1), 68-94.

Luedke, C. L. (2017). Person first, student second: Staff and administrators of color supporting students of color authentically in higher education. *Journal of College Student Development*, 58(1), 37-52.

Martin, M. V. (2001). The land-grant university in the 21st century. *Journal of Agricultural and Applied Economics*, *33*(2), 377-380.

Maton, K. I., Beason, T. S., Godsay, S., Sto. Domingo, M. R., Bailey, T. C., Sun, S., &] Hrabowski III, F. A. (2016). Outcomes and processes in the Meyerhoff scholars program: STEM PhD completion, sense of community, perceived program benefit, science identity, and research self-efficacy. *CBE—Life Sciences Education*, *15*(3) 1-11.

McClelland, S. I., & Holland, K. J. (2015). You, me, or her: Leaders' perceptions of responsibility for increasing gender diversity in STEM departments. *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, *39*(2), 210-225.

McDowell, G. R. (2003). Engaged universities: Lessons from the land-grant universities and extension. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *585*(1), 31-50.

Merriam, S. B., & Tisdell, E. J. (2015). *Qualitative research: A guide to design and implementation*. San Francisco, CA: John Wiley & Sons.

Mertens, D. M. (2003). Mixed methods and the politics of human research: The transformative emancipatory perspective. *Handbook of mixed methods in social and behavioral research*, 135-164.

Morales, E. M. (2014). Intersectional impact: Black students and race, gender and class microaggressions in higher education. *Race, Gender & Class*, 48-66.

Museus, S. D., Nichols, A. H., & Lambert, A. D. (2008). Racial differences in the effects of campus racial climate on degree completion: A structural equation model. *The Review of Higher Education*, *32*(1), 107-134.

Mwangi, C. A. G., Thelamour, B., Ezeofor, I., & Carpenter, A. (2018). "Black elephant in the room": Black students contextualizing campus racial climate within US racial climate. *Journal of College Student Development*, 59(4), 456-474.

National Research Council. (1995). History and overview of the land-grant college system. *Colleges of Agriculture at the Land-Grant Universities: A Profile*. Washington, DC: The National Academies Press. doi: 10.17226/4980.

National Science Board. (2015). *Revisiting the STEM workforce: A companion to science and engineering indicators 2014*. VA: National Science Foundation.

Nettles, M. T. (1990). *Black, Hispanic, and White doctoral students: Before, during, and after enrolling in graduate school*. (Minority Graduate Education Project Report No. MGE 90-01). Princeton: Educational Testing Service.

Neyland, L. W. (1990). *Historically Black land-grant institutions and the development of agriculture and home economics, 1890-1990*. Washington, D.C.: Economic Research Service.

Nguyen, M. H., Chan, J., Nguyen, B. M. D., & Teranishi, R. T. (2017). Beyond compositional diversity: Examining the campus climate experiences of Asian American and Pacific Islander students. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*. Advance online publication 1-18.

Nixon, M. L. (2017). Experiences of women of color university chief diversity officers. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, 10(4), 301-317.

Okahana, H., Allum, J., Felder, P. P., & Tull, G. (2016). Implications for practice and research from doctoral initiative on minority attrition and completion. *Washington, DC: Council of Graduate Schools*.

Parker, L. (2015). Critical race theory in education and qualitative inquiry: What each has to offer each other now? *Qualitative Inquiry*, 21(3), 199-205.

Parker, L., & Villalpando, O. (2007). A race(cialized) perspective on education leadership: Critical race theory in educational administration. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, *43*(5), 519-524.

Parmar, B. L., Freeman, R. E., Harrison, J. S., Wicks, A. C., Purnell, L., & De Colle, S. (2010). Stakeholder theory: The state of the art. *Academy of Management Annals*, 4(1), 403-445.

Patton, M. Q. (2015). *Qualitative research and methods: Integrating theory and practice* (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications

Patton, L. D. (2016). Disrupting postsecondary prose: Toward a critical race theory of higher education. Urban Education, 51(3), 315-342.

Pasque, P. A., Khader, L. M., & Still, C. (2017). Critical case study as an imperative for organizational activism and institutional change. *Qualitative inquiry in higher education organization and policy research*, 75-91.

Pfeffer, J., & Salancik, G.R. (2003). *The external control of organizations: A resource dependence perspective*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Plaut, V. C., Thomas, K. M., Hurd, K., & Romano, C. A. (2018). Do color blindness and multiculturalism remedy or foster discrimination and racism? *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 27(3), 200-206.

Price, E. G., Gozu, A., Kern, D. E., Powe, N. R., Wand, G. S., Golden, S., & Cooper, L. A. (2005). The role of cultural diversity climate in recruitment, promotion, and retention of faculty in academic medicine. *Journal of General Internal Medicine*, *20*(7), 565-571.

Pyke, K. D. (2018). Institutional betrayal: Inequity, discrimination, bullying, and retaliation in academia. *Sociological Perspectives*, 61(1), 5-13.

Rankin, S. R., & Reason, R. D. (2005). Differing perceptions: How students of color and White students perceive campus climate for underrepresented groups. *Journal of College Student Development*, *46*(1), 43-61.

Rodriguez, A. J., Morrison, D. (2019) Expanding and enacting transformative meanings of equity, diversity and social justice in science education. *Cultural Studies in Science Education*. 14: 265-281 https://doi.org/10.1007/s11422-019-09938-7

Ryan, A. B. (2006). Post-positivist approaches to research. In M. Antonesa, H. Fallon, A. B. Ryan, A. Ryan, & T. Walsh, with L. Borys, *Researching and writing your thesis: A guide for post graduate students (pp.12–28)*. Maynooth, Ireland: MACE, National University of Ireland. Retrieved from http://eprints.nuim.ie/archive/00000874/.

Santamaría, L. J. (2014). Critical change for the greater good: Multicultural perceptions in educational leadership toward social justice and equity. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, *50*(3), 347-391.

Settles, I. H., Buchanan, N. T., & Dotson, K. (2018). Scrutinized but not recognized:(In) visibility and hypervisibility experiences of faculty of color. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*. 1-13

Smedley, B. D., Myers, H. F., & Harrell, S. P. (1993). Minority-status stresses and the college adjustment of ethnic minority freshmen. *The Journal of Higher Education*, *64*(4), 434 452.

Smith, D. G. (2012). Building institutional capacity for diversity and inclusion in academic medicine. *Academic Medicine*, *87*(11), 1511-1515.

Smith, E., Anderson, J. L., & Lovrich, N. P. (1995). The multiple sources of workplace stress among land-grant university faculty. *Research in Higher Education*, *36*(3), 261-282.

Smith, W. A., Yosso, T. J., & Solórzano, D. G. (2011). Challenging racial battle fatigue on historically White campuses: A critical race examination of race-related stress. In *Covert racism* (pp. 211-237).

Solorzano, D. G. (1998). Critical race theory, race and gender microaggressions, and the experience of Chicana and Chicano scholars. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, *11*(1), 121-136.

Solórzano, D., Ceja, M., & Yosso, T. (2000). Critical race theory, racial microaggressions, and campus racial climate: The experiences of African American college students. *Journal of Negro Education*, 60-73.

Solórzano, D. G., & Yosso, T. J. (2002). Critical race methodology: Counter-storytelling as an analytical framework for education research. *Qualitative inquiry*, 8(1), 23-44.

Solórzano, D. G., & Yosso, T. J. (2002). A critical race counterstory of race, racism, and affirmative action. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, 35(2), 155-168.

Sowell, R., Allum, J., & Okahana, H. (2015). Doctoral initiative on minority attrition and completion. *Washington, DC: Council of Graduate Schools*.

Stanley, C. A. (2014). The chief diversity officer: An examination of CDO models and strategies. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education,* 7(2), 101-108.

Stewart, W. P., & Floyd, M. F. (2004). Visualizing leisure. *Journal of Leisure Research,* 36(4), 445–460.

Tate, K. A., Fouad, N. A., Marks, L. R., Young, G., Guzman, E., & Williams, E. G. (2015). Underrepresented first-generation, low-income college students' pursuit of a graduate education: Investigating the influence of self-efficacy, coping efficacy, and family influence. *Journal of Career Assessment*, *23*(3), 427-441.

Tate, E. D., & Linn, M. C. (2005). How does identity shape the experiences of women of color engineering students? *Journal of Science Education and Technology*, *14*(5-6), 483-493.

Taylor, E. 2000 [2009]. "Critical race theory and interest convergence in the backlash against affirmative action: Washington state and initiative 200." In E. Taylor, D. Gillborn, & G. L. Billings (Eds.) *Foundations of Critical Race Theory in Education*, by, 117–128. New York, NY: Routledge.

Taylor, E., Gillborn, D., & Ladson-Billings, G. (2016). *Foundations of critical race theory in education.* New York, NY: Routledge

Thompson, D. (2013). The 33 Whitest jobs in America. *The Atlantic*. Retrieved from: https://www.theatlantic.com/business/archive/2013/11/the-33-Whitest-jobs inamerica/281180/

Tomlinson, C. A., Brighton, C., Hertberg, H., Callahan, C. M., Moon, T. R., Brimijoin, K., & Reynolds, T. (2003). Differentiating instruction in response to student readiness, interest, and learning profile in academically diverse classrooms: A review of literature. *Journal for the Education of the Gifted*, *27*(2-3), 119-145.

Trenor, J. M., Yu, S. L., Waight, C. L., Zerda, K. S., & Sha, T. L. (2008). The relations of ethnicity to female engineering students' educational experiences and college and career plans in an ethnically diverse learning environment. *Journal of Engineering Education*, *97*(4), 449-465.

Truong, K. A., Museus, S. D., & McGuire, K. M. (2016). Vicarious racism: A qualitative analysis of experiences with secondhand racism in graduate education. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 29(2), 224-247.

Turner, C. S. V., González, J. C., & Wood, J. L. (2008). Faculty of color in academe: What 20 years of literature tells us. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, *1*(3), 139.

Turner, C. S. V., Myers Jr, S. L., & Creswell, J. W. (1999). Exploring underrepresentation: The case of faculty of color in the Midwest. *The Journal of Higher Education*, *70*(1), 27-59.

U.S. Department of Education: National Center for Education Statistics. (2016a) Enrollment rates for selected cohorts, 2015-2016. Retrieved from https://nces.ed.gov/pubs2017/2017150.pdf

U.S. Department of Education: National Center for Education Statistics. (2016b) Degrees conferred for selected cohorts, by race and degree program 2008–13. Retrieved from https://nces.ed.gov/pubs2017/2017150.pdf

Walker, D. E. (1979). *The effective administrator.* San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Walter, A. W., Ruiz, Y., Tourse, R. W. C., Kress, H., Morningstar, B., MacArthur, B., & Daniels, A. (2017). Leadership matters: How hidden biases perpetuate institutional racism in organizations. *Human Service Organizations: Management, Leadership & Governance*, 41(3), 213-221.

Ward, K. M., & Zarate, M. E. (2015). The influence of campus racial climate on graduate student attitudes about the benefits of diversity. *The Review of Higher Education*, *38*(4), 589-617.

Wang, M. T., & Degol, J. L. (2017). Gender gap in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM): Current knowledge, implications for practice, policy, and future directions. *Educational Psychology Review*, *29*(1), 119-140.

Washington, K. N., & Williams Jr, D. E. (2019). Using a role-driven race equity reform approach to mitigate the effects of America's history of racism on food insecurity. *Professional Agricultural Workers Journal*, 7(1), 11.

Welshon, R. (2020). Hate speech on campus: What public universities can and should do to counter weaponized intolerance. *Res Publica*, *26*(1), 45-66.

White, K. (2016). Black lives on campuses matter: reflecting on the rise of the new Black student movement. *Soundings*, *63*(63), 86-97.

Wilensky, H. L. (1964). The professionalization of everyone? *American Journal of Sociology*, *70*(2), 37-58.

Williams, D. A., Berger, J. B., & McClendon, S. A. (2005). *Toward a model of inclusive excellence and change in postsecondary institutions*. Washington, DC: Association of American Colleges and Universities.

Williams, D. A. (2013). *Strategic diversity leadership: Activating change and transformation in higher education*. Sterling, VA: Stylus Publishing, LLC.

Williams, D. A., & Clowney, C. (2007). Strategic planning for diversity and organizational change. *Effective Practices for Academic Leaders*, *2*(3), 1-16.

Williams, D. A., & Wade-Golden, K. C. (2013). *The chief diversity officer*. Sterling, VA: Stylus Publishing, LLC.

Wilson, J. L. (2013). Emerging trend: The chief diversity officer phenomenon within higher education. *The Journal of Negro Education*, *82*(4), 433-445.

Wolfe, B. L., & Dilworth, P. P. (2015). Transitioning normalcy: Organizational culture, African American administrators, and diversity leadership in higher education. *Review of Educational Research*, 85(4), 667-697.

Woods, E. S. (2018). Generating a dissolution process at the university of Missouri: A student perspective. *Journal of Dispute Resolution*, *2018*(2), 2-6.

Worthington, R. L., Stanley, C. A., & Lewis Sr, W. T. (2014). National association of diversity officers in higher education standards of professional practice for chief diversity officers. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, 7(4), 227-234.

Yosso, T. J. (2005). Whose culture has capital? A critical race theory discussion of community cultural wealth. *Race ethnicity and education*, *8*(1), 69-91.

Yosso, T. J., Parker, L., Solorzano, D. G., & Lynn, M. (2004). Chapter 1: From Jim Crow to affirmative action and back again: A critical race discussion of racialized rationales and access to higher education. *Review of Research in Education, 28(1),* 1-25.

Yosso, T., Smith, W., Ceja, M., & Solórzano, D. (2009). Critical race theory, racial microaggressions, and campus racial climate for Latina/o undergraduates. *Harvard Educational Review, 79(4),* 659-691.

APPENDIX A. IRB APPROVAL

PURDUE
U N I V E R S I T Y

HUMAN RESEARCH PROTECTION PROGRAM
INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARDS

To:	LEVON ESTERS LILY
From:	JEANNIE DICLEMENTI, Chair Social Science IRB
Date:	01/29/2019
Committee Action:	Expedited Approval - Category(6) (7)
IRB Approval Date	01/29/2019
IRB Protocol #	1812021435
Study Title	Using Critical Race Theory to Examine Predominantly White Land Grant Universities Use of Chief Diversity Officers
Expiration Date	01/28/2022
Subjects Approved:	10

The above-referenced protocol has been approved by the Purdue IRB. This approval permits the recruitment of subjects up to the number indicated on the application and the conduct of the research as it is approved.

The IRB approved and dated consent, assent, and information form(s) for this protocol are in the Attachments section of this protocol in CoeusLite. Subjects who sign a consent form must be given a signed copy to take home with them. Information forms should not be signed.

Record Keeping: The PI is responsible for keeping all regulated documents, including IRB correspondence such as this letter, approved study documents, and signed consent forms for at least three (3) years following protocol closure for audit purposes. Documents regulated by HIPAA, such as Authorizations, must be maintained for six (6) years. If the PI leaves Purdue during this time, a copy of the regulatory file must be left with a designated records custodian, and the identity of this custodian must be communicated to the IRB.

Change of Institutions: If the PI leaves Purdue, the study must be closed or the PI must be replaced on the study through the Amendment process. If the PI wants to transfer the study to another institution, please contact the IRB to make arrangements for the transfer.

Changes to the approved protocol: A change to any aspect of this protocol must be approved by the IRB before it is implemented, except when necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to the subject. In such situations, the IRB should be notified immediately. To request a change, submit an Amendment to the IRB through CoeusLite.

Continuing Review/Study Closure: No human subject research may be conducted without IRB approval. IRB approval for this study expires on the expiration date set out above. The study must be close or re-reviewed (aka continuing review) and approved by the IRB before the expiration date passes. Both Continuing Review and Closure may be requested through CoeusLite.

Unanticipated Problems/Adverse Events: Unanticipated problems involving risks to subjects or others, serious adverse events, and serious noncompliance with the approved protocol must be reported to the IRB immediately through CoeusLite. All other adverse events and minor protocol deviations should be reported at the time of Continuing Review.

Ernest C. Young Hall, 10th Floor - 155 S. Grant St. - West Lafayette, IN 47907-2114 - (765) 494-5942 - Fax: (765) 494-9911

APPENDIX B. EMAIL INVITATION TO PARTICIPANTS

Using Critical Race Theory to Challenge Predominantly White Land-grant Universities Use of Chief Diversity Officers
Principal Investigator: Levon Esters, Ph.D., Associate Professor
Co-Principal Investigator: Brandon Allen, Doctoral Student
Agricultural Sciences, Education, and Communication
Purdue University

Dear Chief Diversity Officer:

My name is Brandon Allen and I am doctoral candidate in the Agricultural Sciences Education and Communication Department at Purdue University. I am conducting research for my doctoral dissertation and would like to invite you to participate in research study titled, *"Using Critical Race Theory to Challenge Predominantly White Land-grant Universities Use of Chief Diversity Officers."*

The purpose of this study is to use Critical Race Theory to challenge how the CDO position is structured, supported, and authorized at Predominantly White Land-grant Universities as well as the behaviors, attitudes, and practices of the CDOs themselves. As the person who serves as the executive administrator over the overall diversity and inclusion mission of a land-grant university, you are in an ideal position to provide us with valuable insight about your experiences. Specifically, I am looking for full-time administrators who carry the "Chief" title or an equivalent (e.g., Vice President/Provost/Chancellor; "Assistant" Vice Provost/President/Chancellor; "Associate" Vice Provost/President/Chancellor; Director; Dean; or Special Assistant to the president) and serves as the leading authority over the diversity and inclusion narrative, goals, and mission of the university.

Should you choose to accept my invitation, you will be asked to participate in two 60-90 minute interview via video or telephone calling methods. The interviews are expected to be completed between January 7th and April 1st, 2019. Your responses will be kept confidential. Each participant will be assigned a pseudonym to help ensure that personal identifiers are not revealed during the analysis and write-up of findings. Furthermore, the transcripts will be kept in a secure location at Purdue University until the study is complete.

Your participation will be a valuable contribution to my research and could provide a better understanding of the barriers, challenges, and successes of the Chief Diversity Officer position in the context of a land-grant institution. Participation in this study is voluntary and all participants must be at least 18 years or older to participate. If you are willing to participate, please RSVP by contacting allen352@purdue.edu by March 1st and I will provide you with options for the date/time of your interview as well as the location,

For any further questions please contact Dr. Esters or myself at:

Principal Investigator: Levon Esters, Ph.D., Associate Professor

Contact: lesters@purdue.edu; p: 765-494-8423
Co-Principal Investigator: Brandon C. M. Allen, Doctoral Candidate
Contact: allen352@purdue.edu; p: 757-513-8472

Thank you so much for your consideration and I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,
Brandon Allen

APPENDIX C. EMAIL TO PARTICIPANTS WHO AGREED TO PARTICIPATE

Using Critical Race Theory to Challenge Predominantly White Land-grant Universities Use of Chief Diversity Officers
Principal Investigator: Levon Esters, Ph.D., Associate Professor
Contact: lesters@purdue.edu; p: 765-494-8423
Co-Principal Investigator: Brandon C. M. Allen, Doctoral Candidate
Contact: allen352@purdue.edu; p: 757-513-8472
Agricultural Sciences, Education, and Communication
Purdue University

Dear Chief Diversity Officer:

Thank for your interest and agreeing to participate in this study titled *"Using Critical Race Theory to Challenge Predominantly White Land-grant Universities Use of Chief Diversity Officers."*

As mentioned in previous correspondence, the purpose of this study is to use Critical Race Theory to challenge how the CDO position is structured, supported, and authorized at Predominantly White Land-grant Universities as well as the behaviors, attitudes, and practices of the CDOs themselves. As the person who serves as the executive administrator over the overall diversity and inclusion mission of a land-grant university, you are in an ideal position to provide us with valuable insight about your experiences. Specifically, I am looking for full-time administrators who carry the "Chief" title or an equivalent (e.g., Vice President/Provost/Chancellor; "Assistant" Vice Provost/President/Chancellor; "Associate" Vice Provost/President/Chancellor; Director; Dean; or Special Assistant to the president) and serves as the leading authority over the diversity and inclusion narrative, goals, and mission of the university.

Participants of this study agree to partake in two 60-90 minute interview via video or telephone calling methods. The interviews are expected to be completed between January 28th and April 1st, 2019. This email is to set up the interview date and time. Please let me know what date and time works best for your schedule. Feel free to give me a range of dates and times that best meet your needs so that our schedules can be aligned for interview participation. Also prior to the interview, please complete and return the brief attached descriptive survey a week before your interview. Prior to the interview I will send you a copy of the questions that will be asked in the study.

For any further questions please contact Dr. Esters or myself at:

Principal Investigator: Levon Esters, Ph.D., Associate Professor
Contact: lesters@purdue.edu; p: 765-494-8423
Co-Principal Investigator: Brandon C. M. Allen, Doctoral Candidate
Contact: allen352@purdue.edu; p: 757-513-8472

Thank you so much for agreeing to participate in this study and I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Brandon Allen
Brandon Allen, Doctoral Candidate

APPENDIX D. PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

Using Critical Race Theory to Challenge Predominantly White Land-grant Universities Use of Chief Diversity Officers
Principal Investigator: Levon Esters, Ph.D., Associate Professor
Co-Principal Investigator: Brandon Allen, Doctoral Student
Agricultural Sciences, Education, and Communication
Purdue University

Key Information

Please take the time to review this information carefully. This is a research study. Your participation in this study is voluntary which means that you may choose not to participate at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. You may ask questions to the researchers about the study whenever you would like. If you decide to take part in the study, you will be asked to sign this form, be sure you understand what you will do and any possible risks or benefits.

This study will use a Critical Race Theory approach to understand how Predominantly White Land-grant Universities utilize their Chief Diversity Officer position. Participants in this study will hold a "chief" title in charge of diversity and inclusion at their institution. Each participant will participate in two interviews at a time and date that is convenient for the researcher between January 28th, 2019 and April 1st, 2019.

What is the purpose of this study?

The purpose of this study is to use Critical Race Theory to challenge how the CDO position is structured, supported, and authorized, at Predominantly White Land-grant Universities as well as the behaviors, attitudes, and practices of the CDOs themselves. You are invited to participate in this study because you represent an executive administrative position at a land-grant university in charge of overseeing the diversity and inclusion mission the institution. This study will enroll a maximum of 10 CDOs from 1862 land-grant universities to participate in two interviews.

What will I do if I choose to be in this study?

You are to participate in two video or telephone interviews. Each interview will last for approximately 60-90 minutes. Prior to completing an interview, you will complete a brief survey to gather basic demographic information of our participants. A phone number or video conference username will be provided before interviews are conducted.

How long will I be in the study?

Two 60-90 minute interview to be completed between January 28th, 2019 – April 1st, 2019.

What are the possible risks or discomforts?

The risks of participating are minimal and no greater than those encountered in everyday activities. Breach of confidentiality is a risk and the safeguards used to minimize this risk can be found in the confidentiality section. Additionally, discomforts may include being asked questions that make you feel uncomfortable.

Are there any potential benefits?

You understand that there are no direct benefits to you from participating in this study. However, the findings from this study may increase understanding of how Chief Diversity Officers carryout the diversity mission at Predominantly White Land-grant Universities.

This section provides more information about the study

Will information about me and my participation be kept confidential?

The project's research records may be reviewed by the study sponsor/funding agency, Food and Drug Administration (if FDA regulated), US DHHS Office for Human Research Protections, and by departments at Purdue University responsible for regulatory and research oversight.

The transcripts will be kept in a secure location at Purdue University and destroyed once the project is complete. The principal investigator and co-principal investigators will have access to the data. The project's research records may also be reviewed by departments at Purdue University responsible for regulatory and research oversight. Confidentiality of participants will be maintained. Each participant will be assigned a pseudonym as well as their institution. The same pseudonym for the participant and associated institution will be used for all of that participant's materials collected. The researcher will know the identity of the participant but only the pseudonym will be used in data collection. Breach of confidentiality is a risk and the safeguards used to minimize the risk can be found in the confidentiality section. All information will be stored in a locked cabinet in a secured office. Each interview will be transcribed. Each interview will be audio recorded and kept on a micro-usb chip and stored in a locked cabinet. Completed interview recordings and transcripts will be kept 5 years after the study end date. Data records will not be de-identified. No code key will be maintained. Data records will not be used beyond the study end date.

What are my rights if I take part in this study?

Your participation in the study is voluntary. Although we would appreciate you answering all questions as openly and honestly as possible, you may decline to answer any question that makes you feel uncomfortable. If you agree to participate, you may withdraw your participation at any time without penalty. However, if you choose not to participate in this study this will not affect your employment status.

Who can I contact if I have questions about the study?

If you have questions, comments or concerns about this research project, you can talk to one of the researchers. Please contact Levon T. Esters, Ph.D., at lesters@purdue.edu or (765) 494-8439.

To report anonymously via Purdue's Hotline see www.purdue.edu/hotline

If you have questions about your rights while taking part in the study or have concerns about the treatment of research participants, please call the Human Research Protection Program at (765) 494-5942, email (irb@purdue.edu) or write to:

> Human Research Protection Program - Purdue University
> Ernest C. Young Hall, Room 1032
> 155 S. Grant St.
> West Lafayette, IN 47907-2114

Documentation of Informed Consent

I have had the opportunity to read this consent form and have the research study explained. I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the research study, and my questions have been answered. I am prepared to participate in the research study described above. I will be offered a copy of this consent form after I sign it.

_____   _____

      Participant's Signature   Date

_____

      Participant's Name

_____   _____

      Researcher's Signature   Date

APPENDIX E. DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONNAIRE

Using Critical Race Theory to Examine the Chief Diversity Officer Position at 1862 Land-grant Universities
Principal Investigator: Levon Esters, Ph.D., Associate Professor
Contact: lesters@purdue.edu; p: 765-494-8423
Co-Principal Investigator: Brandon C. M. Allen, Doctoral Candidate
Contact: allen352@purdue.edu; p: 757-513-8472
Agricultural Sciences, Education, and Communication
Purdue University

All responses will be kept confidential, and your identity will remain private. Your responses to these questions are optional, but will be extremely helpful in our research. Thank You!

Basic Demographic Information

1. Name:

2. Email Address:

3. Gender (*Please check one*):   Male:_____   Female:_____   Self-Identify (Fill blank):-_____

4. Age: _____

5. Institution:_____

6. Race:_____

7. Indicate the date you were hired in your current position:_____

8. Did you begin your position in an interim status (*Please check one*): Yes_____ No_____

9. What position did you hold prior to your current Chief Diversity Officer position?_____

APPENDIX F. INTERVIEW PROTOCOL 1

Using Critical Race Theory to Examine the Chief Diversity Officer Position at 1862 Land-grant Universities
Principal Investigator: Levon Esters, Ph.D., Associate Professor
Co-Principal Investigator: Brandon C. M. Allen, Doctoral Candidate
Agricultural Sciences, Education, and Communication
Purdue University

All responses will be kept confidential, and your identity will remain private. Your responses to these questions are optional, but will be extremely helpful in our research. Thank You!

(Sources: Chessman & Wayt, 2016; Gagliardi et al., 2017; Nixon, 2013; Parker, 2015; Williams & Wade-Golden, 2013)

General Description of the Chief Diversity Officer Position:

1. Describe the role of Chief Diversity Officer at your land-grant institution.

2. What are your views on the current state of diversity, equity, and inclusion on your campus?

3. Describe your thoughts on your current relationships with faculty and staff as Chief Diversity Officer.

4. Describe your thoughts on your current relationships with student leaders as Chief Diversity Officer.

Challenges and Successes:

5. Describe any general barriers that hinder your office's full reach to fulfill your duties as Chief Diversity Officer?

6. What are some challenges you see for women and underrepresented minority faculty, staff, and students at a Predominantly White Land-Grant University?

7. What are some of the successes related to diversity, equity, and inclusion on your campus?

Prevalence of Racism:

8. Describe how your office acknowledged the history and current trends associated with racism and discrimination, including in the context of being a "land-grant university"? (e.g., removal of racist figure's statues, renaming of buildings with racist past, return of funding to organizations or people with ties to racism, Predominantly White Land-grant University role in discriminatory history)

Accountability and Reporting:

9. What important accountability measures does your institution employ to evaluate the diversity goals.

10. Describe the reporting authority structure as it relates to the Chief Diversity Officer, executive leadership and the broader campus community.

11. How does your university use data to improve their diversity, equity, and inclusion goals?

Diversity in the Educational Mission:

12. Describe how the role racial and gender diversity are embedded within the scope of the overall educational mission of the institution?

APPENDIX G. INTERVIEW PROTOCOL 2

Using Critical Race Theory to Examine the Chief Diversity Officer Position at 1862 Land-grant Universities
Principal Investigator: Levon Esters, Ph.D., Associate Professor
Co-Principal Investigator: Brandon C. M. Allen, Doctoral Candidate
Agricultural Sciences, Education, and Communication
Purdue University

All responses will be kept confidential, and your identity will remain private. Your responses to these questions are optional, but will be extremely helpful in our research. Thank You!

(Sources: Chessman & Wayt, 2016; Gagliardi et al., 2017; Nixon, 2013; Parker, 2015; Williams & Wade-Golden, 2013)

General Description of the Chief Diversity Officer Position:

1. How do you see being at a Predominantly White Land-Grant University affecting your role as CDO?

2. What was your personal motivation for wanting to become a Chief Diversity Officer at a Predominantly White Land-Grant University?

Supporters and Resistors:

3. Which stakeholders do you see as being the most resistant to your efforts as Chief Diversity Officer?

4. Why do you believe the group labeled as the most resistant to the efforts of Chief Diversity Officer remain resistant?

5. Which stakeholders do you see as being the least resistant to your efforts as Chief Diversity Officer?

6. Why do you believe the least resistant to the efforts of Chief Diversity Officer remain supportive of the position?

7. Describe how you manage to bring those who do not support the mission of your office into adopting practices that support diversity and inclusion.

Race and Gender in education:

8. What are the important steps and language needed in crafting a statement of support following an incident related to race and gender?

9. Describe the role historical racism have on recruitment efforts in the Ag+STEM disciplines?

Responding to Incidents:

10. Describe a negative diversity incident on your campus and how you responded to the incident.

Diversity and Recruitment:

11. Describe how you see the role of diversity, equity, and inclusion in the mission and values of a land-grant university?

12. Describe how racial and gender diversity factor in the recruitment of top students and the hiring of exceptional faculty and staff.

VITA

Brandon Allen is a native of Portsmouth, Virginia. Prior to attending Purdue University, he attended Virginia State University for a B.S. in Animal Science and Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University for a M.S. in Animal Science. Brandon also served as an Animal Health Technician and the African American Program Manager for the National Civil Rights and Diversity Leadership Advisory Committee for the U.S. Department of Agriculture: Veterinary Services.

Brandon began his doctoral studies at Purdue University in 2015. Since that time he has served as the Social Media and Marketing Coordinator for Mentoring@Purdue, President of Minorities in Agriculture, Natural Resources, and Related Sciences, and Community Service Chair for the Black Graduate Student Association. Brandon's research interest includes minority-serving institutions, inclusion, equity, and diversity; social justice, and higher education administration. He has published opinion pieces in higher education media including Diverse Issues in Higher Education and HBCU Times. He has also presented his research at conferences such as American Association for Educational Research, the National Conference on Race and Ethnicity, and the Association for the Study of Higher Education.