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DIVERSITY EDUCATION GOALS IN HIGHER EDUCATION:
A POLICY DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

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A DISSERTATION
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DISSERTATION ACCEPTANCE STATEMENT

On behalf of the Graduate Committee for Stuart Swain I affirm that this manuscript is the final and accepted dissertation. Signatures of all committee members are on file with the Graduate School at the University of Maine, 42 Stodder Hall, Orono, Maine.

Dr. Elizabeth Allan, Professor of Higher Education  
April 25, 2013
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DIVERSITY EDUCATION GOALS IN HIGHER EDUCATION: A POLICY DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

By Stuart Swain

Dissertation Advisor: Dr. Elizabeth Allan


Many colleges and universities have established student learning outcomes for diversity education as a part of their broad undergraduate education program. These education goals, developed for assessment purposes or other policies, reflect a range of possible diversity and multicultural learning purposes. The emphasis on some purposes, and the language used to articulate those purposes, potentially focuses or constrains practice. Using a policy discourse analysis methodology, I explore the articulated diversity education goals and the discourses and subject positions they advance. In particular, I consider the institution-wide diversity education goals established at 50 public liberal arts colleges and universities across the United States. I present evidence that dominant discourses of Market and Harmony, weakly countered by alternative discourses of social change, conflict, and disciplinary challenge, produce a limited range of available policy themes and subject positions. I argue that the dominant discourses constrain understandings of the opportunity for diversity education, and they potentially narrow the educational practices available, with impacts especially on the subject positions accessible to students.
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CHAPTER 1

PROBLEM STATEMENT

Diversity in Higher Education Curriculum

Over the past several decades colleges and universities in the United States (US) have grappled with the ways human diversity should be reflected in policies and practices across their operations (Allan, Iverson, & Ropers-Huilman, 2010; Chang, 2005; Garcia et al., 2003; Gurin, Nagda, & Lopez, 2004; Hu-DeHart, 2000, Ibarra, 2001). An earlier focus rooted in the Civil Rights era on advancing racial integration and equal opportunity has shifted to include an emphasis on the interconnection between a diverse community and the development of an education that is reflective and supportive of the full breadth of human experience and perspective (Brown, 2005; LaBelle & Ward, 1994; Smith, 1997).

In particular, over the past two decades, higher education communities have examined the curricular and pedagogical implications of more inclusive educational practices and priorities (Bok, 2006; Bruch, Higbee, & Siaka, 2007; Chang, 2005; Hurtado, Milem, Clayton-Pederen, & Allen, 1999; Sciame-Giesecke, Roden, & Parkison, 2009; Smith, 1997; Talbot, 2003; Wilson, 1999). As a result, for example, over the quarter-century leading up to 2000, the percentage of universities with an explicit diversity component in their general education programs grew from 2% to nearly 18%, according to an analysis of nearly 300 institutions (Brint, Proctor, Murphy, Turk-Bicakci, & Hanneman, 2009). More recently, Bok (2006) reported that a third of all institutions required students to complete a course that includes multiple perspectives. Although
consideration of diversity in curriculum has grown, fundamental questions are just beginning to be addressed, including: how are diversity concepts framed in curriculum, and what are the purposes and impacts of diversity education?

A report on diversity in higher education developed by the Association of American Colleges and Universities (AAC&U) (1995) provides a definition for diversity which in its breadth of conceptualization makes it useful for this study:

[Diversity consists of] the variety created in any society (and within any individual) by the presence of different points of view and ways of making meaning which generally flow from the influence of different cultural and religious heritages, from the differences in how we socialize women and men, and from the differences that emerge from class, age, and developed ability. (p. xx)

Diversity in higher education is generally associated with how such variety is reflected across four dimensions: representation, climate and intergroup relations, education and scholarship, and overall institutional values and structures (Gurin, 2002; Smith, 1997). For this study of curriculum goals, I primarily consider aspects of diversity associated with incorporation into education policies of a plurality of ways of knowing, perspectives, and regard for socialized differences and inequities. Although I focus on the education and associated scholarship dimension, I also consider the intersection of that dimension with the other three cited.

Consideration of diversity in curriculum is often associated with the concept of multiculturalism. Multicultural education may be defined as developing “a state of being in which an individual feels comfortable and communicates effectively with people from any culture, in any situation, because she or he has developed the necessary knowledge
and skills to do so” (Talbot, 2003, p. 426). More broadly, Bennett (2001) described multicultural education as resting on cultural pluralism as a foundational tenet, and advancing social justice and cultural affirmation through educational equity and excellence. Each definition of multicultural education suggests examples of diversity education goals¹ (e.g., student is able to communicate effectively, student has knowledge and skills, and social justice is advanced). In this study, I explore how policy constructions articulate, shape, and ultimately produce understandings of this broad reading of the concept of diversity for educational curricula.

As the articulation of academic objectives and content, curricula are central expressions of the ways in which universities² understand, express, and implement their missions (Association of Governing Boards of Universities and Colleges, 2011; Smith, 1997). As such, the intentional inclusion of diversity into curricula invokes core educational policy questions; for example: What are the content and purposes of human diversity within a program of study? In what ways might the manner in which diversity is manifested in curriculum affect students’ sense of self and relation to others and society? How might consideration of diversity impact fundamental disciplinary assumptions across the academy?

Institutional conceptual framing of diversity provides parameters for the way such questions are answered, and the way diversity is reflected in a curriculum. The research record, reviewed in chapter 2, reveals a range of purposes for, and limitations in, the ways human diversity is included in university curricula. Diversity may be viewed as a

¹ I use the phrase “diversity education goal” to refer to any objective for including consideration of diversity within an educational policy, including, for example, the goal of advancing student multiculturalism, as defined by Talbot (2003).
² I use the term “university” to generically refer to any institution of higher education.
problem or an opportunity, as a social obligation or a mechanism by which to boost national competitiveness, as an individualized value, or a collective responsibility. The underlying motivation directs the scope and priorities of response. For example, equal opportunity in admissions, with an emphasis on removal of inequitable barriers in admissions, grew from a desegregation mindset (AAC&U, 1995). As the impulse shifted from desegregation—the removal of overtly discriminatory practices—to a more proactive integrationist motivation, affirmative action as an implementation practice grew through the 1970s. In both cases, however, the focus was on the composition of the college-going population, and its distributed representation. Thus, university attention centered on admissions practices and related recruitment issues (Smith, 1997).

The motivations and purposes for diversity education policies frame the nature and scope of program design and implementation. To understand the policy implications of diversity initiatives, it is useful to examine the goals expressed through university policy. For example, knowing that a course objective is to celebrate the variety of students’ cultural backgrounds provides insights into the range of activities that might be considered by the instructor, and their potential impact, both intended and unintended.

In this study I seek to advance understanding of the variety of educational conceptualizations, within higher education policies, for the meaning and purpose of diversity in curricula. Specifically, I examine the expressed diversity goals of general education curricula across a sector of higher education. As the program of study experienced by all undergraduate students, the general education curriculum is a university’s bedrock curriculum, with broad implications for student intellectual and cognitive development (Musil, 2006). As such, it is a prominent expression of overall
university mission, values, and objectives (Glenn, 2009; Johnson, Ratcliff, & Gaff, 2004). For university communities interested in building strong themes of diversity, and certainly for those committed to developing student understanding of issues pertaining to diversity, general education design is a vital component of any broad diversity agenda (Mayhew, Grunwald, & Dey, 2005). Although diversity learning goals may be advanced in the curriculum of the major field of study and in individual courses, the role of diversity in the general education curriculum is a fundamental expression of the intent of the university.

The current emphasis on formal assessment and accountability protocols in higher education makes inquiry into the positioning of diversity all the more critical. The assessment process, rooted in the establishment of standardized testing in the first half of the 1900s, has been gaining momentum over recent decades with the increasing emphasis on educational accountability (Barnett, 2004; Buzzetto-More & Alade, 2006; Milliken, 2004; Shavelson, 2007; Suspitsyna, 2010a). At its core, assessment methods tie curriculum to explicitly articulated learning outcomes, objectives, goals, or standards (Buzzetto-More & Alade, 2006; Moss, Osborn, & Kaufman, 2008). Similar to benchmarking in strategic planning, methods of educational assessment strive to measure the extent to which student learning meets the goals of the established learning outcomes (Astin et al., 1993).

In basing curriculum on articulated learning outcomes, assessment methodology positions these outcomes to serve as the educational ends toward which curriculum and pedagogy strive, and against which their efficacy is assessed (Shavelson, 2007). As such, exploring the meanings and implications of educational outcomes may reveal prominent
ways diversity in education is being conceived and implemented through policy. The very identification and cementing of such learning goals in policy clarifies purposes, but it also perhaps restricts questions and narrows potential conceptions (Allan, 2008).

In sum, inquiry into the framing of diversity education goals provides insights into their potential policy impacts on the educational experience and as an expression of university priorities. The importance of diversity to university curricula, the widespread adoption of learning outcomes identification to define curriculum, and the high stakes for the individuals affected by curriculum implementation—all three factors make this investigation relevant and applicable to future policy considerations. Moreover, to the extent that higher education is a voice in shaping societal understandings and values, the curricular expression of diversity is influential well beyond that key role it plays within university communities and directly on students (Altbach, Lomotey, & Kyle, 1999; American Association of State Colleges and Universities [AASCU], 2003; Usher & Edwards, 1994).

**The Developing Role of Diversity in Curriculum**

The societal trends spurring much of the commitment to diversity are in many ways only accelerating. For example, the increasing demographic heterogeneity of the US will raise the prominence of institutional efforts to reflect and respond to historically underrepresented populations (Bowman, 2011; Hu-DeHart, 2000; Hurtado, 2006; Ramirez, 1996/2000; Talbot, 2003). Technology and international trade practices place pressures on higher education to prepare students to engage in a globalized and rapidly changing world (Barnett, 2004; Friedman, 2007; Hu & St. John, 2001). For example, in a 2006 survey commissioned by AAC&U of executive officers of 305 mid- to large-size
companies, approximately three-fourths responded that higher education should “place more emphasis” on “global issues,” “teamwork skills in diverse groups,” and “intercultural knowledge” (Peter D. Hart Research Associates, 2006, p. 2).

Building a student educational experience that is more representative of the breadth of human diversity has taken many forms across universities. The growth of programs and courses in African American studies and women’s studies, or more broadly in racial and gender perspectives, epitomizes the formal curricular additions (Allan, 2011; LaBelle & Ward, 1994; Sleeter & Grant, 1999). Moreover, some changes have altered existing curricula in addition to augmenting them (Musil, Garcia, Moses, & Smith, 1995). For example, courses in Western civilization or history have widely been replaced with courses emphasizing a more broadly defined world heritage. The literary touchstones of past college English courses have been supplemented, and at times replaced, with works reflecting more fully the range of human standpoints. Faculty, students, and interested groups are considering ways in which human diversity can and should be reflected in the topics and approaches of college courses (Smith, 1997; Wilson, 1999).

Additionally, researchers have documented the positive impact that the development of a diverse student body has for all students’ learning (Bowman, 2010, 2011; Gurin, Nagda, & Lopez, 2004; Marin, 2000). The Supreme Court’s finding in Grutter v. Bollinger (2003) rested, in large part, on the educational advantages of having a widely diverse student body, with a “critical mass” of minority students (despite ongoing judicial forestalling of fixed numerical means of achieving a racially diverse entering class). This emphasis reflects a broadening from a focus on equal opportunity and redress of historical oppression to include the goal of enhancing educational
effectiveness for all students through attention to educational climate and diverse learning environments and perspectives (Bensimon, 2004; Brown, 2005; Hurtado, Griffin, Arellano, & Cuellar, 2008; LaBelle & Ward, 1994; Smith, 1997). As such, issues of diversity are placed squarely within the realm of educational experience. In this context, I believe it is vital to inquire into the ways policy is currently framing diversity as an educational goal. The range of operational meanings and purposes are reflected in Chang’s (2005) observation, “Unfortunately, today the concept of diversity is poorly differentiated in higher education, and its goals and impact on students are neither readily apparent nor well understood” (p. 6). This study is designed to shed light on the ways diversity education goals are understood in practice, and the resulting impacts on students.

The Frames of Diversity

The conceptual context in which an institution, or a society, places a social phenomenon will drive its response toward it. Specifically, policies, through their explicit directives, but also through their implicit assumptions and inherent purposes—intended or not—craft social relations and individuals’ potential sense of self and others (Allan, 2008, 2010; Ayers, 2005; Baez, 2004; Code, 1991; Ellsworth & Miller, 1996; Hicks, 1995; Luke, 1995). To cite a prominent example outside of education, shifting the policy frame in which alcoholism is understood from one of individualized moral lapses to one of disease and public health alters both an individual’s understanding of the phenomenon and a society’s (or institution’s) sense of available responses (Cloud, 2011). Certain established qualitative methodologies provide for analysis of the role linguistic expression plays in both reflecting and advancing social realities (Allan, 2008, 2010;
Apple, 1999; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Fairclough, 1995; Luke, 1995; Marshall, 2000). Applications of these methods can provide insights into the implications for certain policy articulations as well as inform consideration of the societal frames that bring such particular constructions about.

At its most fundamental level, how an issue is framed can define whether it is understood as a “problem” at all and, if so, the nature of the problem. For example, as Allan (2003) outlined, how society frames violence against women—as an issue of “women’s safety” or one of “male violence”—will shape personal and institutional relationships to the issue and, inevitably, the set of available responses. Even societal recognition of a phenomenon, noting some aspect of human experience as meaningful (e.g., naming it), precedes an identification of problems, which in turn leads to questions of how the problem is identified or framed. For example, as Foucault (1978) explored, identifying homosexuality as a meaningful category placed in a dichotomous relationship with an understanding of heterosexuality, creates meaning and categorization. The naming and contextualizing of a phenomenon provides structuring for the concept relative to other societal-identified phenomena.

In a similar manner, the priorities produced by policies on diversity education goals reflect the general state of the conversation on diversity occurring within higher education. The policies can serve as a window into dominant impulses and understandings (Iverson, 2008; Luke, 1995). These expressions of institutionalized purpose both reflect developing societal values and actively shape them (Allan, 2003; Hicks, 1995). Therefore, a study of the purposes underlying diversity in curriculum
policy imparts information on the broader impulses and emerging values—both within higher education and as a reflection of society generally.

For example, curriculum designs recognizing the inclusion of international students that rest on assumptions growing from a “melting pot” metaphor for immigration may be very different from designs growing from a “tapestry” characterization for an ever-shifting, pluralistic society. In the former case, classroom practices might stress communal experiences that strive to build consensus, likely built around the dominant cultural norms and expectations. In contrast, designs built on an implicit understanding of the ends of immigration being the construction of a multi-hued tapestry might stress open-ended sharing of traditions and norms, with expectation of enriching community through extolling differences rather than homogenizing them. In either case, the roles available for the individual student, particularly an immigrant student who is experiencing the social effects of the curriculum, will be very different. Indeed, under both metaphors, identical activities may be proposed. The assumptions, however, undergirding the policies will shape the actual implementation and social reality experienced by the students. The unstated purposes and assumptions will animate the actions with meaning.

Previous researchers have utilized a type of discourse analysis to investigate similar questions. Such an approach sheds light on the discourses and subject positions that, wittingly or not, are advanced by certain policy designs and articulations. As described by Allan (2003, 2008, 2010), a discourse analysis of policy combines post-structural, feminist, and critical methodologies in qualitative interpretation of written texts.
For example, Allan (2003) employed policy discourse analysis to explore the discourses advanced through the policy recommendations of university women’s commissions. She analyzed ways discourses, for example, of distress, professionalism, and access are implicit in the reports, and have an impact on individuals’ sense of identity within society. Iverson’s (2008) policy discourse analysis of university diversity action plans revealed discourses based on the concepts of marketplace, democracy, excellence, and managerialism. She examined the implications for students’ developing sense of identity as they respond to such discourses. Allan’s and Iverson’s discursive analyses reveal examples of equity initiatives resulting in potentially unintended consequences. Marshall (2000) used discourse analysis as part of her examination of the power and persistence of individuals to access discourses counter to those dominant in society, in their efforts to expand gender equity policies in education. Suspitsyna (2010b) employed feminist discourse analysis to reveal a neoliberal market discourse within US Department of Education statements, dominating more traditional discursive conceptualizations of higher education. Ayers’ (2005) examination of community college mission statements also exposes the production a dominant neoliberal discourse. Fraser (1985/1989) explored the gendered subject positions advanced through the discourses of welfare policies.

This investigation extends such a methodological blend to the analysis of diversity in curriculum construction and articulation. I believe the investigation complements previous policy discourse scholarship, as well as adds to the broad literature on diversity theory and practice in higher education.
Research Questions and Significance

In sum, in this investigation I explore the societal meanings and intents—the discursive positioning—of diversity objectives in curriculum. I designed the research to inform the higher education community of the diversity education’s potential impact, scope, and limitations. The inquiry places diversity policies within the broader conversation, as one element among competing forces that shape ever-changing societal values and social practices. Overall, it is timely, as Foucault (1984a) advised in articulating the purpose of thought, to “step back” from the stated practice of diversity in the curriculum and “question it as to its meaning, its conditions, and its goals” (p. 388).

The specific research questions framing this investigation are: **What goals do public baccalaureate liberal arts universities articulate for diversity education, including their policy on the ways students learn as well as their expressed outcomes for diversity learning?** **What dominant and alternative discourses produce the policy stances?** **What subject positions do these discourses make possible and promote through policy?** I focused on baccalaureate liberal arts institutions because they form a sector of higher education likely open to consideration of issues of diversity within the curriculum (Brint et al., 2009; Gudeman, 2000). I am particularly interested in public institutions since they share a mission of expanding access to higher education and responding to statewide needs (Spellman, 2010). As such, they hold close connections with the communities they serve, both reflecting and helping shape broad perspectives (AASCU, n.d.). I selected baccalaureate institutions since they were likely to have established curriculum policy that spans the undergraduate level, which may provide greater scope for considering the
circulating discourses and their effects. As I discuss in the final chapter, other sectors of higher education are likewise important to consider in future research.

The research findings, discussed in later chapters, include an inventory of the explicit goals of diversity education policies across this sector of higher education. The research methodology leads to conclusions on the implied priorities being advanced for diversity education, including the identification of certain potential policy gaps and assumptions. I discuss my finding that promulgation of the identified diversity education goals reflect and advance dominant discourses which I characterize as discourses of Market and of Harmony. The analysis includes exploration of these discourses within the arena of diversity education policy-making. I additionally consider the implications for the students impacted by these educational policies—how their roles are being envisioned and shaped by diversity curriculum designs. The study concludes with observations on these findings in light of other current discursive analyses of higher education, and consideration of applications of these findings for future policy development and educational practices, as well as potential topics for future research.
CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEW

This policy discourse analysis of diversity objectives in education policy builds on the existing research about contexts, purposes, and practices of diversity in education. The research record provides significant insights into the ways diversity is made manifest both in theory and in practice. Recalling the previously cited AAC&U definition of diversity, I consider the research into the ways in which the varieties of human perspectives, ways of making meaning, and socially constructed lived experiences might be, and are considered, through educational practices. In this chapter, I specifically review the scholarship shaping current understandings of the purposes and limitations of diversity in curriculum and instruction. This research summary informs my later analysis of the diversity education goals in the current study. I then introduce the methodology and conceptual frameworks that guide my research methods.

Research on Diversity in the Curriculum

Education curricula, being the programmatic structure of the collegiate education mission, are central to advancing diversity goals, whether from the vantage of equal opportunity concerns, improving campus climate, or building institutional transformation toward a pluralistic community (Mayhew et al., 2005; Smith, 1997). As I illustrate in the following literature review, the purposes and scope for diversity as an element of curriculum and pedagogy vary widely. For example, Munoz (1997) stated, “There’s been a shift from talking about power, inequality, and oppression to talking about ethnicity and diversity” (p. 181). Implicit in such an observation is that there are multiple, and perhaps
conflicting or evolving, discourses available to shape our understanding and implementation of diversity agendas.

To inform the study of current curricular discourses of diversity, in this section, I explore the ways researchers have developed frameworks by which to consider the purposes and implementations of diversity within the curriculum. To begin, I examine the research on the reasons and means expressed to advance diversity in students’ educational experiences. I then review the factors that research suggests impede these goals. The purposes and means of implementation inform my discussion of the lenses through which diversity in the curriculum may be viewed, in light of the blend of methodologies framing this study. I conclude with my thoughts on the implications for this research project.

**Purposes of Diversity in Higher Education Curriculum**

Baez (2000) places diversity into a conceptual frame useful for its consideration as an educational endeavor in stating that “diversity refers to a movement or process aimed at understanding social differences” (p. 43). The research record reveals a range of means and purposes by which an understanding of such human diversity may impact curriculum and the student experience of higher education (Allan, Iverson, & Ropers-Huilman, 2010; Baez, 2000; Bennett, 2001; Bok, 2006; Bowman, 2011; Bruch, Higbee, & Siaka, 2007; Chang, 2005; Denson, 2009; Hu-DeHart, 2000; Hurtado et al., 1999; Sciame-Giesecke et al., 2009; Smith, 1997; Talbot, 2003; Wilson, 1999). In this section I explore this research by examining the primary areas of impact that researchers and practitioners have identified for diversity as an educational process.
Inclusion of Content. Given American demographic trends, higher education will serve an increasingly diverse population in coming years (Barnett, 2004; Bowman, 2010; Hu-DeHart, 2000; Denson, 2009; Talbot, 2003). Commonly, higher education curriculum has not reflected the knowledge, content, cultural heritages, and perspectives relevant or prominent for many students (Harper & Hurtado, 2007; Musil et al., 1995; Smith, 1997). At a minimum, curricular diversification includes broadening the perspective of a curriculum to include content and viewpoints previously overlooked or devalued. Nearly all universities now include within the curriculum courses that directly address aspects of human diversity (Bok, 2006; Bruch, Higbee, & Siaka, 2007; Hurtado et al., 1999).

Research indicates that inclusion of material drawn from multiple cultures, societal viewpoints, and traditions serves all students, both in providing a broader knowledge base and in affirming the value of content that has been undervalued by the dominant culture (Chang, 2005; Talbot, 2003; Wilkinson & Rund, 2000). For example, McCullough and Meltzer (2001) studied the effect gender-sensitive language has in a widely used standardized collegiate exam. By rephrasing questions to broaden the contexts beyond those suggestive of gendered knowledge, women achieved significantly better scores, as did many men. Many universities have developed courses, programs, and departments to reflect perspectives of diverse populations (LaBelle & Ward, 1994; Sciame-Giesecke et al., 2009; Wilson, 1999). Several observers cited the prominence of institutional values in framing diversity goals in education (Bensimon, 2005; Bok, 2006; Hurtado et al., 1999; McCormick, 1994; Ramirez, 1996/2000; Shaw, Champeau, & Amino, 2009; Tierney, 1993). As Bok (2006) observed, attempts to incorporate diverse
perspectives and content in the curriculum accomplish little without diversity being an established, over-arching value of the university.

Advancing Students’ Understanding and Attitudes. Many researchers emphasize the role of a diverse curriculum and pedagogy in advancing students’ understanding and attitudes to matters of difference, including issues of racism and sexism, privilege, and oppression (Chang, 2005; Denson, 2009; Garcia et al., 2003; Gurin et al., 2002; Harper & Hurtado, 2007; Tatum, 1992). These learning experiences place knowledge for students in the context of historical inequalities while promoting the opportunities implicit in a diverse community and society. For example, women’s studies courses are associated with: (a) the effective development of students’ ability to express well considered and independent views; (b) confidence in asserting themselves; (c) critical thinking ability; and (d) a sense of community responsibility (Smith, 1997).

When dialogue on such topics is advanced in an integrated learning environment multiple researchers have found that all students benefit cognitively and affectively (Antonio et al., 2004; Bowman, 2010, 2011; Chang, 2005; Chatman, 2008; Denson, 2009; Gudeman, 2000; Gurin, Nagda, & Lopez, 2004; Hurtado et al., 1999; Marin, 2000; Nagda 2006; Smith, 1997; Witenberg, 2000). Multiple studies demonstrate that such educational gains are linked to rich interpersonal experiences built on common goals and equality of status, beyond simple inclusion of diverse groups in a single learning environment (Bowman, 2011; Bowman and Denson, 2011; Hurtado, 2006; Hurtado et al., 2008; Hurtado et al., 1999; LaBelle and Ward, 1994). As noted by Antonio et al. (2004), students in such settings more fully gain an ability to “differentiate and integrate multiple perspectives and dimensions” (p. 508). Similarly, Ellsworth and Miller (1996) referred to
the educational practice of “working difference,” meaning students “engaging with and responding to the fluidity and malleability of identities and difference, of refusing fixed and status categories of sameness or permanent otherness” (p. 247).

These researchers stress the importance of considering the overall university climate, defined by Garcia et al. (2003) as the nature of social interaction both across and within groups, as experienced by, as well as defined by, students. Curriculum goals associated with such cognitively challenging considerations of social complexity and constructions of difference may reflect institutionalized commitments to diverse ways of knowing and interacting. In this setting, the meanings attributed to social difference—as powerful, but shifting, markers of identity and cultural significance—may be explored. Meacham (2009) cautioned that such learning objectives must be approached in a thorough and thoughtful manner. For example, if inclusion of certain perspectives is seen by students as incidental or supplemental, the experience may only reinforce the perspectives’ marginality to dominant norms. When, however, diversity education is developed in a context of university-wide commitment and deep intergroup interaction, as Denson’s (2009) meta-analysis supports, student belief systems do show development. Specifically his study revealed a measurable reduction in student bias. Conversely, a blatantly harmful climate such as one marked by intended or unintended discrimination, including acts of overt aggression and exclusion as well as subtler community priorities and communications, results in student alienation, isolation, and damage to academic achievement, if not worse (Harper & Hurtado, 2007; Hurtado, 1992; Hurtado, Carter, & Kardia, 1998; Marshall, 2000; Solorzano & Yosso, 2003; Wilkinson & Rund, 2000).
Additionally, more subtle forms of an oppressive climate can negatively impact students. For example, Tierney (1996) cautions that those in academia too often fail to understand that the cultural norms of higher education—the unspoken assumptions, orientations, and rituals, reflecting those dominant in our society—are at odds with the cultures of many students. Attempts to bridge such mismatches are frequently superficial (e.g., food festivals or international events) and often ultimately merely reinforce a centering of White, middle class, heterosexual culture, while minimizing elemental differences (Gore, 1993; Kenyatta & Tai, 1997, Rothenberg, 2007). Conversely, Bowman’s (2010, 2011) meta-analyses of the research supports the conclusion that constructive educational engagement in a racially diverse setting has a positive effect on students’ overall values and attitudes, including commitments to civic engagement.

Success in a Diverse World. Within and outside the academy, the need to prepare students for success in a diverse world after graduation is a prominent goal of coursework reflective of human diversity. Gurin et al. (2004), for example, found through a control group comparison study that “students who interact with diverse students in classrooms and in the broad campus environment will be more motivated and better able to participate in a heterogeneous and complex society” (p. 19). Graduates will be part of an increasingly multiracial, multicultural, and heterogeneous society over coming decades. Researchers and theorists conclude that university curricula need to prepare all student populations to effectively communicate and succeed across professions and as citizens within a diverse society (Green, 2001; P. Gurin, Dey, Hurtado, & G. Gurin, 2002 Hu & St. John, 2001; Hurtado, 2006; Hurtado et al., 1999; Ramirez, 1996/2000; Smith, 1997).
As evidenced in the multiple corporate and military affidavits filed in support of various university affirmative action plans during the 2003 and 2012 Supreme Court cases (Fisher v. University of Texas at Austin, 2012; Gratz v. Bollinger, 2003, Grutter v. Bollinger, 2003), the role of higher education in effectively introducing students to life in a diverse society is widely recognized across US society. Corporations express an economic interest in the preparation of students to effectively function in the increasingly globalized economy. They increasingly realize this cannot be achieved under the relatively narrow perspectives of conventional coursework (Gurin et al., 2002; Rothenberg, 2007).

**Cognitive Development and Personal Growth.** A number of studies document the impact of diverse educational experiences on students’ cognitive development and personal growth (Bowman, 2010; Chang, 2005; Garcia et al., 2003; Gurin et al., 2004; Hurtado, 2006; Laird, 2005; Marin, 2000; Talbot, 2003). As such, intellectual maturity is, in of itself, a purpose for diversity in the university curriculum. The mental challenges inherent in questioning fundamental assumptions support the development of students’ higher-level thinking skills (Garcia et al., 2003; Gurin et al., 2004, Tatum, 1992). The analysis of Gurin et al. (2002) of longitudinal survey results concluded that diverse learning environments associated with consideration of the differences in how people think, feel, and experience the world, result in higher-order learning outcomes.

Drawing on the theories of Erikson (1968) and others, they point out that late adolescence, the age of many college students, is developmentally a critical time for addressing the cognitive challenges of identity formation. In a recent meta-analysis of the research, Bowman (2010) found “strong evidence that …diversity experiences…are
positively related to cognitive development” (p. 22), including critical thinking and problem solving ability. In addition to intellectual growth, experience engaging with diverse perspectives is linked with improving students’ ability to understand multiple views, to communicate, and to interact effectively with others (Chang, 2005; Marin, 2000). Chang (2005) concluded from his experimentally designed research that engaging diversity across the curriculum can be a powerful “educational tool to promote all students’ learning and development” (p. 11).

These researchers link the cognitive growth resulting from an education rich in diversity with established theories of cognitive development. These theories posit that students’ mental growth develops from attempting to resolve the disequilibrium resulting from cognitive dissonance (Chickering, 1969; Gurin et al., 2002; Gurin et al., 2004; Laird, 2005). Such dissonance can grow from constructively grappling with diverse perspectives in an educational setting (Antonio et al., 2004; Chang, 2005). The growth in ability to use complex thinking has been associated by Bloom (1984) with students’ abilities to successfully engage in increasingly involved educational objectives, from knowledge through synthesis and evaluation. Pederson (1988) developed a corresponding model of increasing multicultural competence, across dimensions of awareness, knowledge, and skill, reflecting various domains of engagement (affective to behavioral). The research findings associate meaningful diversity education and multicultural competence with both the advancement and use of higher-level thinking skills (Chang, 2005; Garcia et al., 2003; Gurin et al., 2002; Gurin et al., 2004; Newmann, 2012; Tatum, 1992).
In addition to cognitive development, research associates personal development, including emotional, self-identity, and affective growth, with student experiences in curricula that emphasizes meaningful engagement with diversity (Denson 2009; Ford, 2012; Gurin et al., 2002; Laird, 2005; Pederson, 1988; Smith, 1997; Tatum, 1992; Witenberg, 2000). This scholarship documents the connection between emotional states, reflective of the strength of the social constructions, and student consideration of diversity in society. Bowman and Denson (2011) concluded from their qualitative study that development of emotional aspects of interracial dialogue coincides with advancing other outcomes associated with diversity in education. As an example in the affective realm, Denson (2009) found, through a meta-analysis of the research, that curricular and co-curricular diversity activities are associated with a reduction in student racial bias. Further, Ford’s (2012) study found an association between critical diversity education and White students’ “transition from affective immobilization to mobilization and (eventually) action” (p. 150).

In summary, when structured in a comprehensive, supportive learning environment, student engagement with multiple perspectives has been shown to boost overall development, cognitively, emotionally, and affectively.

Connecting these social constructions to power imbalances in society, course curricula provide opportunities to address political questions inherent to such analyses, including concerns with inequities across class, race, and gender. When course activities directly address inequality and privilege associated with race, sex, sexual orientation, class, and ableism, students are more likely to recognize, reflect on, and address oppression in society (Garcia et al., 2003; Hurtado et al., 1999). Therefore, diversity may be incorporated into curricula for the purpose of preparing students to take a stand and effectively confront racism, sexism, and other manifestations of oppression in society. However, in a study of the context in which liberal arts colleges address global learning, Musil (2006) reported that the vast majority of institutions focus on cultural realms rather than “such issues as economic disparities, environmental sustainability, health, and HIV/AIDS, security, human rights” (p. 3). In the absence of such a context for diversity, consideration of difference risks being a narrow “celebration” of multiple heritages, disembodied from political and societal realities (Rothenberg, 2007).

The Nature of Disciplinary Thought. Courses addressing the ways in which a society creates meaning from, and passes on judgments concerning, the ranges of human diversity (i.e., the social construction of difference) have multiple benefits for students, well beyond introducing what may be new ways for them to consider the dynamics within their society. These courses provide the opportunity to reexamine the assumptions, priorities, and methods of disciplinary practice. Many critical theorists assert that the disciplines as currently established within universities are derived from the interests and worldviews of the historically dominant sectors of Western society (Alfred, 2004; Apple, 1999; Kincheloe, 2008; Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1993; Luke, 1995; Nkomo,
Frequently, course curricula, which can be understood as conveying socially sanctioned knowledge (Keller, 1985; McCormick, 1994; Rosser, 1986, 1990; Shaw et al., 2009; Smith, 1999; Usher & Edwards, 1994), fail to reflect the interests and views of oppressed groups; they minimize the value of potentially competing paradigms that counter dominant societal voices (Bensimon, 1995; Kincheloe, 2008; Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1993; McCarthy et al., 2003; Musil et al., 1995; Schiebinger, 2001; Simpson, 2003; Smith, 1999). Significantly absent are perspectives rooted in the many cultures distinct from the dominant Western, modernist narrative (Shaw et al., 2009; Smith, 1999).

This observation suggests that rather than just emphasizing the inclusion of marginalized persons and content into curricula, universities might advance scholarship, as well as student growth, by fostering constructive tensions that develop in having disciplinary assumptions and priorities challenged by multiple views and ways of thinking (Bloland, 1995/2000; Hurtado, 2006; Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1993; McCarthy et al., 2003; McCormick, 1994; Nkomo, 1992/2000; Tierney, 2001; Willis, 1995). In particular, diversity goals in curriculum might include inquiry into disciplinary assumptions, construction, and unspoken biases. Effectively advancing such goals requires a questioning of bedrock assumptions, with resulting change at fundamental levels, including revision of disciplinary values and paradigms hitherto rarely questioned (Apple, 1999; Baszile, 2008; Chang, 2005; Harper & Hurtado, 2007; Hurtado et al., 1999; Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1993; McCarthy et al., 2003; McCormick, 1994; Ng, 1997; Rothenberg, 2007; Smith, 1997; Tierney, 2001; Usher & Edwards, 1994; Wilkinson &
As Shaw et al. (2009) observed, it requires faculty and students to “think about knowledge production as a socially constructed process in which power, privilege, and difference shape and maintain disciplines in their current forms” (p. 4).

As an example of such a phenomenon, Musil (2006) observed that many institutions have found that the traditional disciplinary structures inhibit the advancement of global learning, which, he found, rests on interweaving interdisciplinary studies. As articulated by critical scholars of pedagogy, teaching practices that emphasize diverse modes of thought lead students to understand that ways of knowing are not universal or pre-determined, nor are they neutral in their impact on systems of power (Gore, 1993; Kincheloe, 2008). Schiebinger (2001) recommended that disciplinary goals and outcomes be made subject to explicit educational inquiry. Students should be challenged, for instance, to consider who benefits from dominant disciplinary paradigms and who stands to gain by particular theories and constructs. In such forms, diversity goals may therefore forefront for students that disciplines, knowledge, and inquiry are fundamentally social endeavors, subject to the same contested forces as other social constructions.

Various analytical frames provide means of challenging and broadening existing disciplinary regimes of thought. A feminist pedagogy emphasizes the elements of gender inequality related to a field of study and the ways gendered knowledge is produced as a result of a discipline (Allan, 2011; Collins, 1990; Gore, 1993; Keller, 1985; McCormick, 1994; Schiebinger, 1999, 2001; Shulman, 2001; Weiler, 1991). A critical reading of curriculum identifies and challenges the interests served by the production of knowledge,
thereby revealing fundamental inequalities perpetuated through it (Allan, 2011; Alfred, 2004; Baszile, 2008; Bensimon, 1995; Bensimon & Marshall, 1997; Bruch, Higbee, & Siaka, 2007; Harding, 1993; Simpson, 2003). Such frameworks raise questions about how disciplines and inquiry would be shaped if they were designed to serve disadvantaged students and challenge systems of power and privilege.

A number of researchers and theorists conclude, therefore, that truly improving the overall climate and advancing higher education’s mission to broadly advance learning for a pluralistic society presents deep challenges to the status quo. Such inquiries have implications for disciplinary and curricular construction, well beyond issues of equitable treatment and campus climate. The now longstanding emphasis in diversity programs on issues of access and diversity awareness do not necessarily address such questions about elemental norms and their underlying power differences. For example, Solorzano and Yosso (2003) cited an underlying White and male privilege as inherent to the fiber of higher education overall, within the construction of disciplines and beyond, as a reflection of the broader society. As such, the structures, values, and cultures of these organizations reflect and uphold systems of privilege and oppression. Bensimon (1995) illustrated this in exploring an unspoken assumption underlying “equal opportunity” initiatives: affirmative action methods tend to emphasize one-way benefit (i.e., opportunities extended to those previously excluded), thereby reinforcing power differentials (e.g., a bestowal of favor), and societal norms (e.g., expectations of adaptation to majority culture). By way of example, she pointed out that seldom is full inclusion of gay men and lesbians justified on the basis that otherwise the community would lose a vital and central societal thread. Bensimon (2005) presents an
organizational learning model in which to consider shifting institutional cognitive frames. She describes reflective consideration of educational outcomes to move institutions from “diversity” and “deficit” cognitive frames (which emphasize representation aspects and stereotypical needs of underrepresented students) to an “equity” frame, which focuses on addressing institutional practices that sustain inequities. Likewise, Tierney (1996) challenged the higher education community to consider the nature of “acculturation,” as currently forcing marginalized groups to fit the norms of the academy rather than adjusting norms to reflect a truly pluralistic, multicultural world.

Many researchers and practitioners describe stages of institutional transformation resulting in foundational change in assumptions and purposes that reflect and support pluralistic perspectives (Bensimon, 2004; Harper & Hurtado, 2007; Hurtado et al., 2008; Rothenberg, 2007; Talbot, 2003). Faculty and students will little value isolated exercises to advance diversity when they are not a reflection of a larger institutional commitment (Shaw et al., 2009). In part, a diverse student body and staff are themselves expressions of institutional values, as well as a critical means toward advancing diverse perspectives on campus (Hurtado et al., 1999; McCormick, 1994). Beyond diverse representation, Hurtado et al. urged campus leadership at all levels to recognize diversity as an essential component of academic excellence. Similarly, Ramirez (1996/2000) and Tierney (1993) concluded that committing to diversity as a core university goal, in the context of honoring and respecting differences, without attempting to totalize them, best fosters communities of shared inquiry.

In conclusion, there are multiple purposes and visions for the role of diversity in the curriculum. While not mutually exclusive, these purposes advance different
conceptualizations of the nature and role of diversity in education. As Baez (2004) noted, the purposes and the benefits that are emphasized for diversity in education reflect underlying discourses that frame broader societal conceptions of difference. When advanced through policy, these underlying discourses, reflected through the expressed purposes in policy, shape the education that students experience.

**Limitations to Implementing Diversity Education Goals**

The hurdles faced in the higher education implementation of broad diversity goals in the curriculum are multiple and significant. The research summarized below suggests that multi-layered structural resistance to diversity constrains policy impact and limits the success of curriculum initiatives. These impediments reflect the societal discursive framing of these diversity objectives. As such, the research on the challenges of curricular diversity implementation informs my inquiry into the broader discursive framing of diversity curriculum goals.

Students of a privileged background often resist diverse material and orientations. Research indicates that attitudes are particularly dependent on the range of positions, attitudes, and experience such students bring to a course (Baszile, 2008; Bowman & Denson, 2011; Bruch et al., 2007; Chizhik & Chizhik, 2002; Hurtado et al., 1999; Tatum, 1992). This resistance can take the form of disrupting class, not participating in discussions, or engaging at the minimum level possible in course activities (Chizhik & Chizhik, 2002). For many students, race, and other politicized differences, are taboo topics of discussion, or they view them through the lens of individual behavior and attitude—not from the point of view of social construction and engrained oppression (Baszile, 2008; Britzman, 1992; Ford, 2012; Tatum, 1992).
More deeply, as Kuhn (1970) described, disciplinary paradigms, though often invisible to practitioners, are powerful mental models that constrain conceptions from outside the framework. It is an immense challenge to step outside of a discursive framework and challenge bedrock assumptions and their implications for difference and power—particularly by those educated within and benefiting from those frameworks (Apple, 1999; Bacchi, 1999; Bruch, Higbee, & Siaka, 2007; Caughie, 1992; McCarthy et al., 2003; Meacham, 2009; Musil et al., 1995). Mayhew and Grunwald (2006) found that the values inherent in an academic department, often reflective of the surrounding intellectual environment, are instrumental in the likelihood of any of its members successfully committing to diversification of a curriculum. Some scholars contend that most disciplines are particular discursive structures that grow from the interests of White, heterosexual, financially privileged males (Bug, 2003; Hu-DeHart, 2000; Rosser, 1986, 1990; Smith, 1999; Weiler, 1991). As such, the disciplinary structures and frameworks inherently tend to marginalize women, people of color, and LGBT individuals (Schiebinger, 1999; Shaw et al., 2009; Shulman, 2001). For example, despite the increase in the number of programs in women, gender, and racial studies, these academic programs tend to be under-funded and marginalized within universities (Allan, 2011; Altbach et al., 1999; Hu-DeHart, 2000).

As noted previously, several researchers have found that successful implementation of diversity into the curriculum can only occur within the context of an institution-wide commitment to curriculum transformation. Shaw et al. (2009) found that even when faculty are motivated to diversify their courses they may feel ill prepared for such inquiry, and feel safest leaving such inquiry to those courses and instructors
particularly focused on gender or racial studies. Indeed, Maruyama and Moreno (2000) reported that of the two-thirds of surveyed faculty members who recognize educational benefits from the inclusion of diversity in the curriculum, less than half have altered their teaching practices accordingly. Meacham (2009) documented that the training of most faculty members, through the narrowing channel of most traditional doctoral programs, leave them unaccustomed to the introspection necessary to inquire into paradigms and to appreciate the power of disciplines to build and maintain social constructions implicated in power imbalances. Across higher education, faculty, administrators, and trustees, are implicated in, and inculcated to, the established attitudes and disciplinary structures. As such, Green (2001) found that those who hold the greatest responsibility to question and alter the fundamental assumptions of the academic enterprise, in advancing diversity goals, are poorly positioned to be able, or motivated, to pursue such goals.

Beyond the particular disciplinary structures of the curriculum itself, the overall paradigms and power structures of higher education institutions present hurdles in implementing the curriculum transformation often associated with diversity goals. Higher education is grounded in a privileged, Eurocentric historical context, and the majority of its stakeholders have an interest and desire to keep norms of inquiry and the scope of dialogue in place (Alemán & Salever, 2003; Altbach et al., 1999; Hu-DeHart, 2000; Hurtado et al., 1999; McCarthy et al., 2003; McCormick, 1994; Musil et al., 1995; Tierney, 1993). As Chesler and Crowfoot (1989/2000) stated, “What is hard to see at the personal level is even harder to see clearly at an organizational level” (p. 437). The discourses shaping the development of diversity curriculum goals, and their
implementation, likely are significantly impacted by such institutional inertia and self-interested bias.

Reflecting on these structural limitations to deep integration of diversity into curriculum, several scholars provide insights critical of current policy scope and impact. Even when diversity is engaged as an educational practice, Bruch (2007) argued that rather than being an opportunity to critically examine knowledge production, too often it is merely an opportunity to replace one piece of unexamined curriculum with another. Left unexplored is the relationship between power and knowledge. Baez (2000) argued that by justifying diversity on the basis of quantifiable student cognitive gains, the very assumptions and priorities valued under such frameworks reinforce dominant schema, to the detriment of alternative purposing of educational practices more fully reflective of diverse perspectives. As a result, diversity practice in education reflects what Hu-DeHart (2000) termed a “corporate model,” with an emphasis on civility and an avoidance of issues of social constructions and power differentials (see also Alemán & Salever, 2003; Musil, 2006; Tierney 1996).

Rather than disrupting established privilege, Hu-DeHart argued, faculty and administrators, beneficiaries of such privilege, simply “manage differences” (p. 42). Swartz (2009) observed that diversity education too often entails a curricular “gaze at ‘others’ through inclusions of a few individuals who have made ‘great contributions’ and discussions about ‘how we are all different’” (p. 1056). As a result, diversity education becomes merely a celebration of difference, with dominant norms systems of oppression left unexamined (Rothenberg, 2007; Tierney, 1993), resulting in the development of a mere tolerance for diversity, which Witenberg (2000) described as “endurance at the
most basic level and acceptance at its best” (p. 1). Iverson (2012), in her examination of
diversity action plans, provided a specific study of the ways dominant understandings of
diversity uphold dichotomies that support prevailing privilege rather than disrupt core
hierarchies of knowledge and power. The limitations and criticisms of diversity policy in
education reinforce Baez’s (2004) reminder that “the study of diversity should not just
ask how individuals are different (and how one benefits from that difference), but why
difference is used and what are the effects of such usage” (p. 301).

**Methodological Context**

Policy discourse analysis as a methodology grows in part from an appreciation of
the implications of poststructural perspectives (Allan, 2003, 2008, 2010). For the
purposes of this study, poststructuralism may be considered as those aspects of a
methodology that resist totalizing, foundational claims, and emphasize the
contextualization and fluidity of language expression and interpretation (Allan, 2010;
grows from a postmodern skepticism of frameworks or conceptualizations that are
universal, inevitable, or natural (Bloland, 2005; Falzon, 1998; Tierney, 2001). A
poststructuralist approach emphasizes language as the site of social organization and
meaning. A sense of self, or subjectivity, is locally and temporarily established likewise
Weedon, 1997).

In applying a poststructural lens to this inquiry I consider curriculum policy to be
a product of deep-seated, albeit shifting and contested, mental frames of reference within
the community and society (Bensimon & Marshall, 1997; Bloland, 2005; McCarthy et al.,
In this case, I consider curriculum policy formation, and the social realities buttressed or challenged by them, as produced by the discourses available to policymakers through language and dialogue. Approaching the investigation from such a frame emphasizes the need to explore possible interpretations in light of the broad, yet ever-shifting, societal dynamics that give rise to such enunciations, give meaning to them, and are themselves impacted by the curriculum formations (Allan, 2008, 2010; Hicks, 1995; Mills, 1997; Weedon, 1997). The meanings I glean from those curriculum policies under review grow from their context and my interpretation.

In considering curriculum policies as discursive constructs, I adopt Weedon’s (1997) definition of discourses as “ways of constituting knowledge, together with social practices, forms of subjectivity, and power relations which inhere in such knowledges” (p. 104). As such, my interpretations seek to identify discursive underpinnings and implications of the texts within the context of competing discourses (Hicks, 1995). Through this investigation’s analysis, I interpret the diversity education goal statements to reveal the circulating discourses that are advanced by these policy articulations. I consider the policy statements as discursively produced structures affecting individuals within complex and competing social dynamics. This methodological frame supports exploration of the dynamics and impact of the written diversity education goals as expressions of discourses, as potential means of contesting discourses, and as vehicles for the intended or unintended shaping of individuals impacted by the curriculum plans.

Overall, the theoretical backdrop rests on poststructural understandings of language, discourse, and the production of subject positions (e.g., Foucault, 1977, 1978,
In the following sections, I will discuss the theoretical aspects of these poststructural concepts that most directly pertain to the current investigation.

**Discourse and Language**

Universities, like all social institutions, are constructed and regulated within spheres of competing social discourses (Luke, 1995). As the institutional depository of socially valued knowledge and sanctioned inquiry, the expressed curricula of higher education serve as primary vehicles of discourses in higher education. Since knowledge grows out of discourse, then the shaping of discourses, and their interactions, produces what is socially knowable (Allan, 2010; Ayers, 2005; Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1993; Simpson, 2003). This study considers curriculum policies as products of discourses imbued with varying social power and dominance. I view the expression of education goals as reflective of the values, limitations, and assumptions implicit to a university social setting, impacted by the powers and knowledge made available through applicable broad social discourses. These curriculum statements in turn advance certain social discourses. They are themselves discursive structures that productively shape “subjectivities, hierarchies, and taxonomies for understanding the social world” (Allan, 2008, p. 10). The articulation of a diversity education goal therefore may be understood as an end product of discursive streams, and a conduit for impacting ongoing social discourse formation.

Language, within a poststructural frame, is the social device through which such discursive values and influence impact individuals and create social realities (Allan, 2008, 2010; Coates, 1996; Code, 1991; Hicks, 1995; Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1993; Richardson & St. Pierre, 2005; Usher & Edwards, 1994). Language utterances, rather
than fixed to concrete meaning, are expressed and interpreted within fluid social contexts and vying interests (Allan et al., 2010; Bensimon, 1995). As such, contextualized interpretations of language expression may inform an understanding of the discourses that establish social realities and set expectations for individual and collective behavior (Ayers, 2005; Mills, 2004; Smith, 1990b). Through the examination of the language of curriculum goals, I strive in this study to provide useful understandings of the social discourses, and resulting realities, implicated by such articulations.

**Subject Positions**

Discursive structures have implications for the nature of relations between individuals in socialized settings; as such, they have clear political implications (Apple, 1991). Subject positions, like knowledge, are produced through the interactions of competing and aligning discourses (Allan, 2008; Allan et al., 2010; Bacchi 1999; Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1993; Mills, 1997). As individuals confront local and impermanent discursive possibilities, they attain and alter their subjectivity through their perception, conscious and unconscious, of the discourses available to them (Allan, 2010; Coates, 1996; Weedon, 1997). As such, discourses are “identity tool kits” providing means to interact and form social settings (Hicks, 1995, p. 53). The productive power of discourses, as expressed through texts and social practices, to shape available subject positions is illustrated in the example provided by Ellsworth and Miller (1996): “Educational discourses and practices most often depict the ‘subject who knows’ or the ‘subject who learns’ as a rational, coherent, complete, homogeneous entity capable of autonomy and unmediated self-reflection” (pp. 250-251).
Just as discourses ebb and flow, negotiate and compete, so too the subject positions available and acquired are ever in flux (Allan, 2008; Coates, 1996; Mills, 2004; Weedon, 1997). Given the evidence of the significant impact diversity education can have on personal and cognitive development (Denson, 2009; Ford; 2012; Gurin et al., 2002; Gurin et al., 2004; Pederson, 1988), research is needed on the discursive effects of diversity policy on individuals’ sense of self relative to their social setting. Baez (2004) exemplified such a focus in noting that it is critical to consider how “institutional arrangements produce and maintain race differences, and in what ways they shape one's identity and experience” [emphasis added]” (p. 300).

Critical Theory

An analysis of discursive structures from a poststructural stance has the potential to destabilize otherwise unquestioned, dominant, authoritative discourses (Allan, 2008, 2010; Ayers, 2005; Bacchi, 1999; Luke, 1995; Mills, 2004; Weedon, 1997). As such, discourse analysis can draw on critical theory methodology, in examining the discursive means by which “power, identity, and social relations are negotiated, are legitimated, and are contested toward political ends” (Apple, 1999, pp. 172-173). Often such relations are implicit, but not overt, in the assumptions behind the framing of an issue and in the structuring of a problem statement—even in the dynamic that synthesizes a phenomenon as a problem (Allan, 2008; Ayers, 2005; Bacchi, 1999; Jones, 2009). Discourse inquiry may thus challenge the social order through awareness growing from analysis of oppressive implications of policies and other texts (Allan, 2008, 2010; Apple, 1999; Ayers, 2005; Lather, 1991). In poststructurally-influenced critical research about educational discourses, the emphasis, as Luke (1995) stated, is on providing “tools to see
how texts represent the social and natural world in particular interests and how texts position [people] and generate the very relations of institutional power” (pp. 12-13). As such, examination of the discourses implicated in curriculum statements may reveal, challenge, and lead to their reconsideration in constructively meaningful ways. I am striving to have this investigation advance both our understanding of diversity policy in curriculum and further deep integration of diverse viewpoints in education.

Overall, the blend of methodologies inherent to policy discourse analysis has clear application to the study of diversity in higher education. Examinations of discourses and subject positions circulating in diversity policies are critical to building understanding of the policy assumptions, influences, and impacts, intentional and otherwise (Allan, 2008; Apple, 1999; Baez, 2004; Fairclough, 1995; Mayhew et al., 2005; Tierney, 2001). As such, the methodological blend provided by policy discourse analysis fits well this study’s purpose in advancing understanding of the implications of diversity education policy.

**Curricular Frameworks of Diversity**

Iverson (2008) examined the discourses of diversity in higher education as revealed through campus-wide diversity action plans. Her analysis revealed both dominant and alternative discursive threads expressed through the plans. Among the dominant discourses, “marketplace,” “excellence,” and “managerialism” discourses together “produce[e] images of diverse individuals as objects possessing (economic) value [to] the institution’s ability to maintain or gain…in the academic marketplace” (p. 185). Iverson labeled this produced identity as a “commodity” subject position. Similarly, an alternative discourse of “democracy” within the policies provided support for a “change
agent” subject position. The interplay of the marketplace and democracy discourses produced a subject position she found reflective of the concept of “entrepreneurial.”

This research project similarly examines the discourses shaping curriculum goal statements, and considers the subject positions the discourses produce. Bennett (2001) identified genres of research in multicultural educational practices, finding that research on educational practice could be grouped into four areas: curricular reform, equity pedagogy, multicultural competence, and social equity. Bennett found that this categorization “provides a conceptual framework of research genres that illustrate the multidisciplinary nature of the multicultural educator” (p. 172). My preceding review of the research concerning various articulated goals and implementation strategies similarly suggests to me four interrelating frameworks which may similarly be helpful in considering the discursive threads of diversity goals in university academic policy: (a) equal opportunity; (b) student development; (c) social justice; and (d) curriculum transformation.

In Table 1 I provide an overview of each framework. The equal opportunity framework emphasizes issues of access, representation, and participation. It is the aspect most often associated in the public eye with the topic of diversity (Garcia et al., 2003). Affirmative action steps and other structural diversity measures are mostly concerned with advancing meaningfully equal access to educational benefits (AAC&U, 1995; Green, 2001; Hu-DeHart, 2000; Hurtado et al., 2008; Smith, 1997). In more recent years, there has been pronounced recognition that the benefits of diverse learning environments support the growth of all students (Bowman, 2010, 2011; Denson, 2009; Hurtado, 2006; Hurtado et al., 1999; Meacham, 2009; Tatum, 1992). This framework coincides with
Bensimon’s (2005) identification of a “diversity cognitive fame” that emphasizes diverse access and representation, and carries discourses of diversity celebration and relationships.

Table 1. Frameworks of Diversity Education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conceptual Framework</th>
<th>Primary Areas of Concern</th>
<th>Educational Goals (at student, community and society levels)</th>
<th>Educational Approaches</th>
<th>Relevant Researchers</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Equal Opportunity</td>
<td>Access Integration</td>
<td>Critical Mass within Community Benefits of Learning for</td>
<td>Affirmative Action</td>
<td>Hurtado</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Representation</td>
<td>Entire Society</td>
<td>Tolerance Open</td>
<td>LaBelle &amp;</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Participation</td>
<td></td>
<td>Attitudes Community</td>
<td>Ward</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Development</td>
<td>Smith, D.G.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student Development</td>
<td>Personal Success</td>
<td>Cognitive &amp; Psychological Development Interpersonal &amp; Group</td>
<td>Multicultural</td>
<td>Garcia et al.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Community and Society</td>
<td>Skills</td>
<td>Education Inquiry into Social Norms and Personal</td>
<td>Gurin</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tatum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Justice</td>
<td>Power Across Dimensions</td>
<td>Awareness of Privilege &amp; Inequality Challenge &amp; Dismantle</td>
<td>Critical &amp; Feminist</td>
<td>Apple</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>of Difference</td>
<td>Oppressive Social Structures Empower Marginalized Individuals &amp; Groups Develop New Conceptions of Community</td>
<td>Pedagogies Challenging Personal Biases Constructive Conflict</td>
<td>Harding</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Impacts of Societal</td>
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<td>Smith, D.E.</td>
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<td>Oppression</td>
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<td>Tierney</td>
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<tr>
<td>Transformative</td>
<td>Disciplinary Thought</td>
<td>Disrupted Disciplinary Narratives Student Comfort/Ability</td>
<td>Post-Modern Forefront</td>
<td>Bensimon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Epistemology</td>
<td>with Multiple Lenses Open-Ended, Unsettled Inquiry</td>
<td>Marginalized Perspectives &amp; Frames Challenge Disciplinary Norms &amp; Assumptions Interdisciplinary Approaches</td>
<td>Foucault Kuhn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Modes of Expression</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Weedon</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3 This table is intended to summarize the major themes of the literature review, in the context of the potential frames for conceiving of diversity in higher education. I believe these frameworks are useful constructions for considering the research, practices, and discursive production of diversity goals in education. Nonetheless, any such organized partition risks overlooking the extensive blending across these arenas. For example, transformational practitioners involve challenging privileged norms; researchers interested in equal opportunity consider intercultural understanding as regularly as those interested in student development; and promoting awareness of privilege contributes to student development as well as advances social justice. Finally, I am not suggesting that the insights provided by the researchers cited above are limited to the specific realms in which I list them.
Still, the emphasis within the equal opportunity framework has been on building a critical mass of diverse populations for purposes of integrated community development on campus (Jordan, 2007). Tierney (1996) identified limits of this framework: "Models of integration have the effect of merely inserting minorities into a dominant cultural frame of reference that is transmitted within dominant cultural forms, leaving invisible cultural hierarchies intact" (p. 329).

Through the lens of student development, curriculum designers recognize that multiple voices, open dialogue, and critical inquiry are at the heart of a liberal education (AAC&U, 1998). Experience with diversity builds cognitive ability, useful communication skills, and can provide tools and perspectives for students to confront the inequalities and challenges of society (Chang, 2005; Denson, 2009; Garcia et al., 2003; Gurin et al., 2002; Harper & Hurtado, 2007; Tatum, 1992). Likewise, students take from a multicultural learning experience the ability to engage successfully in a complex, globalized society after graduation (Bowman, 2010, 2011; Gurin et al., 2002; Hurtado, 2006). The emphasis in this frame is on preparing the individual student for personal growth and the tools to succeed and develop as a lifelong inquisitive learner and engaged citizen.

The framework of social justice emphasizes critical and feminist pedagogies in creating curriculum that goes beyond individual student empowerment and cognitive growth. Approaches to diversity within this framework seek to uncover, challenge, and dismantle the structures and attitudes that marginalize certain people and privilege certain worldviews and interests (Bloland, 1995/2000, Garcia et al., 2003; Hurtado, 2006; Tierney, 1996). Scholarly inquiry and discourses expressed through curriculum and
pedagogy are instrumental to such ends (Barnett, 2004; Bruch et al., 2007; Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1993; Luke, 1995; Shaw et al., 2009). Under such frameworks, traditional add-on diversity exercises, meant to recognize and celebrate diverse elements of the community, mean little without a corresponding inquiry into the societal means for the production of power across dimensions of difference. Apple (1999) provided key questions for considering the academic enterprise under such a framework:

Who benefits from the ways education is organized? Whose knowledge and ways of knowing are considered legitimate or “official”? Whose knowledge is not?

What is the relationship between the inner world of schools and the larger society? How is power constituted and how do we think about it? (p. 3)

Under this framework, critical and feminist faculty and students seek to advance discourse that provides the “point[s] of resistance,” as cited by Foucault (1978, p. 101), in offsetting dominant power structures.

The fourth strand of theory and practice of curricular diversity may be considered a transformative framework, one which places the nature of disciplinary thought and teaching paradigms at the center of attention. With such a focus, teachers and theorists question the assumptions underlying the epistemology, content, and modes of expression inherent to prevailing curriculum norms (Allan, 2011; Ellsworth & Miller, 1996; Hurtado, 1999; Shaw et al., 2009; Tierney, 1996). Such an inquiry diversifies the curriculum in a deep way by encouraging the perspectives of previously marginalized and other diverse voices and views to unsettle the assumptions and lenses of existing curricula. The traditional disciplines may be seen as examples of the grand narratives implicated in postmodern critiques (Bloland, 2005). To meaningfully bring other
interests and views to the forefront requires disrupting these narrative assumptions and structures. In transforming the curriculum, disciplinary norms may give way to open, multiple, and unsettled contexts (Usher and Edwards, 1994). Musil et al. (1995) reported on such transformations:

Many campuses have begun...to displace a single, partial, and largely unchallenged center with multiple, expansive, and therefore necessarily contested centers. Each of them represents a beginning place, a standpoint...from which we can move to embrace increasingly fuller understandings of the lived reality of human existence. (p. 1)

**Implications for the Study**

These frameworks for considering diversity are not mutually exclusive. For example, curriculum reflective of a transformational frame may involve students in questioning privileged norms, an area one could also identify with the social justice framework. Likewise, researchers interested in equal opportunity may consider intercultural understanding as regularly as those interested in student development. Nonetheless, each conceptual framework has signature implications for educational curriculum and thus on the experiences of students and the results of their education. In this study, I explore, through the discourses and practices of curriculum planning, which aspects of diversity are advanced. The question is not whether diversity is addressed in the curriculum, but in what ways is it being considered, and to what ends. For example, Hu-DeHart (2000) presented an argument that the discourses of diversity have moved from a liberatory stance “toward a corporate model for 'managing diversity,' under which diversity becomes merely the recognition of difference” (p. 40).
There is a deep research record on the benefits of curricular consideration of diversity in higher education. There are well-developed theories on ways to transform curriculum to more fully reflect and advance human diversity. There is, however, insufficient research into the ways diversity is actually envisioned within curriculum, and the discourses that produce such policies. The research I reviewed in this chapter informs my analysis of the purposes expressed for inclusion of diversity in curriculum, and of the discourses that give rise to such purposes.
CHAPTER 3

DESIGN AND METHODS

In this chapter, I describe the methods and conceptual frames I employed to explore the central research questions: *What goals do public baccalaureate liberal arts universities articulate for diversity education, including their policy on the ways students learn as well as their expressed outcomes for diversity learning? What dominant and alternative discourses produce the policy stances? What subject positions do these discourses make possible and promote through policy?* I first outline the parameters of the research design and discuss the methodological fit of policy discourse analysis for such an investigation. I then explain the sampling, data collection, analysis, and interpretation methods. Finally, I describe the steps taken to increase trustworthiness of the study, while noting areas of research limitations.

Research Scope

I designed this study, in part, to identify the diversity education goals explicitly articulated in publicly available statements of curriculum policy in higher education. The priorities, as expressed through these goals, are important in their own right as an inventory of the expressed intents of diversity policy, and how those purposes reflect on the institutions’ understandings of the meanings of diversity in higher education. This cataloging provides information on how instructional practices may be constructed and implemented across the sample. The study therefore sheds light on how institutions perceive the problems and opportunities of diversity within the educational sphere, as well as how policies anticipate the curriculum and pedagogy that is actually implemented across the classrooms.
An inventory of priorities, and the ways they are framed by the language of the documents, is the basis for developing an understanding of the discourses embedded and advanced by the curriculum policies. Through the analysis, I explore the discursive implications of the educational diversity statements, including consideration of any unarticulated, and perhaps unintended, implications. The study therefore is designed to explore the values implicit within the discursive expressions, and perhaps inform understanding of broader societal assumptions, biases, or priorities.

The analysis explores ways in which discourses construct subject positions for students, and others impacted by the policies. I examine the discursive assumptions, within the curriculum articulations, to reveal frames through which student roles, purposes, and natures are constrained and advanced. The interpretations of such subject positions potentially reveal information about pre-existing assumptions within the university community. Overall, this research is designed to reveal assumptions about educational priorities and purposes, and discursive impacts these priorities and purposes have on the way curriculum is crafted and implemented.

**Methodological Fit**

In this inquiry I have adopted Allan’s (2008) method of policy discourse analysis to forefront discourses expressed through institutional statements related to diversity education goals. Policy discourse analysis, as I discussed in chapter 2, endeavors to perceive assumptions and biases underlying and advanced by policies as texts, and the implications for those individuals and groups impacted by them. As written texts, diversity education policies may be understood as advancing discourses, setting behavioral expectations, and shaping norms of practice, in this case, of teaching and
learning practice (Allan, 2008, 2010; Apple, 1999; Ayers, 2005; Fairclough, 1995; Mayhew et al., 2005; Tierney, 2001). As a policy discourse analysis of diversity education goals, this study is a blend of critical, interpretive, and poststructural approaches to the textual analysis of the curriculum goals (Allan, 2008).

As a critical theory researcher, I am committed to advancing diversity goals across higher education for multiple reasons: to improve and broaden educational programs; expand student access and success; and to advance societal change. Such a research posture recognizes that existing societal power structures reinforce norms and biases, many of which disadvantage sectors of society and inhibit change (Allan, 2008, 2010; Apple, 1999; Bensimon & Marshall, 1997; Kincheloe, 2008; Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1993; Weedon, 1997). In particular, I am interested in how such power structures may impact the shaping of diversity purposes, obscure other possible configurations, and inhibit significant change.

The interpretive aspects of the study are designed to expand understanding of current diversity policy in light of educational and societal contexts (Allan, 2008; Code, 1991; Fairclough, 1995; Hicks, 1995; Miles & Huberman, 1994). I hope to prompt discussion about the current role of diversity in education policy, and, ultimately, to stimulate further incorporation of well-founded diversity consideration across the curriculums of higher education—in spheres related to access, inclusion, community and societal progress, and in potentially challenging hegemonic discursive structures. In this study, I am interested in interpreting discourses and themes reflected and reinforced by diversity education policies, rather than other potential effects of the curricular goals (e.g., student or faculty perceptions of the goals or their implementation in practice). As
such, it is appropriate, in this investigation, to focus on diversity education goals statements themselves. It is important to note that prominent educational assessment designs emphasize the centrality of written educational goals reflective of institutional values and mission, as the basis of curriculum design and evaluation (Astin et al., 1993). It is therefore critical, I believe, to consider the resulting public textual expressions for intended and unintended meanings, priorities, and implications; in this case, in the area of diversity goals for general education.

Poststructural approaches highlight the interplay of the discourses, both dominant and alternative, across the curriculum articulations, and the development of subject positions of those impacted by the curricula (Allan, 2008, 2010; Bacchi, 1999; Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1993; Luke, 1995; Richardson & St. Pierre, 2005; Usher & Edwards, 1994). In the current case, I consider how these discourses may reflect multiple ways human differences are recognized (or not recognized) and how these differences are given import and meaning in our society through education. In this policy discourse analysis I examine how diversity curriculum statements reflect broader discourses, and how they, in turn, may advance certain discursive threads. Particularly given the contention with which US society often grapples with matters of diversity, and the ever-shifting societal context in this area, an emphasis on the interplay between curriculum policies and discourses and subject positions is a useful approach for this study.

Overall, this blended methodological approach supports inquiry into my research questions: What goals do public baccalaureate liberal arts universities articulate for diversity education, including their policy on the ways students learn as well as their expressed outcomes for diversity learning? What dominant and alternative discourses
produce the policy stances? What subject positions do these discourses make possible and promote through policy?

Sample

As with other qualitative research designs, sample selection in a policy discourse inquiry grows from the nature of the research question (Allan, 2008). How a particular sample is chosen has implications for the context in which the texts are considered, and in the potential implications of the research (Neuendorf, 2002). I examined curricular statements at public, baccalaureate institutions that focus on undergraduate liberal arts curriculum, in particular the arts and sciences. Research into diversity education policy across all sectors of education, both in the US and internationally, is critical, for the reasons I discuss in chapter 1. I chose this sample for this research project because, as public institutions, they share a purpose of expanding access to the liberal arts and responding to statewide educational needs (Spellman, 2010). Focused on the arts and sciences, they are likely to have incorporated aspects of diversity and interdisciplinary studies into core curricular areas that span the undergraduate curriculum (Brint et al., 2009; Cohen, 1998; Gudeman, 2000). This sample provides some meaningful commonality, while covering a range of institutional characteristics, as described later in this section and outlined in Appendix A.

I drew on institutional classifications provided by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching (2010) to identify public, regionally accredited, predominantly baccalaureate-granting institutions that focus more on the arts and sciences, relative to professional areas. By using the Carnegie Foundation grouping, I was able to remove

4 For a listing of those fields the Carnegie Foundation considers within the Arts and Sciences, see http://classifications.carnegiefoundation.org/methodology/ugrad_program.php
researcher bias from the selection, and readily arrive at a group of institutions that share a focus on the liberal arts and, perhaps, have considered the role of diversity in the core arts and sciences.

In particular, I referenced two of the Carnegie Foundation’s primary classification methods: the “Basic” classification and the “Undergraduate Instructional Program” classification. The Basic classification categorizes institutions by enrollment patterns and degree recipient numbers across academic fields. The Undergraduate Instructional Program classification categorizes institutions by the range of academic programs offered, regardless of enrollment patterns.

Because the focus of the study is on diversity education policy at the baccalaureate level, I limited the pool to those public, regionally accredited institutions identified as Baccalaureate by the Carnegie Foundation in either the Basic classification (meaning that the institution awarded no more than 50 masters and 20 doctoral degrees, and that recipients of baccalaureate degrees made up at least half of the graduates at the undergraduate level in the year of review, in this case the 2008-2009 academic year) or in their Undergraduate Instructional Program classification (meaning at least half of the undergraduate programs were at the baccalaureate level). Further, because I am considering schools in which the arts and sciences play a prominent role, I limited the pool to those institutions in which undergraduate arts and sciences majors made up at least 50% of the total number of programs. Finally, because the research questions focused on diversity education goals at the undergraduate level, I restricted the sample to those institutions which the Carnegie Foundation considers having “Very High Undergraduate” enrollment or higher (meaning undergraduate, full-time equivalent
enrollment made up at least 90% of the total in the year of review). Information on the Basic and Undergraduate Instructional Program classifications for each institution in the sample may be found in Appendix B.

This sampling strategy follows Patton’s (2001) description of “purposeful” qualitative data collection using “criterion sampling” (p. 243). Restricting the sample to one set of institutional characteristics may increase the potential for meaningful implications resulting from the study (Glesne, 1999). In this case, the study provides useful observations about the ways diversity is understood within the central arts and sciences curricula across the US. Thus, while maintaining a focus on arts and sciences universities with an undergraduate focus, the sample ranges widely across other potential variables.

The resulting sample of 56 institutions share the desired institutional characteristics yet vary across several other dimensions. The universities are situated in 28 different states, with broad representation by national region. Four of the institutions identify themselves as Historically Black Colleges or Universities (HBCU). Two universities have formal connections to serving Native American students: The Institute of American Indian Arts is a tribal college, and Fort Lewis College originally was developed as a school for Native American students (Fort Lewis, n.d.). Sixteen of the universities are members of the Council of Public Liberal Arts Colleges (COPLAC, n.d.). Four of the institutions are national or state military academies. See Appendices A and B for a listing of the universities included in the sample and key institutional characteristics.
Data Collection and Management

I examined publicly available materials accessible through the websites of the 56 universities of the sample. I attempted to locate any policy statements that articulated the goals or purposes of any expressed intentional inclusion of diversity or multicultural considerations within the overall curriculum or educational program as experienced by the students. In reading the website materials, I saved any document (e.g., web page content, linked planning statement, catalog excerpt) that:

- reflected teaching or learning goals (as opposed to, say, affirmative action hiring or admissions criteria);
- was institution-wide in application (not course- or department-specific);
- established policy in some regard (e.g., a diversity plan, an assessment guide, a college catalog, or a statement of purpose); and
- reflected institutional policy within the past five years

I developed a uniform method of looking for such materials at each website. For each institution, I first examined the current catalog, searching within it for any instance of the character string “divers” (in order to locate any use of the word “diverse” or “diversity”) or “multicultural.” Secondly, I searched the overall website for any available university-wide strategic or comprehensive planning document, and again searched for instances of “divers” or “multicultural.” Finally, I searched throughout each university website for any web pages or attached documents uncovered by any of the following search terms:

- diversity plan
- diversity learning outcomes
- diversity assessment
- general education outcome
- multicultural learning

The results, by institution, of these searches are summarized in Appendix C. The search process revealed a wide range of locations for policy explication of diversity goals for the general education programs of these universities. Prominent locations included:

- general education catalog descriptions and web pages
- strategic or comprehensive plans
- diversity plans
- institutional mission and values statements
- student support web pages
- diversity web pages
- assessment planning documents

Appendix D provides an inventory of applicable locations for all accessed university policy statements.

One university (the United States Military Academy) did not provide a search function, and another (SUNY College at Old Westbury) had an inoperable search engine throughout my data gathering time. For these two institutions, I searched for the appropriate documents using the menu selections and searching, via a standard Google search, using each of the established search terms coupled with the name of the university.

I inventoried within a spreadsheet those search prompts for each institution that resulted in a qualifying document. Searching for documents required on average
approximately one hour for each university. I collected the relevant texts for each university in a separate document, noting any title given to the individual documents or web pages, their electronic locations, page references, if any provided, and the date of document retrieval. I list in Table 2 the frequency with which each of the search prompts led to a qualifying policy statement.

Table 2. Efficacy of Document Search by Location or Search Term

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Search location or term</th>
<th>Instances of qualifying statement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Catalog</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strategic or comprehensive plan</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diversity plan</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diversity learning outcomes</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diversity assessment</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General education outcomes</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multicultural learning</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the 56 universities, six did not have qualifying policy statements available via the above methods:

- Thomas Edison State College
- University of Pittsburgh at Greensburg
- University of Science and Arts of Oklahoma
- Virginia Military Institute
- Western State College of Colorado
- The University of Texas at Brownsville
Three of the four Penn State universities did not have identified campus-specific diversity educational goal statements, but they all reference the Penn State System goals.

The remaining 50 universities had a total of 134 documents meeting the criteria, most having multiple sections or statements concerning diversity goals in education. The number of documents available from each of these universities ranged from one to six, with a median value of 2.5. Appendix C contains information on the number of documents retrieved for each institution.

The university policy statements were imported into the Weft software system, a qualitative data analysis package, in order to facilitate coding, organization, and retrieval. Separately, I electronically stored the original documents, with identifying data, for future reference. Following initial coding, the material, sorted by codes, was also stored electronically and in print, both to facilitate analysis and to maintain records of the coding and analysis processes.

Coding

In this section I describe methods by which I coded these curriculum policy statements. My goals in coding were (a) to subdivide each text into those pieces that reflect different aspects of educational intent, and (b) to determine the pervasiveness of revealed themes that branch across the texts. This overall strategy was designed to allow for subsequent analysis to catalog and contextualize the discourses that produce the diversity education goals. I adopted established qualitative coding practices (Esterberg, 2002; Marshall & Rossman, 2006; Miles & Huberman, 1994) in order enhance credibility and support the research goals.
In reading through each policy statement, I initially read each expression of educational intent to code along three major dimensions (or “bins”; Miles & Huberman, 1994):

- How does the text express the desired cognitive or experiential connection a student has with the desired goal (e.g., the student acquires knowledge or analyzes or gains skills or acts within a social or community context)?
- What is the purpose and sector of the diversity goal (e.g., personal learning or growth for the student; a society-wide or local community development; or a shifting of the curricular framework or disciplinary dialogue)?
- Which parameters of human diversity or multicultural expression, if any, are expressly identified (e.g., ethnicity, race, class)?

These broad coding dimensions grew from my research questions and from the methodological framework. I deductively chose this initial coding framework as one likely to support my inquiry into the multiple aspects of diversity education goals, and into the discourses and the subject positions that shape the policies. Initial readings of the policies reinforced the selection of these areas as appropriate sectors of inquiry. The texts generally did address each of these potential aspects of diversity education policy.

My consideration of the ways the policies describe students’ connection with diversity education (the first dimension) provided information on the assumptions and expectations for the learning process. Methodologically, inquiry into this aspect provided information on the discourses that support such conceptualizations of diversity learning processes and on the subject positions for students advanced by these discourses.
Consideration of the articulated purposes for diversity education and their expressed sectors of impact (the second dimension) provided information for the research question on the outcomes expressed for diversity education, whether for the student, the community, the society, or other sector. My interpretation of both broad and weak themes across these outcomes revealed dominant and alternative discourses shaping understandings of priorities and purposes for diversity education. Finally, consideration of the identified parameters of diversity that the universities associate with diversity education goals (the third dimension) provided information both on the specific parameters considered significant and on the ways diversity is discursively positioned as an area of inquiry through these policies. Overall, my reading and interpretation of these policies, as products of discourse across each of these three dimensions, yielded information on the range of discursive effects, both in policy and on shaping subject positions.

The first classification of the three provided information on the manner, as expressed through policy, by which students are understood to connect with, or reach, the stated diversity goals. I inductively arrived at an initial set of codes for these policy expressions through repeated readings of the data codes, informed by Bloom’s (1984) taxonomy, to describe the range of ways students cognitively engage educational processes. I developed codes that allowed me to distinguish differences in how policies position students relative to outcomes. For example, "becoming familiar with multicultural dialogue" describes a different outcome for the student than “appreciating multicultural dialogue,” “creating multicultural dialogue,” or “becoming prepared to succeed in an environment of multicultural dialogue.” The resulting organization of the
data provided material by which to consider the learning processes these policies assert are the means by which students advance educationally toward the goals.

The coded text within the second classification yielded content on the stated ends of diversity consideration and their arenas of action, whether the individual student, a community, or the broad society. I developed the set of codes through a combination of deductive and inductive methods. My initial codes grew from the purposes for diversity education expressed across the existing literature, as I reviewed in chapter 2. In particular, I set codes associated with each of the frameworks of diversity education described on page 39 (equal opportunity, student development, social justice, and transformative). I also set codes to reflect the arena for the outcome, whether the student, community or society. This initial deductive list of codes was also informed by a 2009 pilot study I made of this aspect of diversity education policies. After reading through the policies and trial coding several policy statements, I inductively revised the initial set of codes and developed subcodes, as described in chapter 4.

Finally, the third classification inventoried the explicit identification, or lack thereof, of diversity dimensions of interest to the universities. This information seemed likely to provide insights into what aspects of human diversity (e.g., cultural, racial) are most prominent in educational policy today.

In summary, these three broad classifications were chosen to provide the coding structure to address the overall research questions on diversity education goals and the discourses that produce them. These classifications of data support specific analysis of the policies: When these universities consider diversity education goals, what sort of diversities are they considering (classification 3)? What are the intended outcomes for
considering diversity in educational practice (classification 2)? And, how do they describe the ways students are to connect via a learning process with those goals (classification 1)? Collectively, consideration of these questions provides information on the intended outcomes of diversity education and the learning processes that advance them. Through subsequent analysis, the data provided evidence for identifying discourses that produce these diversity education goals and associated subject positions.

Within each of the three broad classifications, I coded the material to identify segments of text that expressed specific ends within each broad area of inquiry. For the first classification on learning modes, the inductive coding process resulted in five primary codes to identify text that articulated the manner in which students connect with educational diversity goals. I used the following shorthand identifiers and guiding language for my codes:

- **Expose**: Students are to observe or read diversity content or social or communal phenomena.

- **Acquire, Value, Aware**: Students are to gain a skill, mindset, value or ability.

- **Explore, Analyze, Critique**: Students are to engage in a critical examination, including such matters as comparative analysis, examination of biases or assumptions, self-critique, or inquiry into power and meanings of difference.

- **Create, Build**: Students are to develop expressive or meaningful mental or social structures, including personal frames of reference or understandings of social and community models.
Experience Personally or Personal Challenge: Students are to engage in developmentally and emotionally constructive ways with social or personal conflicts, challenges, or opportunities.

In coding text, I found this set of interpretive categories provided a useful schema to identify the range and spectrum of the expressed means by which students are understood to interface with diversity education goals.

I used nine primary codes to label the articulation of intended outcomes of diversity in the educational enterprise. These codes are associated with the purposes I identified in chapter 2 as articulated by theorists and practitioners for diversity in educational policy. The codes I selected cover two broad and overlapping areas: (a) outcomes associated with individual student ends; and (b) outcomes associated with community or societal ends. The nine associated codes were identified in my research with the following shorthand phrases:

- **Student Personal Identity Formation**: The educational goal is for each student to development a deeper sense of personal identity and a constructive connection to others and society;

- **Interpersonal, Collaborative Skills**: The educational goal is for each student to develop or acquire the skills needed to interact in social settings, perhaps to advance personal, shared, or societal goals;

- **Diversity Awareness, Appreciation, Exploration**: The educational goal is for each student to cognitively interact with concepts and knowledge concerning a range of cultures and a diversity of human experience;
• **Privilege, Oppression, Social Construction Exploration:** The educational goal is for each student to cognitively interact with theories concerning social constructions and their implications across power gradients;

• **Societal Success & Cultural Development:** The educational goal is for each student and/or the academic community to contribute to social advancement through recognition of diversity and multicultural dialogue;

• **Addressing Social Inequality, Oppression:** The educational goal is for each student and/or the academic community to be prepared to act to advance social justice;

• **Diversify Community, Equal Access:** The goal is for the educational practices to promote participation across dimensions of diversity and to advance the diversification of the academic community (for this code, the emphasis is on the “who” of community);

• **Organizational Community, Culture:** The goal is for the educational practices to develop a positive sense of community or cultural understanding within the university or other organizational units (for this code, the emphasis is on the “what” of community);

• **Nature of Dominant, Alternative Disciplinary Approaches:** The goal is for the educational purposes to advance understanding and utilization of alternative perspectives and means of knowledge production within the academy and by students.
Finally, I identified, through inductive coding, 11 dimensions of diversity explicitly expressed across the set of policy statements. To inventory the various expressions, I used the following shorthand codes:

- Ability
- Age
- Class
- Culture
- Ethnicity
- Gender
- General Variety of Human Differences
- International
- Race
- Religion
- Sexual Orientation

I used the Weft qualitative data analysis software to code and organize the data. Coding the 134 documents using the Weft software resulted in 917 textual excerpts identified across the 25 primary codes described above and their associated subcodes. The full coding schema is described in more detail throughout chapter 4, and outlined in Appendix E.

**Methods of Analysis**

The analysis grew organically from the coding process. The initial coding, described in the preceding section, was a blend of deductive and inductive coding (Glesne, 1999; Marshall & Rossman, 2006; Miles & Huberman, 1994). Subsequent
coding, as outlined in Appendix E, wholly emerged through interpretation of the data. To arrive at the various secondary coding, I repeatedly read through the material with common primary codes. I looked for common themes or policy intents that appeared prominently across the data (Esterberg, 2002). I also considered natural groupings within the policies and areas of difference that arose for the material associated with each primary code. I considered how the policy language positioned students relative to the diversity education goals, and any contextual setting for the goals themselves. Through the secondary coding, I identified the specific diversity education goals advanced by the institutions in this sample (Allan, 2008).

The categorization of the primary and secondary coding provide the initial findings of the investigation, an inventory of the articulated purposes of considering diversity in educational practice. These findings, across the three sectors of my qualitative inquiry (learning mode, outcomes, and dimensions of diversity, as I have labeled them), are discussed in the following chapter.

My analysis proceeded to consider the ramifications of these particular policy formulations. I examined the policies across each code to uncover broad themes, intents, and images expressed through the specific language employed in the policies. I asked questions such as:

- In what arenas do the policies place the diversity goal?
- What assumptions are implicit to this articulation of the way a student will engage aspects of diversity?
- What aspects of diversity education might be advanced or overlooked by these specific articulations of goals?
What values are expressed when policy is articulated in this particular manner?

I discuss the findings and interpretations of these inquiries in chapter 5. By maintaining detailed notes on how I arrived at the emergent subcoding, as well as electronic and paper storage of the coded materials and my analysis notes, I have a research record available for audit or future reference. The appendices provide a less detailed overview of the key data components and characteristics of the sample and coded material. Taken as a whole, they provide information on the sources of the data, the nature of the sample, and the structure and results of the coding and analysis.

The final stage of my analysis, discussed in chapter 6, consisted of exploring the dominant and alternative discourses and subject positions advanced by this collection of diversity education policies. The initial analysis provided the framework for understanding these discursive structures. I primarily asked what assumptions, impulses and themes are, on the one hand, pervasive across these policies, as revealed through my analysis. Secondly, I sought to understand what alternative themes were expressed, but were either thinly represented in the data, or were weakly or only marginally articulated.

My exploration of the data and subsequent analysis was informed by past policy discourse analyses, particularly the research undertaken on diversity in higher education (Allan, 2003, 2208, 2010; Iverson, 2012), and through consultations with fellow researchers, as noted in the Acknowledgments section. For example, as I developed tentative thoughts on discursive structures related to these policies, I considered their possible interconnectedness, and how each may reinforce or counter another. By revising and considering various primary themes in the policies and their inter-dynamics, as well
as consulting the literature and peer-debriefing, I arrived at an articulation of dominant and alternative discourses. These discourses reflect the “ways of constituting knowledge” (Weedon, 1997, p. 104), in this case knowledge of the assumptions, reasons and intents for diversity education.

Finally, I considered the impact these specific policy priorities, especially in light of the revealed discourses, might have on the educational experiences of students. In particular, I explored what implicit assumptions about the nature and ends of a student’s education are supported by these discourses. I examined the roles the alternative discourses might play in advancing other visions of the nature and purpose of diversity education and how students might be impacted. Considering both dominant and alternative discourses, I explored the positioning of students themselves through these policies: how are they understood as actors implicated by the policies; how do the policies anticipate shaping them through diversity education; and what long-term roles do the policy discourses promote for these individuals?

**Researcher as Instrument**

The formulation of these discourses and their impact on subject positions grows from the particular sample and from my reading of the policies as a policy discourse researcher. The interpretive nature of discourse analysis places the researcher’s position, sensitivities and biases at the center of the research process (Fairclough, 1995). As such, my analysis and conclusions are tentative and partial conclusions. In order that the research findings may contribute optimally to the policy and research conversation, it was critical to fully consider the impact of my researcher role, as an instrument in the study, to the overall nature and conclusions of the research.
As a university administrator and faculty member for 25 years, my background affected the way I interpreted the texts. My career in developing and working extensively with curriculum design provided me with experience in reading and understanding their assumptions and implications. At the same time, my “establishment” position may have limited my ability to perceive some discursive angles of the policies. Perhaps also, as a university administrator, I may unintentionally be vested in certain status quo mental and organizational models. Likewise, however, I am committed to advancing diversity broadly in educational programs. These two (neither mutually exclusive nor reinforcing) facets may have, in subtle ways, affected my coding and interpretive readings.

As a White, heterosexual male holding an administrative position at a public university, I realize I hold a favored position within the institutionalized system of societal privilege. As a researcher, particularly in a study concerning diversity, which in part addresses consideration of privilege and oppression, I acknowledge that elements of inequality within the academy may be difficult for me to perceive, particularly the lived experiences of many who may be directly impacted by the range of diversity policies I considered. Furthermore, I hold an affiliation as tenured associate professor and currently am an administrator at one of the universities in the sample (University of Maine at Machias). I endeavored to assure that my selection and interpretations of the policies at this university were fully consistent with my consideration of those at the other universities.
Credibility

I maintained those established principles that support credibility in qualitative research and in policy discourse analysis in particular: (a) careful and fully articulated research design drawing on established methodology; (b) systematic sampling, coding, and analysis processes; (c) self- and peer-initiated questioning of analytical structures and conclusions in order to bring multiple perspectives to bear; and (d) expansive and open researcher reflexivity on the role perspective and bias may have on the research process (Allan, 2008; Miles & Huberman, 1994, Patton, 2001).

By building the research on established methodological frameworks, the study rests, in part, on the experience the research community has had with these frames of inquiry. Moreover, I based the analytical methods on those established by previous policy discourse analysis research on higher education (Allan, 2003, 2008; Ayers, 2005; Iverson, 2012; Suspitsyna, 2010b).

My study involved extensive engagement with the data, including repeated readings and multiple coding. The data sample was broadly representative of the sector of universities being considered. I maintained complete, organized data sets, and have fully documented my coding practices and analysis methods for future review. I sought to identify areas of the methods and discursive analysis that may be limited due to the impact and limitations of my role as an instrument of the research. I have been clear about the methodological foundations of the study, and the methods employed, so future researchers can interpret the findings in context and judge their credibility.
Summary

In this chapter, I provided information on the scope of the study I conducted to address the central research questions: What goals do public baccalaureate liberal arts universities articulate for diversity education, including their policy on the ways students learn as well as their expressed outcomes for diversity learning? What dominant and alternative discourses produce the policy stances? What subject positions do these discourses make possible and promote through policy? I described aspects of policy discourse analysis that establish its methodological fit with these research purposes. In describing the systematic steps of building the sample and collecting and analyzing the data for this investigation, I provided evidence for the soundness of the overall research, as well as for its potential limitations.
CHAPTER 4

POLICY PURPOSES: COMPILATION OF THE DATA

In this chapter, I provide a contextualized summary of the policy data I systematically gathered and analyzed for this investigation. I discuss in detail the diversity education goals and provide a deep inventory of the policy language in order to offer rich evidence to support the subsequent analysis. In particular, I provide policy examples across each of the three primary aspects: learning mode, outcome, and dimensions of diversity. In the subsequent chapter I analyze the data to support my identification of policy themes, which in turn reveal the dominant and alternative discourses that produce those policy orientations.

This overview is structured to be consistent with the coding categories I describe in chapter 3 and identify in Appendix E. When discussing the code I applied to any material, I state the specific category numbering, as listed in Appendix E, in order to provide reference to where in the overall coding structure this material lies. For example, policy language coded 1.2.3 refers to material that I interpreted to refer to student acquisition of an ability as a learning mode.

Likewise, because most of the institutions have multiple cited policies, I provide reference to which policy I am referring by identifying each policy by both institution name and a letter code. The letter code refers to the policies as listed in Appendix D, providing their type and location. For example, “SUNY at Geneseo (D)” refers to an institutional diversity statement found at http://www.geneseo.edu/diversity/statement which I accessed on January 28, 2012.
Learning Modes

I use the term *learning mode* to identify any policy language describing the educational relationship a student has with a diversity education goal. This relationship is one of the policy aspects of a diversity education statement. Many university policy statements do indeed characterize the manner in which a student is expected to reach an intended goal. They do so in a variety of ways, but overall, the policies describe the extent or manner in which a student might engage a learning goal, or the ultimate desired relationship a student will have to the diversity goal.

As described in the previous chapter, I adopted a largely inductive coding approach, informed by previous research, to understand the learning modes articulated in the policy statements. These modes of learning, growing inductively from repeated readings connect with the cognitive development models discussed in chapter 2 (e.g., Bloom, 1984). I have listed them in Table 3 in order of such a cognitive development hierarchy. In chapter 5 I interpret the policies partly in light of such models. In interpreting the texts, I coded based on the primary images associated the contextualized language to identify the mode of learning most strongly evoked. The expressed means by which students interact with the diversity education goals fell initially into primary categories suggested by the codes listed in Table 3:
Table 3. Learning Mode Primary Codes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category and number of institutions</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.1 Expose (4)</td>
<td>“Familiarize students with…” (Wisconsin Parkside, B)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Expose our cadets to…” (Air Force Academy, C)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2 Acquire (46)</td>
<td>“Equip graduates…” (Minnesota Morris, C)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Diversity is valued” (Kentucky State University, B)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3 Analyze, Explore, or Critique</td>
<td>“Think critically” (Massachusetts College of Liberal Arts, D);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(17)</td>
<td>“Engage in analysis” (University of North Carolina Asheville, C)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4 Experience (12)</td>
<td>“Engaging with…” (Humbolt, C);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Experience cultures” (California State University Channel Islands, B)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.5 Create, Build, Do (7)</td>
<td>“Using multiple cultural perspectives” (College of Charleston, E);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Demonstrate social responsibility” (St. Mary’s, A)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Appendix E outlines the full coding employed, using the numbering convention employed through the subsections of this chapter. The subsequent five primary subsections (1.1 - 1.5) describe aspects of the policies that fall within each learning mode coding category.

**Expose**

Four institutions (7% of the overall sample) characterize a learning mode through their policy language in a way I found consistent with the concept of *exposing* students to diversity education goals. For example, the policy at New College of Florida (C) reflects such a learning mode in the diversity education goal: “encourage students” to engage in learning activities “that will bring them into contact with people from backgrounds different from the own.” Wisconsin Parkside (B) seeks to “familiarize students with
differences among diverse ethnic groups.” The explicit use of the concept of exposure, whether to concepts or ideas, suggests a passive environment for learning, and may leave uncertain the intended results of that exposure. Each of these institutions provides additional diversity education goals that describe other learning modes, as described in later sections.

**Acquire**

The vast majority of institutions, 46 of the 56 (82%), in the sample establish policy language suggesting that students are to acquire attributes in the intellectual or affective realm. Through inductive subcoding, and using language drawn from the policies to label and guide my categorization, my analysis led me to characterize the elements of acquisition along the six sub-categories identified in Table 4.

**Table 4. Frequency of Acquire Subcodes (46 Institutions)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Acquire Subcodes</th>
<th>1.2.1 Perception Recognition</th>
<th>1.2.2 Understanding Comprehension</th>
<th>1.2.3 Ability</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of Institutions:</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent of Sample:</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.2.4 Cerebral: Appreciation Respect</td>
<td>1.2.5 Emotional: Sensitivity Empathy</td>
<td>1.2.6 Responsibility Responsiveness Ethics Civility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Institutions:</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent of Sample:</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Awareness.** Twenty universities establish general, unmodified student recognition of the diversity of society, or the development of a perspective inclusive of
diversity, as a policy goal. Overall, the texts do not provide the specificity, in my interpretation, that would link these policies with deeper affective levels of awareness associated with multicultural competency models (Pederson, 1988; Talbot, 2003). Instead, the unspecified use of terms such as awareness or acknowledgement does not decidedly refine the produced images beyond a general student perception that diversity is a critical social aspect. These policies of awareness do not specify the student domain of consideration. (In following sections, I examine those policies that emphasize either a cognitive or affective domain.) For example, Cheyney University of Pennsylvania (A) expects students to “demonstrate ethical and cultural awareness…for diversity.” Louisiana State University at Alexandria (C) strives to have student “acknowledge” diversity and develop an “awareness…of the cultures of the United States and the world.” University of Minnesota Morris (B) plans to “expand students’ perspectives on human diversity” and to (D) “promote intercultural awareness.” Western Washington University (A) desires students to “recognize the rights, responsibilities, and privileges of participating in…a diverse society.” Overall, 13 universities use the term “awareness” or “recognize,” as in developing the goal that students recognize the “the global diversity of cultures” (Kentucky State University, A). Four stress the importance of expanding the “perspective” of students in the areas of diversity.

**Understanding, Knowledge, Comprehension.** Student acquisition of knowledge or comprehension is a stated goal of 31 of the universities (55% of the sample). For example, College of Charleston (E) develops student “knowledge of

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5 The one exception is Sonoma State University (D) which explicitly sets policy, “We understand multicultural competence as comprising three parts: awareness, knowledge, and skills.” Given this specific theoretical context, I did not code this text as evoking a general perception.
international and global contexts.” Eastern Connecticut State University (B) wants students to acquire “understandings of various aspects of diversity.” The Penn State universities (B) have established the goal of having students “understand domestic and international diversity issues.” Overall, 21 universities use a variation on the term “understanding” to describe a diversity education goal, and the word “knowledge” is used by 11 universities.

At times, the policy superficially identifies an ability as the diversity education goal (e.g., the student can “explain,” “articulate,” or “define”); however, the substance of the goal is in an underlying student comprehension, and so such goals are included here. For example, Castleton State College (A) expects students to “demonstrate a broader knowledge of the commonalities and the diversity of cultures.” Humboldt State University (A) expects students to learn to “explain how cultural differences and identities are produced and perpetuated.” Granite State College (A) diversity education goals include the student ability to “articulate the significance of diverse perspectives.”

The next subsection focuses on those policy statements that more centrally highlight skills or abilities, rather than solely understanding, as the subject of the acquisition gained through diversity education.

**Skills, Ability.** Eight universities (14% of the sample) strive to have students acquire a skill, ability, or preparation. The language is suggestive of a student gaining an informed capacity or proficiency. The policies speak of “preparing” (Louisiana State University at Alexandria, B, and the Penn State Beaver, C) and “equipping” students (University of Minnesota Morris, C) with “skills” (Longwood University, A; Institute of American Indian Arts, B), “abilities” (SUNY at Geneseo, B; Sonoma State University, D;
The Richard Stockton College of New Jersey, A) and general “competencies” (Penn State universities, B). The university policies do not provide an articulation of the type or scope of abilities necessary to meet their goals. Penn State’s reference to competency ("intercultural and international competencies") primarily advances images of student acquisition of abilities; in my interpretation, the absence of more clearly evoking the range of other components associated with multicultural competency prompted me to code it within this category of acquisition only. The Richard Stockton College of New Jersey (A) expects students to gain an “ability to adapt to changing circumstances in a multicultural and interdependent world.” University of Minnesota Morris (C) plans to “equip graduates for lives of leadership and service in a diverse, global society.” Louisiana State University at Alexandria (B) intends to “prepare students to participate in a diverse world.” These policies emphasize an acquisition of demonstrable abilities. The curriculum statements described in the next section are those that focus on acquisition of student mental constructs, rather than behavioral talents.

Cerebral: Appreciate, Respect, Tolerate. Many universities stress such intellectual attributes of student affective learning (31, or 55% of the sample). An emphasis on the cognitive domain, rather than emotional, is suggested by the way the policies use terms such as “tolerance” (Johnson State College, A; Massachusetts College of Liberal Arts, B), “appreciation” (19 institutions, including, for example, Granite State College, A; Ramapo College of New Jersey, B; St. Mary’s College of Maryland, A; United States Military Academy, A), “respect” (12 universities, including, for example, the United States Air Force Academy, A; Institute of American Indian Arts, A; Louisiana State University at Alexandria, C; University of Wisconsin-Superior, A), and
“consideration for” (the Penn State universities, A). Granite State College (A) wants students to “appreciate the impact of cultural differences in contemporary life.” The Institute of American Indian Arts (A) expects students to develop “respect for diverse cultures.” Students at Johnson State College (A) are expected to “gain…tolerance for and appreciation of cultural and intellectual diversity.” The Penn State universities (A) intend students to “develop consideration for values, lifestyles, and traditions that may differ from their own.” SUNY at Geneseo (B) has as a learning outcome student “appreciation of…people from a variety of backgrounds.” As a final example, The University of Virginia’s College at Wise (A) wants students to “learn to appreciate and respect diverse cultures.” The intellectual aspects of these policies of student attainment, widely represented in the sample, contrast with those I describe in the next section which still reflect the acquisition of mental constructs, but are more closely associated with an emotive realm and are less frequently occurring in the sample.

**Emotional: Sensitivity, Empathy, Value.** Twelve universities (21% of the sample) place an emphasis more suggestive of an emotional rather than cognitive domain for student affective learning. Developing “sensitivity” (CUNY College of Staten Island, A; Humboldt State University, B; United States Military Academy, A; and University of Wisconsin-Parkside, B) and “empathy” (California State University San Marcos, C; University of Wisconsin-Superior, A) are broad themes within this group. Humboldt State University (B) exemplifies such a theme in seeking to develop student “sensitivity to the local and global diversity of peoples and cultures.” In the same spirit, St. Mary’s College of Maryland (A) expects students to gain an “openness to diversity in all its
forms.” The University of Wisconsin-Superior (A) wants students to “develop empathy…for other cultural, linguistic, and conceptual traditions.”

The term “value” is used by six universities (California State University San Marcos, A; Institute of American Indian Arts, A; Kentucky State University, A; Longwood University, D; United States Naval Academy, C; Sonoma State University, B). The use may be suggestive of heartfelt embrace and commitment, but at other points perhaps more linked to “value” in a utilitarian or marketable sense. For example, Kentucky State University (A) seeks to have students “value a variety of cultural perspectives” which suggests an affective embrace of diversity; while the United States Naval Academy (B) strives to have students “value individual excellence regardless of culture, ethnicity, race, religion, or gender,” which suggests a conditional valuing linked to measurable performance (“excellence”). Regardless, the policies suggest the goal of gaining an emotive component, on whatever basis, to their appreciation of diversity.

Longwood University (D) plans for students to “value the importance of diversity in today’s global society.” The Institute of American Indian Arts (A) expects students to be able to “articulate the values of diverse cultural perspectives,” which speaks literally of a skill but more fully reflects a goal that students indeed develop the affective attribute of valuing diverse perspectives. The smaller numbers of institutions whose policies I describe in the next section are those that stress acquisition of a meaningful resolve to act in certain ways, rather than merely securing an awareness, skill, knowledge, or appreciation.

**Responsibility, Commitment, Ethic.** The policies at seven universities (13% of the sample) express a sense of responsibility or ethic they are seeking to have students
acquire through their learning. The language suggests student responsiveness through
civic and social means. Eastern Connecticut State University (C) believes their program
“fosters a commitment to diversity and civility.” Likewise, Southern Oregon University
(A) expects students to develop a “lifetime commitment to diversity.” CUNY College of
Staten Island (A) develops in students a “responsibility to work for the common good.”
California State University San Marcos (C) expects students to develop “responsiveness
to…multiculturalism, gender construction and difference, and human diversity.” The
University of California Santa Cruz (A) works to build within students “a sense of social
justice.”

I explore the various objects of acquisition, as established in these curriculum
policy statements, more fully in the sections on diversity education outcomes (2.1 - 2.9).
The central theme of learning being associated with student acquisition, however—
whether of awareness, understanding, abilities, values, or commitments—is reflected in
the policy expressions discussed across in these sub-sections (1.2.1 - 1.2.6), the most
dominant learning mode of the sample. In the following three final subsections
examining expressed learning modes, I discuss those statements associated with a more
active stance for student engagement in diversity education.

Analyze, Explore, Critique

Rather than acquiring an attribute—knowledge, understanding, or an affective
attribute—many universities forefront student analysis, evaluation, or academic
exploration as central aspects of diversity education goals. Within this domain, emergent
coding suggested three categories of policy focus for the nature of student inquiry, as
reflected in Table 5.
Table 5. Frequency of Analysis Subcodes (17 Institutions)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Analyze</th>
<th>Explore</th>
<th>Critique</th>
<th>1.3.1 Cognitive Engagement</th>
<th>1.3.2 Critical Assessment</th>
<th>1.3.3 Synthesis or Comparative Analysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of Institutions:</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent of Sample:</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cognitive Engagement: Examination, Reflection, Exploration. Eight universities (14% of the sample) specify student examination as an explicit mode of diversity learning. Half of these institutions use the term “examine” to characterize student action within these policies (United States Air Force Academy, A; Christopher Newport University, B; University of North Carolina at Asheville, A; University of Maine at Machias, C). For example, the University of North Carolina at Asheville (A) expects students to “examine their own experiences and values, alongside those of others.” The educational goals of Christopher Newport University (B) include having students “examine the complex issues that result from interactions between cultures.”

Students are expected to “engage” with other perspectives (California State University Channel Islands, A, and Christopher Newport University, B) or with issues of power and privilege (California State University Channel Islands, A, and University of North Carolina at Asheville, C). “Reflection,” suggestive of a cognitive engagement linked with experience, is a characterization of diversity learning used by Ramapo College of New Jersey (B) and Truman State University (B), the former in considering “the moral and civic dimension of issues, problems and matters of individual and public concern” and the latter directed inward, expecting students to be “self-reflective” in
considering diversity. Christopher Newport University (B) expresses plans for students to “explore cross-cultural interactions.” The University of Maine at Machias (C) stresses student “discovery and experimentation.” The mode of internal consideration, with little stress on any specific conclusions, highlighted in these policies is slightly different than the learning mode of the more active assessment and evaluation characterized in the following set of policies.

**Critical Analysis.** Several universities (12, or 21% of the sample) employ language that explicitly calls for students to employ analysis and critical assessment in their learning about diversity. Terminology such as “analyze” (used by six universities: California State University Monterey Bay, A; Humboldt State University, A; SUNY College at Old Westbury, A; Savannah State University, C; United States Military Academy, A; the University of Wisconsin-Superior, B) or use of “critical” as in “think critically” (the Massachusetts College Of Liberal Arts, D) or “be critical” (Truman State University, A) suggest a stronger degree of assessment than policy calling for student “engagement,” “examination,” or reflection. California State University Monterey Bay (A) seeks to develop in students the ability to “analyze historical and contemporary cross-cultural scenarios of discrimination, inequity, and social injustice.” Using different language for student analysis but with a similar nature of student engagement, Longwood University (A) expects students to “employ…rational argument to discuss complex issues involving race, nationality, gender, ethnicity, class, or sexual orientation.” The final section looks at those few policies that suggest students will employ analysis across understandings of diversity for some broad end beyond a focused critical evaluation.
Synthesis or Comparative Analysis. Five universities (9% of the sample) express the goal of students moving beyond analysis to areas of comparison, integration, and negotiation across concepts or realms of diversity. California State University Monterey Bay (A) expects students to “compare their own culture with other cultures.” The policy at California State University Channel Islands (D) establishes the goal of students being able to “integrate content, ideas, and approaches from: (a) multicultural perspectives, (b) national and international perspectives.” The Institute of American Indian Arts (B) also uses the term “integrate” to describe a diversity education goal: students are expected to “integrate Indigenous knowledge and perspectives in local and global issues.” The policy at Ramapo College of New Jersey (B) is for students to “negotiate the complexity and diversity of cultures in their various contexts.” Finally, the University of Wisconsin-Superior (A) uses more of a bridging image to describe the desired student ability: to “make connections across all areas of knowledge, different modes of communication, and diverse cultural, linguistic, and conceptual traditions.”

These policies that express student analysis as a primary learning mode (coded as 1.3) are like those that stress exposure (1.1) or acquisition (1.2) in that they are largely mental modes of engagement (even if some are mental skills that may be later employed). In the final two subsections examining learning modes, I consider those policy statements that emphasize more active or lived components, whether of student experience or student engagement.

Experience

The policies in 1.1 indicating student exposure as a mode of learning imply an experiential aspect of sorts. So too, student acquisition and analysis suggests experiential
aspects of learning. However, nine universities (16% of the sample) place a particular focus on experiential learning modes in their diversity education goals—and one that is distinct from acquisition or intellectual considerations. These policies suggest an active stance for the student and a potentially interactive social discourse, especially relative to the more passive experience suggested by those policies I coded as exposure. Several stress interpersonal interactions with diverse individuals and groups. Humboldt State University (C) expects their policy will lead to students “engaging with a diverse range of individuals and viewpoints.” Their emphasis on interaction with both individuals and viewpoints suggests experiential components beyond exposure and cognitive considerations. Truman State University (B) states that “interpersonal perspective arises from direct experiences with cultural diversity and cultural interactions.” The terms “direct” and “interactions” supports a policy interpretation beyond an exposure learning mode to one that supports a more deeply experiential learning. University of Wisconsin-Parkside (B) sets as a goal to “familiarize students with…diverse ethnic groups,” which suggests a slight experiential aspect. The Penn State universities (B) expect students to gain “experience in diverse and international environments.”

Three universities express experiential learning in ways reflective of the individual student’s personal development through diversity education. The United States Air Force Academy (A) expects their diversity curriculum “challenges young people.” Castleton State College (A) plans to “provide variety and challenge for all on a very personal level.” The policy at University of North Carolina at Asheville (C) is for students to “move students beyond their comfort zone” and to have a “cathartic, emotional experience.” The university observes in this policy that although such
“transformative experiences may be liberating, they can also be challenging.” Across these policies, the emphasis is on the educational gains to be made through the still relatively passive nature of experiences coming to, or surrounding, a student. The next set of policies portrays a more active role for student learning.

Create, Build, Do

The final learning mode identified within the policy statements is one suggestive of students doing, creating or building through their education. California State University Channel Islands (A) sets forth that students will “change the culture and the world.” Their policy describes a “focus on how diverse communities build sustaining cultures that model alternatives to prejudice and how individuals create and maintain authority and integrity in atmospheres of discrimination.” Similarly but focused on campus, University of Wisconsin-Parkside (D) expects students to “address racism, oppression, and all forms of neglect and discrimination throughout campus.” The College of Charleston (E) plans for students to “use multiple cultural perspectives.” Students at Evergreen State College (B) are expected to “bridge differences.”

A number of universities stress civic or ethical components to the student behavior they are attempting to develop. The University of Wisconsin-Parkside (D) expects students to “act ethically in relations to diversity on campus and in local and global communities. The policy at St. Mary’s College of Maryland (A) is that students “demonstrate social responsibility and civic mindedness.” Their use of the term “demonstrate” highlights the behavioral aspects of the learning mode, over the acquisition aspects. The United States Naval Academy (C) states that their diversity education goals develop within students the ability to “create an ethical command climate
through their example of personal integrity and moral courage.” Overall, seven universities (13% of the sample) use such action-oriented verbs to describe the engagement of students in reaching diversity education goals.

In summary, in these sections (1.1 – 1.5) I have described the language used by the universities of this sample to articulate the ways students are to engage the diversity education goals. The policies express a variety of learning modes to reach their educational ends. In the chapter 5, I analyze the way these expressions articulate what learning means in the context of diversity education, and how such expressions position students as actors and subjects of policy. First, I describe the expressed end purposes of diversity education goals found in these curriculum statements.

**Outcomes**

The way in which institutions explicitly express the purpose of including of diversity in curriculum is at the core of this investigation. In this section, I review the results of coding for the articulated purposes, or ends, for diversity education goals, rather than the manner in which the goal identifies the learning process. The study revealed a wide range of articulated purposes, with inductive coding practices yielding the organization reflected in Table 6 and Appendix E. I inductively partitioned each of the nine broad categories into subcodes through repeated reading of the policies. I strived to identify nuanced differences in policy emphasis by adopting multiple, closely related subcodes. The identification of such differences, even when at times a category represents only a couple of institutions, allowed me to consider the shades of meaning in policy themes and the dominant and alternative discourses that support them. A number
of the primary categories (e.g., 2.2, 2.3, and 2.4) break down policy aspects having to
varying types of diversity education goals (e.g., learning).

Table 6. Coding for Outcomes (number of institutions noted)

2.1. Student personal identity formation (19)
   2.1.1. Cultural development, enrichment, creativity (8)
   2.1.2. Self-awareness (10)
   2.1.3. Ethical and character development (4)
   2.1.4. Juxtaposition of self to others (8)
2.2. Learning: Diversity knowledge and understanding (41)
   2.2.1. Diversity range (36)
   2.2.2. Juxtaposition of self to others (9)
   2.2.3. Contrasts, Interactions, and Impacts (14)
2.3. Learning: Interpersonal/Intercultural skills (32)
   2.3.1. Intercultural relations and communication (16)
   2.3.2. Ability to work or live with others, or engage others (21)
   2.3.3. Can be part of a team/collaboration (6)
   2.3.4. Can participate in larger-than-self structure (pre-existing & external) (13)
   2.3.5. Leadership ability (8)
2.4. Learning: Power, inequality, and social construction (14)
   2.4.1. Ethnocentrism (5)
   2.4.2. Social construction (4)
   2.4.3. Discrimination and social justice (5)
   2.4.4. Power and oppression (6)
2.5. Student action: Addressing social change (14)
   2.5.1. Civic responsibility (4)
   2.5.2. Social justice (10)
2.6. Student action: Cultural development or societal success (10)
2.7. Diverse community: Equal access and treatment (33)
   2.7.1. Access: Education programs to support diverse student success(11)
   2.7.2. Build diverse community (14)
   2.7.3. Respect and equal treatment (14)
   2.7.4. Diverse community for educational purposes (9)
2.8. Organizational Community and Culture (29)
   2.8.1. General embrace of diversity and inclusiveness (11)
   2.8.2. Tolerance, respect, support, celebration (18)
   2.8.3. Dialogue and collaboration (9)
2.9. Dominant and alternative disciplinary paradigms (16)
   2.9.1. Learning: Construction of knowledge (3)
   2.9.2. Curriculum: dominant & alternative disciplinary modes (14)
Student Identity Formation

Many universities identify developmental aspects of a student’s identity, core assumptions, or basic character as goals of diversity education. Emergent coding suggests three broad areas in which institutions have expressed such developmental goals. Overall 19 universities (34% of the sample) have articulated such personal development goals as ends of diversity education. Emergent subcoding suggested the policy emphases I have summarized in Table 7.

Table 7. Frequency of Student Identity Formation Subcodes (19 Institutions)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Student Identity Formation</th>
<th>2.1.1 Cultural Development</th>
<th>2.1.2 Self-Awareness</th>
<th>2.1.3 Ethical Development</th>
<th>2.1.4 Juxtaposition of Self to Others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of Institutions:</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent of Sample:</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cultural Development, Enrichment, Creativity. The policies of eight universities (14% of the sample) include goals generally associated with developing students’ sense of cultural identity and their perspectives on interacting in a culturally diverse world. For example, California State University Monterey Bay (A) set forth curriculum they expect will result in the students comprehending their “individual cultural identity in relationship to other cultures and lifestyles.” Christopher Newport University (C) has adopted the goal of developing for students “an understanding of one's self [and] recognition of the complex identities of others, their histories, and their cultures.”
Several institutions express in upbeat language a vibrant, creative growth that they see proceeding from diversity education. California State University Channel Islands (A) sees diversity as a “source of renewal and vitality.” Massachusetts College of Liberal Arts (C) links diversity education with “developing confidence and comfort in your authenticity.” SUNY at Geneseo (D) articulates a connection between diversity engagement, “inclusion, belonging, and empowerment,” with “experienc[ing] the intellectual liberation that is at the heart of the educational enterprise.” Truman State University (B) observes in presenting their general education outcomes: “We learn to thrive in diverse work and living environments. Our lives are enriched by the presence of diverse people and ideas.” University of North Carolina at Asheville (C) discusses the opportunities for “transformative experiences” resulting from their “Diversity Intensive” courses.

Other institutions express personal growth in more general terms. The University of Maine at Machias (C) expects to “broaden a student’s horizons” through diversity education. Christopher Newport University (A) seeks to “provide opportunities for interpersonal growth” through their diversity education. Finally, University of North Carolina at Asheville (C) speaks of preparing students to “examine their experiences” and to “grow in a diverse world.”

Across these policies, the emphasis is on goals pertaining to the student’s understanding and explorations of their own and others’ cultures and worldviews. In the next section I describe those policy expressions that focus even more inwardly on the student’s sense of self.
Self-Awareness. Several universities (10, representing 18% of the sample) stress a theme focused specifically on inward inquiry and development. The expressed ends of diversity education are identified as the student’s assumptions, internal frames, and mental approaches. For example, the United States Air Force Academy (A) sets out in their diversity plan to develop opportunities for students to “examine their personal assumptions and philosophies.” Castleton State College (A) puts it simply as the goal of “understanding oneself in the larger contexts of one’s own culture and other cultures.” In this policy the expressed purpose of the learning is the “understanding” of “oneself,” rather than, for example, the Christopher Newport University (C) policy cited in the previous section where the focus is split between understanding self and others (and so was coded in both categories). University of Wisconsin-Superior (B) has students “analyze and reflect upon multiple perspectives to arrive at a perspective of one’s own.” The Evergreen State College (E) informs students of the goal that they “recognize the parochialism of [their] own viewpoint” and “the partiality of [their] own assumptions.” Massachusetts College of Liberal Arts (F) has set forth curriculum to “foster a deeper understanding of… ourselves.” Within their “Multicultural Competence” objective, Sonoma State University (D) seeks to have students be aware of “how our own attitudes, beliefs, values, assumptions, and self-awareness affect the ways we interact with other people, including diverse populations.” University of Maine at Machias (C) sees “exposure to diversity” as “teach[ing] students to reexamine their own underlying assumptions.” These various policy formulations express how the universities strive to develop students’ mental conceptions of self and others in light of diversity education. In
the next section I examine those policies that connect diversity education to more outwardly oriented aspects of identity.

**Ethical and Character Development.** A third theme reflected in the policies of four of the institutions (7% of the sample) that forefront personal growth as a goal is that of ethical or character development. The United States Military Academy (A) links diversity studies with a student becoming a “more informed leader of character.” The United States Air Force Academy (C) also stresses leadership aspects of diversity education outcomes in asserting their goal to “produce leaders of character for an increasingly diverse and challenging world.” Within their “Intercultural/International Outcome,” Ramapo College of New Jersey (B) seeks to have students “become more aware of their own individual values and ideals, and to think and reflect on the moral and civic dimension of issues.” The United States Naval Academy (C) joins its service academy counterparts in connecting moral development with diversity education, asserting the goal to develop graduates who are “selfless leaders who value diversity and create an ethical command climate through their example of personal integrity and moral courage.” These policies are the few in the sample that explicitly cite ethical or character development as a goal for diversity education. Together with those policies discussed in 2.1.1 and 2.1.2 that set a sense of cultural possibilities and critical self-awareness as goals, these policies forefront the growth of a student’s sense of identity and self as goals of diversity education. In the final subsection looking at policies associated with personal growth, I discuss certain of those expressions that fit a broad pattern evident in the structure of many of these policy formulations.
Juxtaposition of Self to Others. Frequently across the policies that are associated with the category of identity formation (some of which I have already cited), students’ own cultural identity is placed in juxtaposition to that of others. Such constructions are explicitly employed in the policies of eight institutions (14% of the sample). For example, California State University Monterey Bay (A) refers to “your individual cultural identity in relationship to other cultures and lifestyles.” The United States Air Force Academy (A) cites “[students] personal assumptions and philosophies in contrast to those of others.” Castleton State College (A) sets a general education goal of students “understanding oneself in the larger contexts of one’s own and other cultures.” Southern Oregon University (B) observes within their diversity education policy that “diversity provides that view of other peoples so distinct from, yet similar to, ourselves that our own lives and experiences are given new perspective and meaning.” University of North Carolina at Asheville (A) designs their “diversity intensive” courses to offer “opportunities for students and faculty to examine their own experiences and values alongside those of others.” In chapter 5, I explore the discursive effects associated with the juxtaposition structure adopted for these policies.

Across this current section (2.1), I have reviewed the range of policy expressions I identified as promoting the student’s personal sense of identity, relative to society and self, as a goal of diversity education. These range from a critical assessment of assumptions, to character development, to embracing the creativity of multicultural dialogue. In the next three sections (2.2 – 2.4), I discuss the many policies that identify learning and acquisition of knowledge and understanding as diversity education goals. In
the first, I consider those that emphasize learning about the nature and range of diversity across societies.

**Diversity Knowledge and Understanding**

As noted in the discussion of learning modes, the vast majority of universities in the sample express the goal of students achieving a knowledge or understanding of elements of diversity. Within the learning mode findings, I recorded the manner in which institutions described the student engagement. Here, I focus instead on the content that is expressed as the object of learning. The emergent coding suggests three broad characterizations of these content articulations.

Table 8. Frequency of Knowledge and Understanding Subcodes (41 Institutions)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Awareness &amp; Understanding</th>
<th>2.2.1 Diversity Range</th>
<th>2.2.2 Juxtaposition of self to Others</th>
<th>2.2.3 Contrasts, Interactions, &amp; Impacts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of Institutions:</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent of Sample:</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Diversity Range.** By a substantial margin, the learning content for diversity education goals is described with general language. In most cases, the policy is structured around an assumption of discrete cultures (or other dimensions of diversity) that form the subject of the students’ diversity education. Often, the diversity education goal sets out a broad aim that students are to consider a range of diversity (using various characterizations to specify the constituent nature of that diversity, as explored later in this section 2.2). For example, Southern Oregon University (B) sets as a goal that students “gain a broad understanding of the world and all its diversity.” University of
Wisconsin-Green Bay (A) seeks to have students acquire an “appreciation of cultural diversity in the United States.” Of the 41 universities that articulate a goal of increasing student awareness or appreciation (coded within 2.2, and representing 73% of the sample), 36 (64% of the overall sample) suggest a range of external diversities as an aspect of the awareness or appreciation they are striving to secure in the student.

A few other examples illustrate the manner in which the diversity education goals regularly position diversity as an external range or continuum. California State University Channel Islands (B) sets the objective to “provide the opportunity for students to experience cultures other than their own in meaningful and respectful ways.” Eastern Connecticut State University (C) seeks “to develop an understanding of the diverse cultures and societies.” Humboldt State University (A) highlights “the importance of understanding diverse cultural experiences.” Kentucky State University (A) states that, “Students must encounter and learn to value a variety of cultural perspectives.” Longwood University (A) sets as an educational goal “an understanding of the diversity of other cultures and societies.” Louisiana State University at Alexandria (A) builds in students “an awareness and an appreciation of the cultures of the United States and the world.” Within their “Human Diversity” education goal, University of Minnesota Morris (B) strives to “increase students’ understanding of individual and group differences.” Diversity education at SUNY at Geneseo (B) is designed to “increase students’ knowledge of international and domestic cultures.” University of Wisconsin-Superior (A) attempts to build “understanding for other cultural, linguistic, and conceptual traditions.” West Virginia State University (A), perhaps risking creating or reinforcing stereotypes, sets as a goal that students will be able “to describe positive characteristics of
different peoples.” As these examples demonstrate and the count of institutions with such policies documents, the goal of achieving student understanding of the range of diversity is prominent across this sample. The dominant thrust of these policy statements on the content of student learning is that the student will understand (or other learning mode) a range of cultures (or other dimension of diversity), their own and that of others. As discussed in the two next sections, the structure of the policies often emphasizes certain themes that I believe are useful to note.

**Juxtaposition of Self to Others.** Several diversity education policies are structured to juxtapose the student’s own culture (or other diversity characteristic) with other cultures. In Section 2.1.4 I examined the policy statements that employed that juxtaposition in establishing the role of diversity education to develop self-identity. In this section I look at how a similar juxtaposition is used to emphasize an externalizing of the range of diversity as explored in 2.2.1. There are nine institutions whose policies suggest such a dualistic formulation, representing 16% of the sample.

Christopher Newport University (C) sets as an educational goal that the student will gain “an understanding of one’s self [and] recognition of the complex identities of others, their histories, and their cultures.” The universities of the Penn State System (A) expect their students to “develop consideration for values, lifestyles, and traditions that may differ [emphasis added] from their own.” SUNY College at Old Westbury (A) fosters student “awareness of their own and others’ backgrounds and cultures.” Within their “Multicultural Competence” goal, Sonoma State University (D) strives to build student “understanding of our own social group memberships, worldviews, experiences, histories, traditions, values, practices, etc. and how they differ or not [emphasis added]
from those of diverse populations.” The University of Virginia’s College at Wise (A) simply but strikingly says that students will gain “an awareness of culture, ours and others.” It is not obvious in the policy what culture characteristics are being referred to as “ours” or who is included in the membership of “our culture.” Truman State University (B) seeks to have their students gain “a greater knowledge and appreciation of cultural diversity through the study of other cultures, as well as their own.” Across these policies, the framework used places an emphasis on understanding one’s culture (or group identity) in light of that of others.

**Contrasts, Interactions, Impacts.** Several universities seek to have the student consider not just a juxtaposition of cultures, but also to explicitly consider the dynamics, differences, or impacts across a range of diversity. There are 14 universities whose expressions suggested this formulation, representing 25% of the sample.

Four universities attach a comparison mode of thought to their approach to student understanding of diversity. University of Wisconsin-Parkside (B) seeks to “familiarize students with and sensitize them to differences among diverse ethnic groups.” Castleton State College (A) sets the educational goal that “students will demonstrate a broader knowledge of the commonalities and the diversity of cultures of the world.” The Evergreen State College (E) and California State University Monterey Bay (A) link the comparison of other cultures to that of the student’s own. The Evergreen State College tells students they will “compare historical and cultural perspectives with your own.” California State University Monterey Bay asserts that students will “compare their own culture with other cultures.”
An additional seven institutions set as a goal student consideration of the inter-dynamics across dimensions of difference. Christopher Newport University (B) sets the expectation that students will “explore cross-cultural interactions,” and, in the same policy statement, that students will “probe conflicts and creative resonances shaped by cultural difference, as well as bridges built by shared understanding.” Truman State University (B) seeks to develop student “understanding of how culture influences behavior, and in turn, how cultural differences impact intercultural interactions.” The four Penn State universities (A) suggest similar lines of inquiry in their goal to build student “understanding of international interdependence.” CUNY College of Staten Island (A) also alludes to such a goal in stating that students will gain “an informed respect for the interdependence of all people.”

Finally, three universities, in addition to the Truman State University policy quoted just above, identify the impact of diversity as an objective of student learning. Granite State College (A) states that “students will appreciate the impact of cultural differences in contemporary life.” Longwood University (D) expects graduates will “value the importance of diversity in today’s global society,” which suggests that the impact or social import of diversity might be considered. Similarly, the goal at SUNY at Geneseo (B) to “increase students’ ability to articulate the advantages of diversity” implies that there is a relationship between diversity and some unstated other aspects of society that should be appreciated.

In this section, I have discussed the numerous policies that place student understanding of the range of diversity as central to diversity education. I have explored certain policy formulations—those that place cultural identities in juxtaposition and those
that emphasize student consideration of dynamics across cultures—that are prominent in these policies. In the next two sections (2.3 and 2.4) I will examine other diversity education goals across the policies associated with student learning.

**Interpersonal and Intercultural Skills**

Over half of the universities examined describe aspects of their diversity education goals in terms of achieving student skills or abilities. These 32 institutions (57% of the sample) place the skills across a range of settings and purposes. Some emphasize competencies for personal success. Others allude to skills needed for living and advancing diverse communities and organizations. Overall, emergent coding suggests six arenas in which these universities are portraying the development of student skills and competencies.

Table 9. Frequency of Skills Subcodes (32 Institutions)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interpersonal &amp; Intercultural Skills</th>
<th>2.3.1 Relations &amp; Communication</th>
<th>2.3.2 Engage Others</th>
<th>2.3.3 Collaboration &amp; Teamwork</th>
<th>2.3.4 Larger-than-Self Structure</th>
<th>2.3.5 Leadership</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of Institutions:</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent of Sample:</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Relations and Communications.** Sixteen institutions (half of those within 2.3, and 29% of the overall sample) refer to student abilities to effectively engage in interpersonal or intercultural relations and communication. For example, Cheyney University of Pennsylvania (A) states that their students will be able “to apply appropriate modes of social interaction” as a result of their diversity education. Christopher Newport University (B) discusses student ability to communicate “across
cultural boundaries.” A number of universities cite “intercultural,” “multicultural,” “cross-cultural,” “cultural” or “cultural diversity” competencies or skills (College of Charleston, B & D; The Evergreen State College, B; Institute of American Indian Arts, B; University of Minnesota Morris, C; the Penn State System, B; Sonoma State University, D; the SUNY System, B). In all cases, a prime emphasis is for students to gain abilities to interact with others, perhaps incorporating awareness, knowledge and skills as associated with a multicultural competency model (explicitly suggested by Sonoma State University). I code these policies in this category since the focus of purpose is successful social interaction. The Massachusetts College of Liberal Arts (D) specifies the skill of “adopting diverse perspectives to function in our multicultural world.” In all these cases there is the implication that there is a set of personal abilities that the individual student might secure through their education and apply to interpersonal and communal settings. A specific arena of interpersonal abilities frequently cited in these policies is that of collaborating or interacting toward some productive goal, as explored in the next section.

**Ability to Work or Live with Others.** A majority of those institutions whose policies reference skill development (21, or 38% of the overall sample) place it within the context of working or interacting with diverse others. California State University San Marcos (C) cites students successfully “living in and contributing to an increasingly diverse and interdependent world.” SUNY at Geneseo (B) intends to boost student “ability to interact with people from a variety of backgrounds.” New College of Florida (C) identifies “the ability to communicate and coexist with people different from themselves” as “extremely important.” The Massachusetts College of Liberal Arts (D)
use of the term “prepares” emphasizes application of diversity learning to social engagement in their assertion that their program “prepares students for a diverse world.” A little more specifically, The Richard Stockton College of New Jersey (A) links ability to adaptability in stating their intent to “help our students develop…the ability to adapt to changing circumstances in a multicultural and interdependent world.” Sonoma State University (D) wants students “to possess abilities and behaviors that we must use to engage in effective and meaningful interactions with everybody in our own group and with members of diverse populations.” More plainly, University of Wisconsin-Parkside (A) “prepares students…to live in a pluralistic society.”

A number of the universities explicitly place individual student success as the purpose for interpersonal or intercultural engagement. Cheyney University of Pennsylvania (A) seeks to “prepare our students for success in the global community.” The Evergreen State College (B) wishes to prepare “all students to succeed and thrive in a society that is often inconsistent in its recognition and tolerance of differences.” Kentucky State University (B) “prepares a diverse student population…to compete in a multifaceted, everchanging global society.” SUNY at Geneseo (B) seeks to “facilitate [student] interaction with diverse populations and a range of different perspectives, thus enabling them to successfully navigate an evolving and diverse world.” Savannah State University (C) stresses the role that their general education courses play in preparing students for “a successful life in a changing and dynamic world populated with diverse cultures and people.”

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6 These policies’ reference to preparation for social interaction suggests a primary component of ability to successfully engage others which is why I have coded them in 2.3.
Finally, some institutions specify effective or productive work as an end purpose for the abilities they associate with diversity education. The Penn State System (B) expresses their intent to “increase all students’ capacity to…live and work effectively within multicultural and international workplaces along with diverse social environments.” SUNY at Geneseo (B) prepares students to “work effectively in a culturally diverse environment and in an increasingly globalized economy.” The policy of the SUNY System (A) is to develop “public and corporate leaders, as well as a highly skilled and technically proficient workforce, that can work effectively in a culturally diverse and globalized environment.” Southern Oregon University (B) expects to “produce world citizens who are able to take their places in a global economy…and in working and living environments that will bring them into contact with persons very different from themselves.” The United States Air Force Academy (A) expects that diversity education will enhance graduates ability to “successfully work with, or fight against, military forces and people of differing cultures and views.”

As this overview documents, there is numerous, detailed policy language setting the development of intercultural skills as a prominent goal of diversity education. Many of the institutions provide a policy emphasis on achieving productive results for individual and economic success and in the context of a complex world. The next section explores those policies that focus on a specific aspect of intercultural skills.

**Teamwork and Collaboration.** A few institutions emphasize collaboration and teamwork as the arena for skills associated with diversity education. Since collective activity differs from a focus on the individual in a social setting which is the primary goal of the policies in the previous section, it is useful to look at the wording for the policies at
these six institutions (11% of the sample). The Evergreen State College (B) identifies the goal that students develop the ability to “participate collaboratively and responsibly in our diverse society.” The policy at University of Maine at Machias (B) includes the objective that students “will be effective collaborators, able to work easily with diverse people and groups.” This emphasis on collaboration retains the end product expressed in terms of “work.” Less specifically, the United States Air Force Academy (A) identifies “teamwork” as abilities associated with diversity education goals, but without further elaboration.

Three of these universities set the more specific goal that students are able to collaborate in ways that bridge differences in some way. For example, the College of Charleston (D) expects their students to “become ambassadors of ‘domestic and global intercultural relations.’” The Evergreen State College (B) specifically cites the ability to “bridge differences” as one of the “critical skills in an increasingly diverse world.” Sonoma State University (D) seeks “To improve the ability of members of the campus community to relate across differences by raising our multicultural competence.” Overall, these six universities promote a vision of graduates using multicultural skills to boost collective success and effectiveness.

**Participation in Larger-than-Self Structure.** In the sections above I examined those policies that emphasize individual competencies in relation to success in a socialized setting (e.g., work) or in collaboration with others. In this section I consider the 13 policies (23% of the sample) that suggest developing student abilities that advance a broader social framework to which the student might contribute. Charter Oak State College (A) implies that it will provide the abilities needed “to be part of a global and
diverse world.” Fort Lewis College (B) plans “to educate students to live in a multicultural world.” Within the policy at Sonoma State University (D), they “affirm that individuals who possess multicultural competence are better prepared to participate effectively in a globalized world and a diverse society.” These policy positions forefront the goal of student engagement in social structures beyond the knowledge and understanding objectives described in sections 2.2.

Several of the policy statements include a note of responsibility toward society to the broader theme of “participation” used by the three universities above. The Evergreen State College (E) prepares students to “participate effectively and responsibly, individually and collaboratively in a diverse, complex world.” Humboldt State University (A) “helps individuals prepare to be responsible members of diverse societies.” Longwood University (D) sees their diversity education as essential to “prepare future Citizen Leaders able to contribute to the common good.” The SUNY universities (B) sets diversity education policy to prepare “citizens that are equipped with the skills…to respond creatively to local, regional and state needs in a changing society.” The University of North Carolina at Asheville (A) “provides individuals with an awareness of their role in a diverse culture and highlights their responsibilities to the larger community.” Finally, Western Washington University (A) anticipates the role their graduates will have in “participating in, and contributing as a citizen in a diverse society.” Collectively, these policy articulations promote the goal of preparing students to contribute responsibly to their communities and society.

Leadership Ability. The final category of policy language concerning student acquisition of skills constitutes those learning outcomes that connect development of
leadership attributes with diversity education. There are eight institutions associated with such leadership goals, representing 14% of the sample.

Two of the military academics, the United States Air Force Academy (C) and the United States Military Academy (A), link diversity education with the ability to “lead in a global expeditionary Air Force” and to “lead Soldiers of diverse backgrounds.”

University of Wisconsin-Parkside (C) seeks to develop students “to become capable leaders in a diverse community.” University of Minnesota Morris (C) sets a goal to “equip graduates for lives of leadership in a diverse, global society.” The Penn State System universities (B) plan to “build…fluency in cross-cultural competencies needed to thrive as leaders in the multicultural contexts of today’s world.”

The policies considered over the sections of 2.3 convey multiple purposes for student diversity education. Collectively, however, they center on the ability of students to leverage intercultural abilities to achieve success across a range of arenas, personal goals, group achievement, and economic and social development.

**Learning: Power, Inequality, Social Construction of Difference**

Several universities set diversity education goals associated with learning that go beyond understanding the scope of diversity (2.2) and gaining key competencies (2.3). Across these 14 universities (25% of the sample), there are diversity education goals addressing student understanding of the social constructions of human difference and the power implications in this constructed knowledge. In this way, these policies are different; they set goals of learning about the socialized nature of diversity in society. Categorizing these separately from other aspects of diversity understanding provides a framework for considering how universities might be considering diversity education in
preparing students to consider social justice, one of the purposes identified in chapter 2 for diversity education goals. The policies range from those that center on the limitations imposed by ethnocentrism to others suggesting critical inquiry into the interconnection of power and privilege.

Table 10. Frequency of Social Context Subcodes (14 Institutions)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Power, Inequality &amp; Social Construction</th>
<th>2.4.1 Ethnocentrism</th>
<th>2.4.2 Social Construction of Difference</th>
<th>2.4.3 Discrimination &amp; Social Justice</th>
<th>2.4.4 Power &amp; Oppression</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of Institutions:</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent of Sample:</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Ethnocentrism.** Five universities (9% of the sample) have established policies asserting that their diversity education include developing student understanding of ethnocentrism or related social conceptual limitations. These policies go beyond student understanding of the extents and nature of human diversity, to an engagement with the limitations that often accompany efforts at such understanding. The University of Wisconsin-Green Bay (C) expects students to gain a “fundamental understanding of…ethnocentrism.” In setting expectations of their graduates, the United States Military Academy (A) observes that “persons willing and able to see the world from others’ perspectives and not just from their own narrow view of social reality are more successful at overcoming ethnocentrism and prejudice.” The University of Maine at Machias (C) alludes to the implications of ethnocentrism in their policy that students will “recognize differences and disagreements within communities—a recognition that breaks down misconceptions that stereotype groups.” Truman State University (B) also optimistically
sees the potential for diversity education to transcend ethnocentric limitations, even as the policy stresses student understanding of their durability. The university expects students to gain “awareness of the political and social aspects of culture and cultural diversity, and an awareness that intercultural consideration allows one to transcend (but not erase) cultural and ethnic differences.” Student understanding of ethnocentrism is related to an understanding of the social construction of much of what is considered natural or normal in a society. The following section explores those few policies that establish an understanding of the contingency nature of such societal-normed assumptions.

**Social Construction of Difference.** Four institutions (7% of the sample) incorporate within their policies the goal of boosting student understanding of the social construction of contested human difference. California State University San Marcos (C) makes passing reference to “gender construction and difference” within a Longwood University (A) list of topics students should “value,” “understand,” have “empathy for,” and “responsiveness to.” Truman State University (B) hints at the elements of social construction in their plan for general education to have students “become aware of the political and social significance of cultural differences.” More thoroughly, Humboldt State University (A) expects graduates to be able to “explain how cultural differences and identities are produced and perpetuated through a variety of social, cultural, and disciplinary discourses.” The University of North Carolina at Asheville (C) also directly approaches the topic. The University expects their “Diversity Intensive” course to provide students “an understanding of how social forces shape [emphasis added] our sense of identity as individuals and as part of a culture.” An understanding of the social construction of meaning, and therefore for the implications, of human difference is
related to the production of inequality and discrimination, the understanding of which is a goal of several universities for their diversity education.

**Discrimination and Social Justice.** Five universities (9% of the sample) reference awareness of social inequality and understanding of the principles of social justice as diversity education goals. For example, California State University Monterey Bay (A) states that “students analyze historical and contemporary cross-cultural scenarios of discrimination, inequity, and social injustice in the United States and in other countries.” California State University Channel Islands (A) takes a constructive approach to building community (and hints at alternative discourses) in encouraging students and faculty to “focus on how diverse communities build sustaining cultures that model alternatives to prejudice and how individuals create and maintain authority and integrity in atmospheres of discrimination.” SUNY College at Old Westbury (A) expresses the desire to “integrate into our curriculum an understanding of ongoing discrimination, violence and injustice and the need for social change.” Savannah State University (A) sets a general education objective to “promote a desire for learning, a concern for humanity, human rights and the ideals of equality, citizenship and social justice.” Finally, University of Wisconsin-Green Bay (A) states simply that students will develop “an understanding of the causes and effects of stereotyping and racism.” These several universities lay out policy goals for students to understand the roots of social inequality and the means of social change.

**Power and Oppression.** Six universities (11% of the sample) are more explicit in their learning outcomes on the causes and effects of oppression and privilege, with explicit reference to power dynamics or production. California State University
Monterey Bay (A) expects students to “demonstrate critical awareness of power relationships.” The Evergreen State College (D) sets policy for their diversity courses to address “issues of oppression, privilege, and difference.” SUNY College at Old Westbury (A) states that students will “processes by which inequalities are created and maintained.” More thoroughly, Humboldt State University (A) expects students to be able to “explain and critically analyze how differential privilege and power occurs and how it creates problems such as inequalities, prejudicial exclusion, injustices, etc.” The policies developed at the University of North Carolina at Asheville (C) most thoroughly articulate expectations for student learning in this area. The university expects students to “engage in analysis of power, privilege, and hegemonic ideology.” The related coursework examines “individuals’ relationship to power, how privileged and oppressed identities are constructed among and across categories of difference, and how societies use institutions and imbalances of power to create and perpetuate or challenge inequalities.”

The universities referring to power, inequality, ethnocentrism, or social construction are significantly fewer than those whose policies stress other aspects of student learning reviewed in previous sections. The relative disparity forms an aspect of the analysis in chapter 5. The range of policies, however, covers numerous aspects of the social nature of difference and associated power differentials. These understandings can form the basis of student social engagement, a goal of those policies discussed in the next section.
Student Action: Addressing Social Change

Fourteen universities (25% of the sample) refer in varying degrees to student engagement in civic or social action. In this way, the policies suggest that student action as a behavioral result, rather than learning or skills acquisition alone, forms the educational outcome. Unlike the more general interpersonal and intercultural skills identified in 2.3, I examine in this section the policies that focus on student engagement with issues of diversity and power. Most of these policies cite however broad civic responsibility or social justice without further elaboration. It is helpful to examine policies citing each concept separately.

Civic Responsibility. Four universities (7% of the sample) include student civic engagement as a goal promoted by diversity education. However, the scope or arena of this student action is not necessarily centered on areas associated with diversity or countering oppression. For example, CUNY College of Staten Island (A) works to inculcate student “recognition of their responsibility to work for the common good.” California State University Channel Islands (A) sees its multicultural programs as “empower[ing students] to change the culture and the world through civic action.” The Massachusetts College of Liberal Arts (D) plans to “prepare [students] for lives of civic responsibility.” St. Mary’s College of Maryland (A) is equally broad in establishing the learning outcome that students “demonstrate social responsibility and civic mindedness.” For these four universities, student civic engagement is closely linked through policy with diversity education, although their articulation of civic engagement is kept broadly defined.
Social Justice. Ten universities (18% of the sample) do reference social justice objectives for their diversity education programs, but mostly without further elaboration. California State University San Marcos (B) plans to “articulate messages that advocate social justice.” The Evergreen State College (A) “supports and benefits from local and global commitment to social justice.” University of Minnesota Morris (D) expects graduates to “engage as global citizens in the areas of leadership, civic engagement, and social justice.” SUNY College at Old Westbury (B) plans for students to gain a “commitment to building a more just and sustainable world.” Sonoma State University (A), Humboldt State University (A), and University of California Santa Cruz (A) each make passing reference to social justice, each expecting students, respectively, to “understand” it, to “pursue” it, and to “have a sense of” it. Interestingly, the University of Wisconsin-Parkside (D) plans to prepare students to “address racism, oppression, and all forms of neglect and discrimination”; however, the arena of this action is specified as “throughout the campus at all levels.”

Two of the ten universities are somewhat more specific in their educational objectives for student engagement in social justice. California State University Monterey Bay (A) expects students to “demonstrate critical awareness of… the means for creating greater equity and social justice,” and to “define and describe various…strategies/processes that could create equity and social justice.” Christopher Newport University (B) establishes that diversity courses “should examine strategies of negotiation, resistance, or assimilation as these cultures interact with society’s dominant structures.” Collectively, the 10 universities offer a range of policy models linking diversity
education with student social action, ranging from general terms of commitment to more
detailed articulation of means of action.

**Student Action: Cultural Development or Societal Success**

Additionally, some universities have set policy to have diversity education prompt
students to contribute broadly to community, societal, or cultural development. While
not as specific as social justice or even civic engagement, these 10 universities (18% of
the sample) do link graduates’ social contributions to the outcomes of their diversity
education. However, these policies, unlike those which develop general skills associated
with social participation and general leadership (2.3.4 and 2.3.5), may be read as
emphasizing students actively boosting societal success. For example, California State
University Channel Islands (A) expects students to “commit to diversity as a source of
renewal and vitality that *empowers them to change* [emphasis added] the culture.” The
Evergreen State College (E) incorporates into its curriculum policy on diversity that
students will “help [the] community flourish by giving of yourself to make the success of
others possible.” Louisiana State University at Alexandria (A) states that “ideally, an
educated person has an ongoing desire to maintain a *commitment to the improvement*
[emphasis added] of local and global communities.” Students at SUNY at Purchase
College (A) are expected to be “positive contributors to an increasingly global society.”
Policy at University of North Carolina at Asheville (A) includes providing “individuals
with an awareness of their role in a diverse culture and highlights their responsibilities to
the larger community.” The University of Maine at Machias (C) suggests a vibrant
connection between diversity education and students’ social interaction in observing that
student interaction with those “from diverse backgrounds…can shatter barriers that
separate groups and …can energize even mundane social interactions.” These 10 universities use broad, at times evocative, language to describe the social and cultural contributions they intend for their students to make as an outgrowth of their diversity education.

Collectively, sections 2.5 and 2.6 describe the range of student action which policies articulate as educational goals. In addition to identity development (Section 2.1), learning (Sections 2.2 – 2.4), and these goals for student action, a large number of universities have adopted policies that associate diversity education with facets of campus community development. These are examined in Sections 2.7 and 2.8.

**Diversity Community: Equal Access and Treatment**

A majority of the institutions have policies that associate the composition and treatment of the members of the campus community with diversity education. Coding identified 33 universities with such policy goals, representing 59% of the sample. The emergent coding suggested that these diversity education goals may be understood to promote the building and sustaining of a diverse community along three broad themes, as described in Table 11.

Table 11. Frequency of Diverse Community Subcodes (33 Institutions)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Diverse Community</th>
<th>2.7.1 Access: Boost Student Success</th>
<th>2.7.2 Build Diverse Community</th>
<th>2.7.3 Respect &amp; Equal Treatment</th>
<th>2.7.4 Diverse Community for Education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of Institutions:</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent of Sample:</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Access: Supporting Diverse Student Success. Eleven institutions (20% of the sample) cite the need for diversity education goals in order to promote access and success of diverse or marginalized groups. For example, California State University Monterey Bay (C) identifies their commitment to “serving the diverse people of California, especially the working class and historically undereducated and low-income populations.” Cheyney University of Pennsylvania (A) “demonstrates” their “commitment to diversity by offering the widest possible student access to the University, to ensure the opportunity for all to acquire an education.” They cite that “[d]iversity and multiculturalism are…reflected through our academic programs and curriculum.” Kentucky State University (A) states that “drawing upon the multicultural strengths of the University, emphasis shall be placed on preparing minority students for careers.” Mesa State College (A) plans to foster a “learning community that embraces diversity of students, faculty, staff, and degree levels, while maintaining a quality educational environment.” SUNY at Geneseo (B) seeks to enhance “equitable access to educational opportunities.” As a final example, Southern Oregon University (A) claims that their diversity education goal of building an “inclusive learning environment …promotes success for diverse learners.” Collectively these policies outline the ways, across this sample, that universities view diversity education approaches as conducive to supporting all students of varying backgrounds and identities. Moving from support of individuals’ educational success, in the next section I discuss the policies that link diversity education with fostering the creation of a diverse university community.

Building a Diverse Community. Fourteen universities (25% of the sample) stress that their diversity education goals promote the creation of a community made up
of diverse individuals. In this way, there is a slight but distinct difference from the policy emphasis discussed in 2.7.1 on optimizing the educational opportunities for previously underrepresented students. Here the purpose is foremost the creation of a diverse student body population rather than the educational success of any of its members. The goal of boosting the diversity of the student body and campus community might be furthered through development of educational programs attuned to supporting all students. However, as expressed goals, there is a different focus of purpose for the two policy intentions.

For example, California State University San Marcos (B) is “committed to…modeling the diversity of our region within a context of social justice.” Charter Oak State College (C) plans to “engage in program development activities that attract new and diverse populations.” In discussing “Academic Excellence,” the College of Charleston (C) observes that, “We do not live in a homogeneous world, and the College must reflect that reality.” Louisiana State University at Alexandria (B) intends to “improve the diversity of its students, faculty, staff and curricula to reflect [a diverse] world.” SUNY College at Old Westbury (B) emphasizes that the college is a “community of cultural and global diversity.” Finally, West Virginia State University (B) asserts that they “work, teach, live, and learn…in an environment that reflects the diversity of America.” These various policy formulations are often not tied to specific curriculum orientations; however, their presence as part of diversity education statements reflects a policy position associating community diversification with diversity education.

**Respect and Equal Treatment.** Also within the broad arena of community building, 14 universities (25% of the sample) set the assurance of equitable treatment and
status for all members of the university community as a goal. These policies articulate a role for diversity education practices, through the nature of the academic dialogue, to advance equality of status. For example, University of California Santa Cruz (A) intends to “foster an academic community where diversity of backgrounds and perspectives are appreciated, are encouraged and prosper.” The policy of the University of Wisconsin-Superior is to (B) “create and foster an accepting community in which all staff and students feel safe, and diverse perspectives are valued.” Sonoma State University (D) plans to create a “welcoming atmosphere by fostering and supporting multicultural competence for faculty, staff, students and administrators.” New College of Florida (B) sets the goal to “create and maintain a work and study environment that is positive and free of unlawful discrimination.” Humboldt State University (B) states, “We believe in the dignity of all individuals, in fair and equitable treatment, and in equal opportunity….We value the inclusiveness of diversity, and we respect alternative paradigms of thought.” Finally, The Evergreen State College (B) plans to “radically shape the culture of the college toward greater understanding, inclusiveness, and equity for all members.” These collective policies speak of “perspectives,” “paradigms of thought,” “multicultural competencies,” and “study environment,” all of which have implications for the nature of educational practices in building communities of respect.

**Diverse Community for Educational Purposes.** The fourth theme I identified within policy statements related to community building is a set of statements focusing on the development of a diverse community specifically in order to serve educational purposes. In this way, such policy articulations are structured to achieve the reverse of those in the first subcode (2.7.1). Those policy statements bolster educational
programming in order to support the success of diverse learners; the policies associated with the current code, on the other hand, suggest that bolstering the diversity of the student body is a priority in order that the educational programs will be more effective. For example, the United States Air Force Academy (A) finds that an “academic experience [to advance students’ development of their personal assumptions and philosophies] is optimally achieved in an educational setting composed of people with widely divergent backgrounds, experiences and talents.” Indeed, the Academy identifies some mission-specific educational goals that are advanced by having a diverse student body: the same policy states that they will increase the student population “across the definition of diversity not only to enrich the USAFA educational and training experience but to leverage the known benefits of diversity that can enhance Air Force capabilities and warfighting skills.” Castleton State College (A) finds that a “diverse population of in-state and out-of-state students [helps build] variety and challenge for all on a very personal level.” Granite State College (A) cites the “educational value that inclusion brings to the learning experience.” Kentucky State University (B) likewise asserts that “students and faculty with diverse perspectives enhance our classroom experience.” New College of Florida (C) states that a “learning community requires a diversity of ideas and opinions, as well as a diversity of people and individual purposes.” St. Mary’s College of Maryland (A) finds that “culturally different backgrounds enrich the liberal arts education.” University of North Carolina at Asheville (B) explains that they “recruit, enroll, hire, retain, and support underrepresented students, faculty, and staff in order to enhance our environment for learning and exchange.” Overall, nine institutions (16% of
the sample) cite the educational benefits of a diverse community within their policy statements.

The policy themes I have associated with the codes 2.7.1 through 2.7.4 link educational diversity policy with the constituent composition of the university community. Across these statements, there is discussion of how each arena may be considered as advancing objectives in the other arena. The policies contain numerous examples of the way diversity education both drives and is impacted by equal access and community status. The nature of community is more than the collective identities of the participants, however. The following sections explore the dimensions of policy statements connecting the culture of the community with diversity education.

**Organizational Community and Culture**

In this section, I examine the policy language that addresses the closely related link between diversity education and community culture or norms. Here I examine the policy language that addresses how a community overall is intended to be shaped by diversity education goals, rather than specifically the policy impact on individual members of the community. Policy impact on the former does translate into effects on the latter. However, for this investigation, the policy arenas for the two instances may be considered distinct, if very closely related. There are 29 universities with policy articulating the development of community culture as a goal of diversity education, representing 52% of the sample. In examining the range of policy intentions, I identified five subcodes reflective of the expressed goals for community culture, as listed in Table 12.
Table 12. Frequency of Community Subcodes (29 Institutions)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organizational Community &amp; Culture</th>
<th>2.8.1 General Embrace of Diversity</th>
<th>2.8.2 Tolerance Respect Support Celebration</th>
<th>2.8.3 Dialogue Collaboration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of Institutions:</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent of Sample:</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

General Embrace of Diversity and Inclusiveness. Of the 29 universities expressing a link between diversity education policy and the formation of community culture and norms, 11 do so in general terms (20% of the sample). Similar in ways to the policies considered in 2.7.2, these statements, however, focus on university community attributes rather than on development of a diverse student body. For example, Eastern Connecticut State University (A) sets a policy of “building a campus community that embraces diversity and differences, enriched by a global prospective.” Two excerpts noted earlier have a bearing to this policy sector as well: The Evergreen State College (B) plans “to radically shape the culture of the college toward greater understanding, inclusiveness, and equity,” and Mesa State College’s (A) goal to create a “learning community that embraces diversity of students, faculty, staff, ideas, and degree levels, while maintaining a quality educational environment.” The use of “while” rather than, say, “and” sets up an interesting policy juxtaposition. CUNY College of Staten Island (A) states that the College “incorporate[s]…various world views, cultures, and experiences in the fabric of our institution.” SUNY at Purchase College (A) simply characterizes their learning community as “inclusive.” Similarly, Western Washington University (B) has policy to advance “an environment that welcomes and embraces
diversity.” General though these statements are, they associate diversity with the
development of a certain community culture, with implications for diversity education
and the nature of the academic dialogue. In the following four sections, I describe my
exploration of those policy constructions that set forth more specific community goals for
diversity education.

Three universities connect diversity education with other specific institutional
goals. The United States Air Force Academy (B) seeks to promote “an Air Force culture
that … views diversity and inclusion throughout the workforce as a force multiplier in
accomplishing the mission of the Air Force.” Less specifically, CUNY College of Staten
Island (A) hints at expanded community potential through their statement that they
“embrace the strength of our diversity.” California State University Monterey Bay (C)
also employs the concept of community “strength” as a result of diversity, as their policy
references “deep respect for differences as assets that…strengthen the CSUMB
community.” These three policy statements reflect a positioning of diversity education as
bolstering community vigor or potential, although in ways not specified.

**Tolerance, Respect, Celebration.** Over half of the policies that address
community culture do emphasize a more specific facet: the reception afforded
individuals, cultures, or perspectives by the community. The concepts of “respect,”
“welcome,” “support,” “tolerance,” and “celebration” appear frequently across the
policies of these 18 universities, making up 32% of the sample.

Ten institutions explicitly use the word “respect” to describe the community
attitude toward diversity. A representative example would be the statement at CUNY
College of Staten Island (A) setting as policy the development of “a culture that fosters
respect for the pluralism and diversity of US society”; or at University of Wisconsin-Parkside (D) in establishing the goal to “respect and appreciate the many cultures and multiple perspectives with the communities that UW-Parkside serves.” At times, the concept of respect is coupled with other cultural attributes. Fort Lewis College (A) asserts that “the College fosters a climate and models a condition of openness in which students, faculty, and staff engage with respect, tolerance and equity.” Other universities employ related concepts to characterize their communities. California State University San Marcos (A) speaks of “an inclusive community…that affirms all cultural perspectives.” California State University Channel Islands (A), the University of California Santa Cruz (A), and the Massachusetts College of Liberal Arts (B) use the verb “value,” as in “a campus climate in and out of the classroom that values and promotes all forms of diversity” (California State University Channel Islands).

The notions of “welcoming” or “supporting” are perhaps a bit more suggestive of active community engagement than “respect” or “value” alone may encompass. Humboldt State University (B) seeks to “create…community that welcomes diverse students.” Sonoma State University (D) too describes their “welcoming community.” The College of Charleston (B) speaks of creating a “Supportive Environment” and describes making the college a “home-away-from-home’ for all its members.” SUNY at Geneseo (D) addresses a similar theme with more specific language in describing the “ongoing work of continually recreating a sense of inclusion, belonging, and empowerment.”

On the other hand, several universities use the term “tolerance” or similar concepts to characterize the community culture developed through diversity education.
policy. One example, cited earlier, is the policy at Fort Lewis College (A) in which the college couples “tolerance” with “respect” and “equity” in describing the campus climate and social interactions. The Massachusetts College of Liberal Arts (B) describes their “commitment to take all possible steps to provide an inclusive and diverse learning, living, and work environment that values diversity and cultural tolerance and looks with disfavor on intolerance and bigotry.” New College of Florida (A) sets the goal to “foster a campus climate based on tolerance, mutual respect, and multiculturalism.” Penn State Beaver (C) asserts that the “campus community will provide a peaceful, tolerant environment in which all members can live and work.” University of Wisconsin-Superior (B) addresses similar themes in setting as policy the goal to “create and foster an accepting community in which all staff and students feel safe, and diverse perspectives are valued.” Likewise, California State University San Marcos (A) seeks “an inclusive community…that affirms all cultural perspectives.” Finally, The Evergreen State College (B) says they “will strive to...create culturally hospitable learning and working environments.”

Five universities seek to build communities that “celebrate” their diversity. California State University San Marcos (B) sets policy to “celebrate and capitalize on its diversity to form a learning community.” SUNY College at Old Westbury (B) asserts that they “celebrate our differences.” The University of California Santa Cruz (A) too states that they “celebrate the diversity of our students, faculty and staff.” The University of Maine at Machias (A) plans for “celebration of individual differences.” Finally, and similarly, University of Wisconsin-Parkside (D) “celebrates many differences among people.”
These policies use various wordings and phrases for describing the tone and receptivity of the university community. In chapter 5, I analyze the discursive implications of the use of “respect,” “tolerance,” and “celebrate” in these contexts. In all cases there are implications for diversity education goals and practices implicit in these policy formulations. Similarly, as described in the next section, the nature of community dialogue, as anticipated by policy, is central to academic practices.

**Dialogue and Collaboration.** In articulating the development of community culture, nine universities (16% of the sample) describe aspects of social dialogue and interaction as primary goals. For example, Longwood University (C) plans “develop a diverse community that fosters a collegial climate where divergent ideas are respected.” Penn State Beaver (C) sets a goal to “foster… free expression of practices and beliefs.” California State University San Marcos (B) sets a goal to “promote a fair and open environment for the exchange of ideas.” A few universities provide policy language addressing collaboration and group interaction. For example, The Richard Stockton College of New Jersey seeks to build a “community capable of developing opportunities to collaborate across a diverse world.” Christopher Newport University (A) cites “group interactions.” The College of Charleston (A) links “collaboration” with “mutual respect” and “diversity” as shared community attributes. Finally, the University of Wisconsin-Green Bay (B) identifies perhaps a unique objective among this set of policy statements in their statement that the institution is “committed to diversity of thought and practice which seeks to move beyond labels and categories that put up barriers and tend to fragment populations.” Across these eight institutions, articulation of vibrant dialogue is
central to their development for community culture and for the educational goals associated with these policies.

Only two institutions characterize the development of community culture in terms related to concepts of broader societal development. Savannah State University (D) references the university’s “activist role in community change.” California State University San Marcos (B) sets objectives for the community to “advocate social justice and educational equity through open communication and dialogue.” At another point in the same policy, the university asserts that “as a community of students, faculty, and staff, we...are committed to respecting and modeling the diversity of our region within a context of social justice.”

In summary, the diversity education policies that cite community development are primarily associated with community reception and regard for its members and the nature of community dialogue. Several additional institutions cite general policies for community inclusiveness or link diversity with community vitality. Two universities explicitly connect the campus community with broad societal action. The emphasis of many of the institutions on a rich and open community dialogue relates to the diversity education goal of broadening the perspectives of disciplinary thought, which is the area of policy review in the next, and last, section on outcomes.

**Discipline Construction: Dominant and Alternative Paradigms**

The policies at several universities support, to varying degrees, reflection on how diversity considerations impacts the ways students understand the social construction of disciplinary knowledge. Since transformation of disciplinary paradigms is an area identified in the research for diversity consideration, it is helpful to examine their
prevalence across diversity education goals. Some of these policies focus on student learning outcomes, as much of the material above does, but with a focus specifically on student understanding of the connection between curriculum and perspective. In this way, these policies provide attention to the social construction of curriculum itself (in parallel to the policies coded in 2.4.2 which addressed the social construction of difference). Other policies move beyond student learning of the epistemological implications to address the development of a broader, more inclusive curriculum that actively examines dominant and alternative paradigms of disciplinary thought. Although there are few universities cited in each of the two categories of this section, separately identifying the policies provides information on potentially alternative discourses.

**Learning: Construction of Knowledge.** Three universities (5% of the sample) express diversity education goals suggestive of understanding the relationship between dominant discourses and the construction and assumptions of knowledge and disciplinary approaches. Two of these place this expectation in the terms of the plurality of cultures. Christopher Newport University (B) states that students will be able to “assess how culture impacts and informs the development of creative expression/movements, politics, economics, or philosophy.” A similar link between culture and human inquiry and expression is expressed by Humboldt State University (A) in describing an expectation that students will be able to “explain how the diversity of cultures creates a diversity of knowledge, experiences, values, world views, traditions and achievements.” The Massachusetts College of Liberal Arts is the most explicit and thorough in establishing student learning about the social construction of disciplines. Their policy (D) includes the education goal that students will understand “the complex interplay of beliefs, values
and practices that characterize disciplined systems of knowledge.” In another policy (F) the college observes that students “need to be aware that what seems ‘natural’ are socially created ways of thinking and doing.” Although these three institutions are the only ones that specifically recognize the social construction of knowledge, several others identify in their policies the need to expand perspectives across academic practice, as explored in the next section.

**Curriculum: Dominant and Alternative Disciplinary Modes.** Fourteen universities (25% of the sample) have policies suggesting a broadening of disciplinary frameworks across their curriculum. As such, these diversity education policies may support questioning existing norms of inquiry and knowledge production; however, the vast majority of the institutions having such references in their policies place the disciplinary development solely in the context of adding disciplinary viewpoints. Only a couple of the policies refer to alternative or marginalized perspectives and may be read to imply a questioning of dominant disciplinary discourses. Notably, none specifically calls for challenging privileged discourses inherent to standard disciplinary approaches.

Three of the fourteen universities explicitly cite incorporating more “perspectives” across the curriculum. For example, the University of North Carolina at Asheville (A) plans to “incorporate materials and pedagogies aimed at examining multiple perspectives and ideologies.” The curriculum goals at California State University Channel Islands (A) include “promoting and supporting the increase of multicultural perspectives across the curriculum.” Similarly, Longwood University (A) plans to “encourage consideration of course content from diverse perspectives.”
Several additional universities set a commitment to include multiple perspectives, using closely related language. The Evergreen State College (B) states, “We will strive to… transform the curriculum to be more multi-culturally informed.” In a different policy (C) on assessing diversity inclusion, the college asks faculty to consider the question, “Does the curriculum allow students to see themselves and their histories accurately reflected in the curriculum?” New College of Florida (A) plans to “provide incentives to develop curriculum that, in its content and its approaches, recognizes the range of knowledge and experiences of diverse peoples.” The Penn State campuses (B) have a policy to “infuse diversity issues, topics, and perspectives into undergraduate and graduate courses as relevant to the topic and scope of the course.” Ramapo College of New Jersey (C) seeks to “enhance & value a curriculum and pedagogy tied to the intercultural and international elements of the Ramapo mission.” Savannah State University (B) establishes a plan to “revise gen-ed core curriculum courses … highlighting diverse ways of knowing and alternative curricula.” Finally, Sonoma State University (E) expects to “offer a curriculum that reflects the diverse world in which we live.”

A few universities reference alternative or oppressed viewpoints, or suggest that the interplay of discourses is critical to consider across disciplines. Humboldt State University (B) plainly asserts, “We respect alternative paradigms of thought,” although without developing policy ramifications. The University of North Carolina at Asheville (C) expects faculty to include “course material produced by underrepresented or oppressed group(s).” Finally, the University of Maine at Machias (C) suggests the
importance of multiple, contested viewpoints in observing that “differences between and within groups fuel academic dialog.”

**Dimensions of Diversity**

The third and final aspect of policy that I considered was the explicit parameters of human diversity cited in the diversity education goals. I focused on articulations of the content and range of learning goals or attributes, not other university statements (e.g., expressions of commitment to serving specific groups). Entirely through emergent coding, I identified 11 categories of what I termed *dimensions of diversity*. These categories and their frequency of citation in the policies are summarized in Table 13 and in Appendix E.

**Table 13. Frequency by Dimensions of Diversity**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimension: Ability</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Culture</th>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Gender</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of Institutions:</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent of Sample:</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dimension: General</th>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Sexual Orientation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of Institutions:</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent of Sample:</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>23%</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This consideration of which aspects of socially significant differences are identified as a subject of learning provides information on the scope and the priorities of diversity policies. When combined with the information on the end purposes and the means of student learning reviewed previously in this chapter, collectively these data
supply a portrait of the overall themes, assumptions, and discursive constructions connected with diversity education goals.

Twelve universities express the dimensions of diversity under consideration through a list of four or more socialized human differences. Longwood’s policy (A) provides a typical formulation in stating that students will “employ an appropriate vocabulary and rational argument to discuss complex issues involving race, nationality, gender, ethnicity, class, or sexual orientation.” The frequency with which each of 10 dimensions is cited in these 12 lists is given in Table 14.  

Table 14. Frequency of Dimensions Identified in Lists

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Race</th>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Sexual Orientation</th>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Ability</th>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Culture</th>
<th>Age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of Institutions:</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gender and race are included in all 12 lists. Sexual orientation is included in the statements of all the universities with lists other than the United States Navy Academy (B), and ethnicity in all but The Richard Stockton College of New Jersey (A), which does include race and culture. Within its list of areas about which students will “challenge assumptions,” SUNY College at Old Westbury (A) includes “cultural/ethnic identity,” which might be suggestive of a blurring of these two concepts. Christopher Newport College (B) refers to all of the dimensions in its list in terms of their cultures: “Consider

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7 The institutions referencing such a list of four or more dimensions are: California State University San Marcos, Christopher Newport University, CUNY College of Staten Island, Longwood University, New College of Florida, SUNY College at Old Westbury, The Evergreen State College, The Richard Stockton College of New Jersey, United States Naval Academy, University of Maine at Machias, University of Minnesota Morris, University of North Carolina at Asheville, University of Wisconsin-Parkside
culture in terms of race, gender, ethnicity, religion, class, sexual orientation, or national origin.” The University of Maine at Machias (C) includes in their list two dimensions not included in those of the other 11, geography and ideology. This examination of the contents of the lists, for those universities who adopted such a formulation, provides information on the dominant characteristics associated with diversity at these universities.

The majority of universities do not include a list of four or more specific dimensions when describing their diversity education goals. In the remainder of this section, I discuss the nature of their expression of relevant dimensions of diversity. Of these, none specify ability, religion, or sexual orientation. The University of Minnesota Morris (A) lists gender, race, and class as examples of the “individual and group differences” that students should understand. California State University Monterey Bay (C) cites gender in citing their commitment to “multilingual, multicultural, gender-equitable learning.” The remaining university references to specific dimensions of diversity within education policies cite ethnicity, culture, nationalities, or make a general reference to the range of human differences.

There are three additional references to ethnicity in this collection of educational policies. Each combines ethnicity with the concept of culture in their statement. For example, Granite State College (A) discusses their courses that address “cultural/ethnic diversity,” and Louisiana State University at Alexandria (C) cites the goal “to broaden awareness of different cultural and ethnic experiences.”

Three historically Black universities address African-American heritage (Kentucky State University, A), tradition (Savannah State University, A), or experience (Savannah State University, A) as aspects of their educational programs. The Institute of
American Indian Arts, a tribal college, states, “Students will be able to competently and successfully…integrate Indigenous knowledge and perspectives in local and global issues.”

More broadly, a large majority of universities (35) cite cultures as a dimension of diversity to be considered through their educational programs, inclusive of those identified above as having a listed inventory of dimensions. Thirteen use the term “multiculturalism” to express this dimension of difference important for educational consideration. A typical statement is that at California State University Channel Islands (D), which plans to “integrate content, ideas, and approaches from…multicultural perspectives.” Granite State College (A) describes their “Global Perspectives” courses as having “as their primary focus a global world view, cultural/ethnic diversity, or multiculturalism.” Several other universities use the word “intercultural” largely in the context of a competency expected to be developed by students through the curriculum. For example, the University of Minnesota Morris (C) “educates interculturally competent graduates,” and Truman State University (B) develops in students “an awareness that intercultural consideration allows one to transcend (but not erase) cultural and ethnic differences.” The many universities that reference cultures do so in a general manner. For example, the College of Charleston (E) sets policy that students will have the opportunity for “experiencing, understanding and using multiple cultural perspectives.” Typical too are the expressions of St Mary’s College (A) that students will gain “appreciation of diverse cultures,” or the multiple references to students learning about “the diversity of cultures” or “cultural diversity” (e.g., Castleton State College, A; Humboldt State University, A; Kentucky State University, A; Ramapo College of New
Jersey, B; University of Wisconsin-Green Bay, A). The breadth of cultures is often reflected in terms of international cultures, which is the most frequently cited dimension of diversity in these policies.

With 41 references, international diversity is the most mentioned element of human difference across these policies. There is a wide range of reference, with most diversity education goals mentioning “global” (e.g., Kentucky State University, B), “world” (e.g., Massachusetts College of Liberal Arts, D), or variation on the word “nationality” (e.g., University of Maine at Machias, C). For example, SUNY at Purchase (A) “prepares its students to be positive contributors to an increasingly global society.” Likewise, the University of Minnesota Morris (C) plans to “equip graduates for lives of leadership and service in a diverse, global society.” Such statements stress understanding the diversity of nationalities, within and across societies, as a central aspect of educational preparedness in an ever-shrinking world. Globalization is a theme of many educational statements. Cheyney University of Pennsylvania (A) strives to “prepare our students for success in the global community.” The College of Charleston (E) cites the need for student “knowledge of international and global contexts.” Kentucky State University (B) expects that students will be prepared to “compete in a multifaceted, everchanging global society.”

Finally, a number of universities reference the world as a frame or context through which to emphasize an expansive diversity. The Richard Stockton College of New Jersey (A) plans to build a community able “to collaborate across a diverse world…which prepares us for global participation.” The diversity programs at Longwood University (D) are designed to “create[e] citizen leader allies who understand,
and value the importance of diversity in today's global society.” More plainly, Louisiana State University at Alexandria (B) sets a goal to “prepare students to participate in a diverse world.” There is an occasional reference to “multilingual” (e.g., California State University Monterey Bay, C), but otherwise there is little characterization of the nature of the diversity students might expect in a global society.

Even more expansive, the final category of diversity dimension identified in the policies is one of general human difference or of a broad, unspecified diversity. Of the 15 institutions with policies so broadly crafted (27% of the sample), five refer to diversity without elaboration or specification of scope. For example, Fort Lewis (A) observes in their policy that, “Diversity is a source of renewal and vitality.” Louisiana State University at Alexandria (A) stipulates that “an educated person… has an ongoing desire ….to acknowledge and respect diversity.” St Mary’s College (A) sets the goal that their students “develop an openness to diversity in all its forms.”

The other 10 universities (18% of the sample) that use broad language refer to a general range or set of aspects of human difference. For example, New College of Florida (C) cites a “diversity of ideas and opinions, as well as a diversity of people and individual purpose.” The Penn State System (A) expects students to “develop consideration for values, lifestyles, and traditions that may differ from their own.” The University of Wisconsin (A) sets policy that their students gain “appreciation for the diversity of human experience, together with respect and empathy for these differences.” West Virginia State University (A) expects students to “demonstrate their understanding of human differences and describe positive characteristics of different peoples.” Finally, the University of Maine at Machias (A) plans to develop initiatives that “promote respect
for, and celebration of, individual differences.” These institutions, within these cited policies, have set out an expansive definition of the diversity, encompassing potentially all aspects of expression and of socially meaningful identity.

**Summary**

In this chapter, I identified the categories that arose from the readings of the policies in light of the research questions. Each of the three primary categories reflects central aspects of the goals expressed through diversity education policy: learning modes, outcomes, and dimensions of diversity. I explored, through subsequent emergent coding, the language used by the universities to express goals for each of these three primary aspects of a diversity education policy.

The collective findings provide, first, a numerical summary of how many institutions express each of the identified goals in each category. Second, through extensive quoting of the policies, I provided an organized presentation of the actual language used to advance the various policy goals. As such, this chapter serves as a useful inventory of the understood purposes, and their relative dominance, across this sample of US higher education. In subsequent chapters, I explore the implications of such articulations of goals. I examine the underlying assumptions, the implied priorities and purposes, as revealed by the language adopted and relative frequency of themes, and the corresponding impact such policies have on producing discursive structures.
CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS: POLICY ASSUMPTIONS AND PRIORITIES

In this chapter I provide a deeper analysis of the coded policies explored in the previous chapter. The analysis in itself is useful in understanding the priorities and intentions, both explicit and implicit, across these educational policy statements. Additionally, I develop my interpretations of the policy assumptions, purposes, and themes. These observations grow from my application of the methodological framework of policy discourse analysis. In the following chapter, I propose and explore dominant and alternative discourses that uphold and are advanced by such assumptions and themes.

In developing my interpretations of the policy language, I consider, in turn, each of the three primary aspects of diversity education goals (learning mode, outcome, and dimensions) that emerged from the coding process. The following sections convey my interpretive understanding of the major themes expressed for each of the analyzed policy aspects. My interpretations are informed by the research on the range of purposes for diversity education reviewed in chapter 2, and summarized in the frameworks of diversity education in Table 1. These interpretations rest on uncovering implied assumptions as well as the ways the texts articulate purposes for diversity education in these policies. My analysis reveals policy stances and values which, particularly in the aggregate, reveal the discourses that produce them. Throughout, I make reference, by number, to the learning modes I identified through emergent coding as listed in Appendix E and used to organize the discussion of data in chapter 4.
Learning Mode

In this section, I describe my analysis of the aspects of the policies related to the ways in which students interact with the diversity education goal—the learning modes. The emergent coding suggested five overall categories, with two of them broken down into sub-categories.

The preeminent learning mode, as revealed through the coding, is that of student acquisition (text coded as 1.2). The object of acquisition varies across the subcodes; however, in all cases though the desired student attribute is represented in policy as one that the student lacks, or has not sufficiently developed. In aggregate, these policies position curriculum as both necessary and capable of bestowing the acquisition to the student. In this way, these texts depict diversity as transferable knowledge, much as other information or expertise that might be conveyed through teaching and learning.

The four universities with policies characterized as seeking student exposure to diversity (text coded as 1.1) also grow from the principle of transferability—but in a weaker context than that of acquisition. These four policies tie student educational development to “familiarizing” them (University of Wisconsin Parkside, B), “exposing” them (United States Air Force Academy, A; United States Military Academy, A), and “bringing them in contact” (New College of Florida, C) with diversity and multicultural contexts. The broad, expansive ends are at odds with the modesty of these articulated learning modes. “Exposing” and building “familiarity” seem inadequate for the profound ends associated with meaningful diversity education. LaBelle and Ward (1994), for example, found that developing a contextually rich and positive learning climate is
essential for diversity education to successfully advance understanding and attitudes about diversity.

When the policy statements dictate that students will do more than be exposed—that they will acquire an awareness, perspective, skill, or other attribute (material coded as 1.2)—the language suggests a policy assumption that the referenced awareness is in fact accessible to the student—or can be made so via curriculum. The policies do not allow for the possibility that there is a risk of an ultimate contradiction between the newly gained attribute and underlying perspectives already held by the student. There is no language associated with these acquisitions that consider the possibility that the newly gained recognition may necessitate the jettison of any previously formed perspectives.

Similarly, there is no language on how a student might incorporate the new dimensions of knowledge or value into the web of knowledge, norms, and beliefs currently formed and forming within the student and across the communities of students. Rather, the language centering student acquisition advances an educational model of diversity education, and education generally, as a summative process of adding layers of internalized learning with the nexus of the individual student. The overall emphasis on acquisition (1.2)—of perspective, understanding, skill, etc.—suggests an image of harmonious layering of new internal mental, predominately cognitive, modes on top of existing ones. There is little policy recognition of potential conflict or disturbance in the learning engagement, or that power differentials and dynamics may interfere with the acquisition identified in the policies statements. As Chizhik and Chizhik (2002), Harper and Hurtado (2007), Hurtado et al. (1999), and Tatum (1992) documented, the biases and perspectives some students bring to diversity education may make it difficult to foster a
constructive reaction to diversity education. In particular, internal, socialized bias may interfere with some students’ accommodation of new understandings and other attributes. Such considerations are not reflected in this set of diversity education goals.

For example, the University of Minnesota at Morris (B) plans to “expand students’ perspectives on human diversity,” without suggestion of how those new perspectives may sit with existing ones or how existing perspectives may be revised or be challenged. Across the statements reflecting a policy of student acquisition of diversity learning, there are terms such as “preparing” (e.g., Louisiana State University at Alexandria, B; Humboldt State University, A; Evergreen State College, B), “gaining” (Johnson State College, A), and “equipping” (The University of Minnesota at Morris, C). The gaining of perspectives appears to be based on the assumption of an accumulation of perspectives, each adding to the pool of existing ones—rather than, for example, the possibility of a web of views ebbing and flowing in a potentially constant dynamic of varying contradiction and superposition. As Freire (1970/1995) and hooks (1994) noted, education based on accumulation of knowledge (a “banking system of education”) positions students as consumers of content rather than active co-creators in the learning process.

Researchers have indicated that, at times, diversity initiatives inadvertently reinforce a centering of dominant cultures (Apple, 1999; Gore, 1993; Kenyatta & Tai, 1997; Meacham, 2009; Rothenberg, 2007). The policies in this study, with learning modes coded as acquisition or awareness of diversity perspectives, do reinforce a positioning of diversity as an attribute of the “other,” to be attained by the student via curriculum. Throughout this set of policies suggestive of an acquisition learning mode
for diversity education, the object of acquisition is represented as external to the student, with that fixed relationship between subject and object of inquiry maintained through the learning process. For example, Louisiana State University at Alexander (C) seeks to have students “acknowledge” diversity and acquire an “awareness of different cultural and ethnic experiences.” Such policy statements structure a learning of discernable and discrete cultural viewpoints external to the student but obtainable. Some universities in articulating the acquisition of awareness or perspective reinforce the externality by juxtaposing one culture to others. For example, The University of Virginia's College at Wise (A) states that students will acquire “an awareness of culture, ours and others.” This wording indeed literally suggests a centered “our” culture distinct from that of “others.” SUNY College at Old Westbury (A) similarly reinforces the distinction by seeking to have students gain “awareness of their own and others' backgrounds and cultures.” These articulations support an understanding of a single internalized cultural identity that can be supplemented by an awareness of previously distant but accessibly “other”-ed cultures or perspectives. The infrequent (six institutions), but still striking use of the term “tolerance” in describing the end product of diversity education has other attributes to be examined when considering outcomes in the next section, but here I would observe that the term reinforces a strict externality of the object of tolerance relative to the student and community (Witenberg, 2000). Indeed, the term suggests the potential for education developed under these policies to strengthen this dichotomous split.

The learning mode of student acquisition (of an understanding, skill, or sensibility) is presented as one-way: the student will gain the attribute, not provide or be
the agent of generation for this property. In practical matters, this does not place
diversity education in the realm of education processes that promote vibrant dialogue,
shifting identities, and unsettled understandings of how diversity is made meaningful in
shifting human experience. Broad research has established, however, that significant
student cognitive and affective gain are linked instead with establishing an integrated
learning environment, one that foregrounds common community goals and promotes
equality of status (Antonio et al., 2004; Chang, 2005; Chatman, 2008; Gurin, Nagda, &
Lopez, 2004; Gudeman, 2000; Marin, 2000; Harper & Hurtado, 2007; Hurtado, Carter,
& Kardia, 1998; Hurtado et al., 1999; Hurtado et al., 2008; Marin, 2000).

Within the nearly unanimous use of student acquisition as a primary learning
mode, the gaining of awareness (or perspective or recognition) and of understanding (or
knowledge) is widely adopted. Twenty universities reference the former and 31 the
latter. In this way, diversity education goals are depicted in policy in the same manner as
communication skills or scientific knowledge—as a body of work to be cataloged and
mastered by the student, to some level of competency. These expressed learning modes
do not position diversity awareness or knowledge as the unsettled, contested educational
territory recognized by poststructural educational theorists (Apple, 1999; Bloland,

The high number (31) of institutions with policies describing this student
acquisition in terms of cerebral attainment (1.2.4) suggests a rational, rather than emotive
or other context in which universities are conceiving of students achieving diversity
education goals. Roughly twice as many institutions place attainment of diversity
education in the realm of rational thought (1.2.4) as place it within language more suggestive of a central role for an emotional connection (1.2.5). The use of terms such as “respect” and the many instances of “appreciation” exemplify a policy position that (a) such recognition is accessible to the student; (b) that it is achievable within the cognitive sphere; and (c) that the object of respect or appreciation remains a defined, understandable external entity or concept. In this way, the policies specifically place diversity understanding in a positivist frame of clear knowledge attainment, one which is susceptible to rational thought and common, shared resolutions. The possibility that diversity understanding may be contested, or rife with conflicting conceptions and implications, both across communities and within the mind (or heart) of the student, is not reflected in these policy statements. As the review of research indicates, meaningful campus engagement with diversity is associated with difficult discussion of power, bias, and unstated assumptions (Apple, 1999; Bacchi, 1999; Baez, 2000; Bruch, Higbee, & Siaka, 2007; Caughie, 1992; Bug, 2003; Green, 2001; Harper & Hurtado, 2007; Hurtado et al., 2008; Hu-DeHart, 2000; Mayhew & Grunwald, 2006; Meacham, 2009; Musil et al., 1995; Rosser, 1986, 1990; Schiebinger, 1999; Shaw et al., 2009; Shulman, 2001; Smith, 1999; Tatum, 1992; Tierney, 2001; Weiler, 1991).

Further, the number of universities with policies that place student acquisition of educational ends within the realm of active responsibility or responsiveness (1.2.6) is still less frequent, with seven institutions citing such a learning mode. This pattern suggests a prominent role, in the images fostered through these policies, of the internal, individualized student response. Whether cerebral or emotional, the focus is foremost on the individual student learning or moral improvement. The low frequency of placing the
learning mode within the realm of social interaction reduces through policy the profile of a communal setting for the social exercise of student learning.

Roughly one-third of the institutions cite a form of critical analysis (1.3) as a learning mode of diversity education. I offer two primary observations concerning the frequency of this policy formulation. First, together with the emphasis on cognitive processes in the acquisition mode (1.2.4), a central policy role for analysis reveals the strength of the positivist, rational education model (e.g., Longwood University’s policy (A) that students are to develop the ability to “employ…rational argument”). Such policy language places diversity education in the arena of evidence-based inquiry as a subject amenable to rational methods and consistent with progressively advancing, consistent mental models. As a poststructuralist critique makes clear, approaches to educational understanding of social constructs, such as diversity, relying solely on rationalist models are insufficient (Apple, 1999; Baez, 2004; Bensimon & Marshall, 1997; Ellsworth & Miller, 1996; Gore, 1993; Harding, 1993; Hicks, 1995; Luke, 1995; Tatum, 1992; Tierney, 2001; Usher & Edwards, 1994).

Second, although one-third of the institutions do include aspects of analysis or comparison (1.3) as modes of diversity learning, as discussed above, many more policies place learning within the mode of knowledge acquisition. As considered by measures of cognitive engagement, such as Bloom (1984), the preponderance of learning modes advanced by these policies are therefore at the more basic levels (e.g., “knowledge attainment” in Bloom’s taxonomy). Such a policy emphasis is at odds with research findings that associate meaningful student reflection and challenge of personal and social
attitudes with higher-level thinking skills (Chang, 2005; Garcia et al., 2003; Gurin et al., 2002; Gurin et al., 2004; Newmann, 2012; Tatum, 1992).

Within the policies that do articulate analysis or critical exploration (1.3) as a learning mode, only five universities cite incorporation of synthesis or comparative analysis. Most of the policies with a learning mode inclusive of analytical thought stress an unspecified exploration, examination, reflection, analysis, evaluation or interpretation. The level of analysis is either limited (e.g., the multiple use of the term “examine” or “engage” as described in the findings section 1.3.1) or vague (e.g., the unmodified use of “analysis” or “critical” as described in the findings section 1.3.2). The five institutions with policy that describes synthesis or comparative analysis do provide more detail in projecting the nature of the learning mode set forth in policy. Four of these stress an integration of thought across diverse experiences and knowledge (the fifth, California State University Monterey Bay (A), states that students will “compare their own culture with other cultures,” potentially reinforcing the dichotomy I discussed earlier). Ramapo College of New Jersey (B) uses the intriguing term, “negotiating,” which does perhaps suggest a shifting, politicized dynamic at play within, and advanced by, the learning process.

Approximately one-fifth of the universities include interpersonal experience (material coded as 1.4) as a component of the student learning process. This relatively low frequency compared with other modes of learning developed in the policies (e.g., acquisition of knowledge, critical analysis) is perhaps surprising given the public emphasis on the value of education in diverse settings in the literature and in such public forums as judicial justification for affirmative action in university admissions. The
record so solidly and publicly links learning in diverse social settings with achievement of broad educational objectives (Grutter v. Bollinger, 2003; Gurin et al., 2004) that it is striking that only nine universities in the sample include such policy language to articulate how students will learn (nearly half of this count represents the single policy statement shared by the four Penn State universities (B) that students will gain “experience in diverse and international environments.”)

These policies assert that students will engage, or experience, or become familiar with, diverse or multiple cultural communities. There is no policy discussion, however, of how such social interactions may be developed in a manner most conducive to the diversity goals, or on how a student might make meaning of such interpersonal experiences to foster learning or personal growth. The policies only say that such experiences are to be developed. In this way, the adopted learning mode does not provide policy guidance on the nature of the interaction and, most importantly, on how a student finds or shapes reality from the experience is at the essence of any learning growing from social dialogue. The research reviewed in chapter 2 makes clear that the manner in which students interact with diversity issues is instrumental to cognitive and affective development in these areas (Chizhik & Chizhik, 2002; Gurin et al., 2002; Hurtado et al., 1999; Ramirez, 1996/2000; Smith, 1997; Tatum, 1992).

Moreover, these policies do not acknowledge that the social interactions called for may have different modalities and impacts for different students. In particular, societally disadvantaged individuals, or those from other than a mainstream, dominant sector of society, may experience the interactions very differently from those of a dominant position (Bowman & Denson, 2011; Chizhik & Chizhik, 2002; Harper & Hurtado, 2007;
Tatum, 1992; Tierney, 1993). Since cultural difference is often politicized in society, as understood within this critical frame of inquiry, fostering intercultural interaction necessitates consideration of the implicated power dynamics (Bensimon & Marshall, 1997; Harding, 1993; McCarthy et al., 2003; Smith, 1990b; Weedon, 1997; Weiler, 1991). These policies that cite experience as a defined mode of learning paint a universally positive gain with a presumably uniform educational impact across all student groups and individuals.

In part, the difficulties associated with meaningful cross-cultural communication are reflected in the policies of the three universities that emphasize the personal challenge of such a learning mode. The reference to “challenges” in the United States Air Force Academy policy (A) is rather perfunctory and overly general, but the other two policies (the University of North Carolina at Ashville (C) and Castleston State College (A)) employ language recognizing more fully the personal ordeal and potentially profound results of deep involvement in the issues raised by diversity education. Nonetheless, these policies like the others citing experiential learning mode, do not elaborate on the nature of the interactions or the discourses to be advanced or challenged by the social dialogue. Moreover, although these three universities are the few that cite the personal challenge of experiential aspects of social learning, they do not suggest the parallel challenges at community levels presented by meaningful dialogue addressing diversity issues. It would seem that, to use the language of the University of North Carolina at Ashville (C), policy might consider that “transformative experiences may be liberating [and] challenging” at the community level as much as at the individual level, which is the extent to which even these two universities cite.
Relatively few institutions highlight student experience as a preeminent mode of learning; however, even fewer build policy language suggestive of student construction or active creation as a mode to engage in diversity education (policies coded as 1.5); there are seven universities who do so to varying degrees. All but two are vague and general in their descriptions, with broad references to ethical and social responsibility. The policies at California State University Channel Islands (A) and University of Wisconsin Parkside (D) provide details that more fully articulate a social justice framework. Although University of Wisconsin Parkside includes the broad exhortation to “act ethically in relation to diversity,” it more specifically calls upon students (and faculty and staff) to “address racism, oppression, and all forms of neglect and discrimination throughout campus at all levels.” It is curious that the policy confines this direct and relatively specific expectation to addressing oppressive social conditions to that found within the campus community. Nonetheless, the assertive use of the word “address” suggests an active expectation of student (and others) action beyond that found in other policies, even if how a student is to address such potentially deep-seated social realities is left undeveloped. The policy at California State University Channel Islands (A) has the most robust learning mode articulation in the area of student creation or action. Their policy language on “empower[ing students] to change the culture and the world through civil action” and “build sustaining cultures that model alternatives to prejudice” and “create and maintain authority and integrity in atmospheres of discrimination.” These ambitious, yet still general, aims are at least developed through explicit description of the nature and tone of student action. The verbs “change,” “build,” and “create” portray an expectation of assertive student action as a part of, and as an outgrowth of, their diversity education.
This policy expectation of student resolve is further contextualized by the developed language articulating both the challenges and opportunities for social change.

In summary, drawing from across this analysis, I find that the following discursive assumptions shape policy concerning the learning modes of diversity education analyzed in this study:

- Students have a gap in diversity knowledge or awareness
- Gaining diversity understanding fits the “banking” model of education as a one-way, individually acquired process
- Diversity education is largely positioned as independent of student social, mental, or emotional contexts
- Diversity awareness and understanding is accessible to students via curriculum, and may be educationally layered in a manner consistent with existing student mental frames and knowledge
- Diversity understanding is primarily a cerebral exercise, rather than experiential, empathic, or affective
- Diversity is regularly positioned as an attribute of “others,” external to the student
- Understanding diversity is placed in a positivist frame, thematically expressed as though a fixed body of uncontested knowledge

My analysis of learning modes in these policies also revealed certain formulations that, though having significantly lower visibility, prominence and representation in the policies, provide important alternative images. At times only partially articulated in the policies, these learning modes may be summarized as follows:
- Students participate in experiential and action-oriented community engagement, as an integral part of diversity education
- Students synthesize ideas, concepts, and viewpoints to develop an evolving sense of diversity
- Diversity learning can be both a liberating but also challenging personal endeavor.

Additionally, in this section I reviewed a number of gaps or policy silences that grow from poststructuralist considerations of the policies (Allan, 2010; Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1993).

**Outcomes**

Next, I describe my analysis and interpretation of the specific outcomes expressed through these diversity education goals. As noted in chapter 4, the outcomes range across sectors of student learning, personal growth, and action, as well as outcomes associated with broader community, social, and disciplinary effects.

**Student Identity Formation**

The policies that reference personal identity development (10% of the sample) collectively describe positive, enriching growth. There is in these policies no suggestion that diversity education may present challenging, conflicting, or contradictory issues for student development. The upbeat characterization is typified by the California State University Channel Islands’ (A) and Fort Lewis’ (A) shared use of the expression that diversity education is a “source of renewal and vitality.” Other policies include upbeat wording such as “confidence and comfort” (Massachusetts College of Liberal Arts, C), “intellectual liberation” (SUNY at Geneseo, D), “learn to thrive” (Truman State University, B), “broaden a student’s horizons” (University of Maine at Machias, C) in
describing student development results. The policies do not reflect the cognitive and emotional challenges that research suggests many students face in reconciling past experiences and mental frames with developing consideration of the social impacts of human differences (Chizhik & Chizhik, 2002; Harper & Hurtado, 2007; Hurtado et al., 1999; Hurtado, 2006; Tatum, 1992, Witenberg, 2000).

Several universities develop a policy theme that diversity education will expand dimensions of moral and character formation (2.1.3). Again, in these arenas, the language does not envision potential conflict between ethical matters raised through diversity education and the pre-existing moral frames of the student. The newly acquired perspectives may be understood as “value-added.” For example, the United States Military Academy anticipates diversity education producing a student who is a “more informed leader of character.” Ramapo College of New Jersey implicitly suggests that there is no potential conflict between students’ current frames of reference and the growth of ethical considerations growing from diversity education. Their policy statement (B) rather rests the moral development on the students’ pre-existing values: students will “become more aware of their own individual values and ideals, and to think and reflect on the moral and civic dimension of issues.” For the four institutions that reference moral dimensions of identity development, there is an underlying assumption that morality will progress along a single vector of progression. There is no discussion of the possibility that diversity education may result in multiple or conflicting ethical frames for the students.

Within the relatively few policies that focus on student self-awareness (2.1.2) there is some reference to critical self-assessment, which suggests potential policy
openness to constructive conflict for the student. Notably, Evergreen State College (E) references the “partiality of …assumptions” and the University of Maine at Machias (C) cautions that diversity education necessitates that students “reexamine their own underlying assumptions.” These policy statements suggest that diversity education entails a revision of core understanding as much as an addition of knowledge and values. However, these statements are not buttressed by discussion of the personal or social ramifications of challenging long-held, both personal and social, assumptions or biases. Moreover, recognition of the intellectual or emotional challenges of student development through diversity education is uncommon in this sample. More reflective of the collective policies are the more general statement on self-awareness provided by the Massachusetts College of Liberal Arts (F) that students will “foster a deeper understanding” of themselves.

Overall, the 19 universities that articulate student personal identity formation as an outcome of diversity education do so in a way that presupposes that diversity education will overlay new insights and character on existing personal traits. The acquisition of these new-found dispositions is primarily characterized as an exciting, invigorating process, with little discomfort, much less personal or social turmoil involved in the education process. Moreover, the policies avoid exploration of any limits that might restrict student access to new mental frames, or of conflicts that might develop through engagement with issues of diversity.

Finally, as noted in chapter 4, there is, throughout these policies, a frequent juxtaposition of a student’s own cultural identity with that of others. Characteristic of this structure is the statement by Castleton State College (A) informing students of the
curricular goal of “understanding oneself in the larger contexts of one’s own and other cultures.” Such policy language promotes an understanding that cultural identity and other dimensions of diversity are clearly definable and distinguishable. In placing a student’s sense of self in juxtaposition with those of diverse others, the policies both presuppose that the student does have a fixed, identifiable cultural identity, and that there is a constellation of other fixed, natural social identities (Baez, 2000). The policies promote the image of a harmonious interaction across these frames of identity, resulting in a cohesive student development that grows from existing values and largely adds layers of perspectives and values gained through diversity education.

**Diversity Knowledge and Understanding**

The image of a multiplicity of distinct and accessible cultures is advanced more broadly through the policy statements expressing knowledge of a range of diversity. As described in chapter 4, there are 36 institutions with policies that identify knowledge of a range of diversity as a goal (2.2.1). Longwood University’s (A) reference to “understanding of the diversity of other cultures and societies” is a typical expression of this goal. Through such formulations, the universities promote the conception of cultures and other manifestations of human difference as numerous, yet distinct, and as outside of the student’s experience, yet accessibly comprehensible through the educational process. With so many institutions identifying knowledge of multiple cultures or, variously, “traditions” (e.g., University of Wisconsin-Superior, A), “characteristics” (e.g., West Virginia State University, A), “group differences” (University of Minnesota Morris, A), such policy expressions are particularly significant.
As with other aspects of diversity education goals, the language contrasts the student’s own culture with those of others. The most notable expression of this structuring is the outcome identified by The University of Virginia at Wise (A): “an awareness of culture, ours and others.” This formulation reinforces a centering of one culture—the individual student’s or potentially the dominant cultural norms—and those of others. Moreover, it strengthens an assumption of a shared cultural viewpoint from which students can view other cultures, which in turn are separate but knowable. In this way, this policy construction may subtly reinforce the strength of existing dominant norms in ways identified in previous research into unintended effects of diversity education (Gore, 1993; Kenyatta & Tai, 1997, Rothenberg, 2007).

In addition, these many policy statements do not acknowledge power differentials across ranges of diversity to be studied. In the absence of such considerations, the policies construct a conceptualization of diversity as a constellation of accessible worldviews arrayed around the student’s own cultural identity as a fixed center point. The policies place diverse perspectives within an array of common and understandable frames of reference and, importantly, subject to a universal scrutiny as on a “level playing field.”

There are a number of universities that implicitly reference interactions and differences across diverse cultures. These 14 institutions (2.2.3) cite as diversity education goals student awareness of such differences and the inter-dynamics they produce. At times, the policy is set in terms of identifying differences (e.g., University of Wisconsin-Parkside, B) or commonalities (e.g., Castleton State College, A) that are able to be compared and contrasted. Other times, the policy promotes inquiry into the
dialogue, interactions, or impacts of cultures. For example, Truman State University (B) cites understanding “how cultural differences impact intercultural interactions.” Across these several policy statements there is a portrayal of these inter-dynamics as generally positive and constructive. For example, Longwood University (D) speaks of “the importance of diversity in today's global society,” and the Penn State universities (A) discuss “international interdependence.”

With only one exception, this group of university policy statements advances an image of un-troubling, mutually supportive interactions across diverse communities and within intercultural dialogue. The exception is the policy adopted by Christopher Newport University (B), which references “conflicts and creative resonances shaped by cultural difference, as well as bridges built by shared understanding.” The mention of potential conflicts, even within the sunnier language of bridge-building and constructive resonance, is a rare instance across these policy statements.

**Learning: Interpersonal and Intercultural Skills**

With 32 institutions identifying the acquisition of skills and competencies as goals of diversity education – second in number only to those citing awareness and understanding of diversity – such policy language reflects a major facet of diversity education in this sample. There are a number of themes and images advanced by these policy constructions.

Across these policies, there is an emphasis on the positioning of the individual student skills and competencies. Intercultural competencies (to use the phrase employed by the College of Charleston (B), among others) are expressed as a set of evidently well definable, though left unidentified, skills that a person either possesses or can acquire. In
this way, “prepar[ing] students to live in a pluralistic society” (University of Wisconsin—Parkside, A) is portrayed as not dissimilar to other learning or training. The policies thereby advance an assumption that there is a correct and incorrect means for an individual to interact effectively with others. For example, Cheyney University of Pennsylvania (A) states that their students will be able “to apply appropriate modes of social interaction.” Sonoma State University (D) wants students “to possess abilities and behaviors that we must use to engage in effective and meaningful interactions with everybody in our own group and with members of diverse populations.” The University of Minnesota at Morris (D) plans to “promote intercultural competence.” Sonoma State University (D) seeks to “enable all members to attain cultural competence.” Collectively, and especially given the high instance of such policy language, these statements advance an understanding of diversity competence as an individual, rather than collective, attribute and one that is, again, attainable through standard modes of learning and consists of definable skills and practices. Jones (2009) found a similar identification of learning with skill acquisition in his discourse analysis of the 2006 US Department of Education Spellings Report.

The policy language links these personal competencies with individual success. Language such as “success in the global community” (Cheyney University of Pennsylvania, A), “succeed and thrive” (Evergreen State College, B), “successfully navigate an evolving and diverse world” (SUNY at Geneseo, B), and “successful life in a changing and dynamic world” (Savannah State University, C) are among those that explicitly use variations on the theme of personal success. Others express similar themes using other, more general, wording. For example, the Massachusetts College of Liberal
Arts (D) asserts that its curriculum “prepares students for a diverse world” and Richard Stockton College of New Jersey (A) cites their graduates’ “ability to adapt to changing circumstances in a multicultural and interdependent world.” Overall, these policies emphasize individualized social competencies in order to achieve the longer-term goal of individualized personal success.

Implicit in many of these policies is an image of an increasingly diverse world presenting a challenge or hurdle to such personal success—a hurdle that diversity education can alleviate for the student. Suspitsyna (2010b) found a similar discursive emphasis on preparing students for a competitive global market in her analysis of US Department of Education speeches. The regular refrain in this sample of preparing for a diverse, complex world paints a picture of diversity as a challenge to be overcome and, in a sense, competitively conquered through the use of the skills acquired through diversity education. Language used that advances this formulation include “an increasing complex world” (Fort Lewis College, B), “an increasingly diverse…world” (California State University San Marcos, C), “a diverse, complex world” (Evergreen State College, E), “compete in a multifaceted, everchanging global society” (Kentucky State University, B), “an evolving and diverse world” (SUNY at Geneseo, B), “a changing and dynamic world” (Savannah State University, C), and “an uncertain future” (The United States Military Academy, A). As noted by Suspitsyna (2010b), discursive emphasis on strength and competitiveness reinforces a heterosexual, masculine-gendered norm to the dominant purposing of education.

Beyond individual student success, the policy at a number of these universities promotes an understanding of diversity education as advancing the student’s contribution
toward productive work efforts, presumably for economic or socially beneficial ends. For example, Southern Oregon University (B) expects diversity education to “produce world citizens who are able to take their places in a global economy.” The SUNY System (A) expects to prepare students to “work effectively in a culturally diverse and globalized environment.” The Penn State System (B) cites student “capacity to…work effectively within multicultural and international workplaces.”

A few universities link competencies derived from diversity education with broader social advancement not directly linked to economically productive ends. For example, Sonoma State University (D), seeks to educate their students to “possess multicultural competence [so they are] better prepared to participate effectively in a globalized world and a diverse society.” The University of North Carolina at Asheville (A) “provides individuals with an awareness of their role in a diverse culture and highlights their responsibilities to the larger community.” Through these and similar expressions, these university policies reinforce an individualized role for the future graduate in advancing social and economic ends. Some of these policies stress preparation for a leadership role (e.g., the University of Wisconsin-Parkside (C) seeks to develop students “to become capable leaders in a diverse community.”) and others emphasize social, community, or organizational participation (e.g., Western Washington University (A) prepares students for “participating in, and contributing as a citizen in a diverse society.”) The image generated by these policies is of the individual student being prepared by education for a productive position in a complex social and workplace environment.
The predominant theme of individualized success and responsibility is offset somewhat by those few policies highlighting preparation for collaborative work. For example, Evergreen State College (B) and the University of Maine at Machias (B) cite ability to collaborate as a diversity education goal. Their policies modify collaboration with, respectively, “responsibly” and “effectively,” which reinforce the imagery of productivity and responsibility through these policies. The connection between a set of skills and effective, responsible interaction is bolstered by policies such as that at Sonoma State University (D) to “improve the ability of members of the campus community to relate across differences by raising our multicultural competence.”

**Learning: Power, Inequity, Social Construction**

In addition to developing competencies, my analysis revealed that some universities set a goal to bolster learning about the construction or impacts of social inequalities. One quarter of the overall sample, 14 institutions, express as a goal student understanding of elements of oppression, privilege, and the social construction. Of these, 10 universities cite student knowledge of issues of power and inequity (an additional four reference ethnocentrism or stereotyping). Numerically, this diversity goal is not as prominent as that of awareness of diversity, or of acquisition of skills or competencies. Therefore, while a couple of these institutions have fairly well-developed policies addressing comprehension of the nature and effects of privilege and social inequity (e.g., Humboldt State University (A) and the University of North Carolina Ashville (C)), this aspect of diversity education is not as widespread or as dominant as those policy facets explored earlier.
A handful of institutions refer to aspects of social construction in articulating goals for diversity education. Truman State University’s (B) policy reference is cursory, however, citing student awareness of the “social significance of cultural differences.” Likewise that of Longwood University (C) is restricted to “gender construction and difference.” It is only at Humboldt State University (A) and the University of North Carolina at Asheville (A and C), as described in chapter 4, that a more full articulation of the dimensions of social construction as an area of student understanding is developed in policy. Overall, diversity education policy for this sample rarely, and then in broad terms or tangentially, addresses student understanding of social inequity, power differentials, and the social construction of the lived realities of diversity realities.

**Student Action: Addressing Social Change**

There is some policy language that moves beyond student knowledge of the principles underlying social power differentials, to make reference to preparing students to engage in social change. The 14 institutions articulating such goals for diversity education generally use broad language. The most common references are to advancing social justice, with little elaboration. Nearly a third of these universities connect diversity education with the more general aim of fostering civic engagement. The two exceptions to such limited policy articulation, California State University Monterey Bay (A) and Christopher Newport University (B), express goals for students to develop specific “strategies.” At California State University Monterey Bay (A), the goal is for students “to create equity and social justice,” and at Christopher Newport University (B), for students to be able to consider strategies “of negotiation, resistance, or assimilation.” The former is only a slightly more robust policy statement linking diversity education with
social justice, while the latter is a more intriguing expression of the range of potential strategies available within certain socially constructed realities. Overall, the minority of institutions expressing policy support for student social action refrain from committing in detail to this goal beyond brief, general mention of social justice or civic engagement.

**Student Action: Cultural Development or Societal Success**

My analysis also revealed policy directed toward a facet of student action associated with cultural engagement and bolstering community success. Ten universities emphasize student contributions in these arenas, rather than addressing inequity and oppression. The policy language characterizing the goals associated with cultural enrichment tends to be upbeat and positive. The image promoted is that of a richly creative and at times celebratory dialogue across diversity. Language includes “energize even mundane social interactions, making them exciting opportunities to broaden a student's horizons” (University of Maine at Machias, C), “a source of renewal and vitality” (California State University Channel Islands, A), and “help [the] community flourish” (The Evergreen State College, E). There is little imagery of creative, unsettling or conflicting cultural dynamics, or of power implications associated with cultural hegemony, or of the dynamics associated with marginalized or alternative cultural expressions (Antonio, 2004; Barnett, 2004; Bensimon, 1995; Bruch, Higbee, & Siaka, 2007; Ellsworth & Miller, 1996; Freire, 1970/1995; hooks, 1994; Hurtado, 1999; McCarthy et al., 2003; Tatum, 1992; Tierney, 1996; Weiler, 1991).

Much of the policy language linking diversity education with graduates’ advancing societal success is geared toward economic advancement and social continuity and harmony. For example, Evergreen State College (E) informs their students that “you
belong to a community whose prosperity and well-being are crucial to your own.” Fort Lewis College (A) cites the importance of “living together in a democracy.” SUNY at Old Westbury (B) expects their “graduates to serve the world through their character and leadership.” Likewise SUNY at Purchase College (A) “prepares its students to be positive contributors.” The policy of the University of North Carolina at Asheville (A) speaks of “responsibilities to the larger community.” The words “serve,” “contributors,” and “responsibilities” reinforce an image of bolstering a status quo or, at most, of measured change. An alternative, distinctly minority, image is advanced by language such as that used in a policy at the Massachusetts College of Liberal Arts (F) in expressing that diversity education “aim[s] to foster a deeper understanding of both ourselves and our society, which enables us to transform both.”

**Diversity Community: Equal Access and Treatment**

In previous sections I discussed the images produced by diversity education goals associated with student learning and student action. In this and the next two sections, I analyze the policies addressing the relationship between diversity education goals and broad institutional goals. The first of these is the role these policies prescribe for diversity education in connection with diverse access and academic success.

Across the policies associated with the various subcodes of Diversity Community (2.7), there is a heavy emphasis on the equal opportunity aspects of diversity. The language generally sustains a circumscribed vision of access, one that is restricted to promoting equal or representative access. Three universities use the term “reflect,” as in their policies seek to achieve a student body that reflects the general population. The College of Charleston (C) states that the institution “must reflect the reality [of a non-
homogenous world].” West Virginia State University (B) strives to have “an environment that reflects the diversity of America.” Louisiana State University at Alexandria (B) seeks to “reflect [a diverse] world.” California State University Monterey Bay (C) “serv[es] the diverse people of California, especially the working class and historically undereducated and low-income populations.”

Some policies promote what may be considered a more modest vision of how diversity shapes institutional communities. These institutional statements focus on equitable treatment of all community members, without necessarily considering means to broaden the community. New College of Florida (B) sets the goal to “create…[an] environment that is positive and free of unlawful discrimination,” and Humboldt State University expresses their dedication to “the dignity of all individuals, in fair and equitable treatment, and in equal opportunity.” Cheyney University of Pennsylvania (A) ties their diversity efforts to the end of “ensur[ing] the opportunity of all to acquire an education.” SUNY at Geneseo (B) links their diversifying the curriculum with “equitable access to educational opportunities.” Notably, Mesa State College (A) suggests their embrace of equal opportunity is tempered by their commitment to academic excellence, as though they were potentially contradictory motivations: “Mesa State…embraces diversity of students, faculty, staff, and degree levels, while maintaining a quality educational environment.” Collectively, these policies promote an understanding of diversity considerations as a means to broaden representative participation and advance equal treatment.

Such policies fit within the equal opportunity conceptual frame explored in chapter 2. They suggest a constrained ends to diversity in education—ones that bestow
the benefits of education on broader sectors of society, but with those benefits being unidirectional and not impacting central assumptions of the academy (Bensimon, 1995; Tierney, 1996). Such a policy stance promotes an image of an establishment generously imparting its educational advantages to otherwise impoverished groups.

Another strand of those policies linking diversity education with equal access suggests the utilization of a diverse student body for the purposes of improved quality of education, a discourse explored by Iverson (2008). For example, the United States Air Force Academy (A) speaks of “leverag[ing] the known benefits of diversity.” Granite State College (A) cites the “educational value that inclusion brings to the learning experience.” Kentucky State University (B) asserts that “students and faculty with diverse perspectives enhance our classroom experience.” St. Mary’s College of Maryland (A) expresses that “culturally different backgrounds enrich the liberal arts education.” University of North Carolina at Asheville (B) explains that they “recruit, enroll, hire, retain, and support underrepresented students, faculty, and staff in order to enhance [emphasis added] our environment for learning and exchange.” Such policy constructions advance an image of a diverse student body as a commodity: an academic learning resource to supplement the overall educational experience.

The final dominant image supported by the policies with material coded as falling within Diversity Community (2.7) is one that again promotes a picture of dialogue across diversity as one of harmony and constructive, shared insights. University of California Santa Cruz (A) sets policy to “foster an academic community where diversity of backgrounds and perspectives are appreciated, are encouraged and prosper.” The University of Wisconsin-Superior (B) describes their university as “an accepting
community.” Sonoma State University (D) expresses the importance of a “welcoming atmosphere.” Such terminology both reinforces a dominant culture admitting of other views within their midst, and of a tranquil, constructive dialogue unhampered by discord, resistance, or negotiation across groups with different historically positioned power statuses.

Some policy language suggests the productive possibilities of alternative discourses. California State University San Marcos (B) cites social justice concerns in discussing their commitment to equal access. The Evergreen State College (B) sets policy to “radically shape the culture of the college”; however, the purposes of this transformation reinforce equal access and harmonious inclusion: “…toward greater understanding, inclusiveness, and equity for all members.” Overall, the dominant images growing from the policies linking diversity education goals with a diverse student body are ones of equal opportunity, harmonious dialogue, an imparting of the benefits of the dominant culture’s education, and leveraging diversity to enhance educational programs.

Organizational Community and Culture

Similar themes are evident in the policy statements at the 29 universities connecting diversity education with university climate and culture. As my analysis revealed, policies associate diversity education with building community tolerance, respect, a welcoming environment, and celebration of diversity. These policies stress a community strength growing from a diverse make-up. They emphasize a constructive dialogue emerging from a community committed to diversity. Both are themes that promote images of harmony and of diversity as a means toward the end of community “success.”
Tolerance, respect, a welcoming environment, and celebration collectively support images of community harmony and shared values. Particularly the first three terms promote a sense of a dominant culture conditionally extending a privilege to others. Allan’s (2003) research demonstrates that such a discourse of affirmation may reinforce an “outsider status,” through buttressing an “insider/outsider conceptual binary” (p. 59). The concept of “tolerance” is particularly suggestive of discretionary and limited concession (Bensimon, 1995, 2005; Johnson, 2001; Witenberg, 2000). For example, Penn State Beaver (C) expresses the commitment that the “campus community will provide a peaceful, tolerant environment in which all members can live and work,” and the University of Wisconsin-Superior (B) speaks of a “creat[ing]… an accepting community.”

Just over one-third of the universities in this group employ the word “respect.” A typical construction is that at SUNY Geneseo (C) whose policy states that “diversity stands as one of Geneseo’s core institutional values,…fostering respect and appreciation.” California State University Monterey Bay (C) promotes “an atmosphere of mutual respect and pursuit of excellence.” This commonly adopted notion of respect in the policies conveys a non-disruptive harmony that supports a maintaining of detachment in consideration of core values and dominant assumptions. These policy expressions, such as Longwood University’s (C) claim that “divergent ideas are respected,” do not energetically advance a troubling of dominant assumptions or privileged positions.

The image of upbeat, harmonious dialogue is perhaps most broadly developed by the use of the term “celebrate” in this policy grouping. For example, the theme advanced
by SUNY College at Old Westbury (B) in setting the policy that “we celebrate our differences and work together to achieve success” conveys harmony as well as productive purposing of diversity considerations. Similar attributes are associated with California State University San Marcos’ (B) policy to “celebrate and capitalize on its diversity to form a learning community.” The notion of a non-disruptive harmony, even a cultural homogenization, is suggested by the University of Wisconsin-Green Bay (B) in stating that the institution “seeks to move beyond labels and categories that put up barriers and tend to fragment populations."

The metaphor of “strength,” as employed in certain of these policies, conveys the productive aspects anticipated for diversity education in building community culture. CUNY College of Staten Island (A) speaks of the “the strength of our diversity,” and California State University Monterey Bay (C) references differences as “assets [emphasis added] that...strengthen the CSUMB community.” The United States Air Force Academy (B) promotes diversity as a “force multiplier.” These images, coupled with those of tolerance, welcome, respect, and celebration, convey an incorporation of diversity into an existing dominant fabric for a value-added, but otherwise untroubled, benefit to the university community.

There are two slight references to potential alternative understandings of the policy impacts of diversity on community dynamics and culture. California State University San Marcos (B) refers advancing social justice (through “open communication and dialogue”) and Savannah State University (D) cites an “activist role in community change.” These policy expressions do not consider the means, scope, or implications for a community truly and deeply engaged in social justice and activist community change.
As such, and particularly given the rarity of such alternative references, they do not significantly counter the dominant policy themes produced by the many more numerous statements that stress harmonious inclusion and productive, value-added benefits of diversity for community enrichment.

**Dominant and Alternative Disciplinary Paradigms**

Fourteen universities, a quarter of the overall sample, reference consideration of curriculum content and disciplinary assumptions in their policy statements on the goals of diversity education. For all but a few institutions, the policy is solely based on inclusion of previously under-considered perspectives. In this way, the policies principally place diversity as a value-added component to an otherwise sound approach to disciplinary thought. The Penn State campuses (B) have adopted a common formulation in developing a policy to “infuse diversity issues, topics, and perspectives into undergraduate and graduate courses as relevant to the topic and scope of the course.”

The modifying phrase (“as relevant…”) suggests a hesitancy to significantly re-consider dominant disciplinary assumptions. Researchers have indicated the difficulty of altering established and privileged paradigms without energetic institutional effort (Chang, 2005; Hurtado et al., 1999; McCormick, 1994; Ng, 1997; Rothenberg, 2007; Smith, 1997; Talbot, 2003; Usher & Edwards, 1994; Wilkinson & Rund, 2000). Policy statements that focus on incorporating additional perspectives (e.g., “increase of multicultural perspectives” at California State University Channel Islands (A), or “incorporate materials and pedagogies aimed at examining multiple perspectives and ideologies” at the University of North Carolina at Asheville (A)) do not fully encapsulate, or perhaps motivate, the major reconsideration associated with significant paradigm shifts.
Some policy language moves slightly further in advancing revision of disciplinary norms, but most are still constrained in questioning the centrality of dominant discourses to disciplinary thought. For example, The Evergreen State College (B) states, “We will strive to… transform the curriculum to be more multi-culturally informed.” New College of Florida (A) sets policy “to develop curriculum that, in its content and its approaches, recognizes the range of knowledge and experiences of diverse peoples.” Additionally, a couple of universities specifically highlight inclusion of oppressed or marginalized perspectives. University of North Carolina at Asheville (C) expects faculty to include “course material produced by underrepresented or oppressed group(s),” and Humboldt State University (B) expresses their “respect [for] alternative paradigms of thought,” without further elaboration. These various policy formulations describe a broadening of the academic tableau with diverse viewpoints to support significant curriculum transformations; however, they appear to fall short of motivating the disciplinary transformations envisioned as periodically necessary by theorists such as Kuhn (1970) and that bolster a transformational conceptual framework for diversity in higher education, as explored in chapter 2.

Within the sample, a few policy statements are more supportive of alternative frameworks that advance paradigm shifts in dominant disciplinary structures. For the most part, these focus on highlighting the social construction of knowledge, thereby suggesting that disciplinary assumptions should be open to challenge through consideration of diverse perspectives. Christopher Newport University (B) includes the diversity education goal that students gain the ability to “assess how culture impacts and informs the development of creative expression/movements, politics, economics, or
philosophy.” Humboldt State University (A) expects students to understand “how the diversity of cultures creates a diversity of knowledge, experiences, values, world views, traditions and achievements.” The Massachusetts College of Liberal Arts (D) more explicitly identifies the social construction of disciplines in their expectation that students will understand “the complex interplay of beliefs, values and practices that characterize disciplined systems of knowledge,” and, elsewhere (F), that students “need to be aware that what seems ‘natural’ are socially created ways of thinking and doing.”

In summary, across these policies there is no specific discussion of a central role for diverse, alternative, or marginalized perspectives in challenging or fundamentally reshaping established modes of thought and inquiry. As discussed in this section, there are several policy statements that advocate for the inclusion of diverse modes of thought; however, there are few policies that highlight the social construction of disciplined knowledge. Moreover, there is a broad policy absence, across this sample, of consideration of how central incorporation of marginalized perspectives might serve to interrogate or disrupt the assumptions and aims reflected by dominant disciplinary structures.

**Dimensions of Diversity**

I analyzed the expressions of diversity in these statements of educational goals in order to explore which aspects are most prominent in the policies. I studied the way the dimensions of diversity are identified, whether broadly, specifically, or itemized, and the scope of elaboration or explanation provided by the policies. The coding was entirely emergent, and the analysis and interpretation, described in this section, rest on reading the descriptions of the dimensions within the policy contexts.
The presentation of lists, as adopted by 12 universities, to convey the dimensions of diversity they address, emphasizes an understanding of diversity as a defined summation of certain socially meaningful distinctions. Such listings have the possible discursive effect of enhancing the association of diversity policy with certain differences, and reducing policy associations with other socially significant differences and intragroup identities (Swartz, 2009). As Hu-DeHart (2000) and Baez (2000) noted, such a “laundry list” risks naturalizing certain socially constructed differences, fixing them as uncontested and normal in social discourse.

The 12 institutions whose policies enumerate dimensions of diversity nearly all include gender, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, and nationality. The preponderance of these social distinctions for these institutions suggests the prominence of these characteristics for the policy-makers in considering diversity education goals. On the other hand, about half of these universities reference ability, class, religion, culture, and age. The relative lower frequency of citation of these terms suggests that, for this sample, these social distinctions are not as prominent in the policy discourses surrounding diversity. This finding is reinforced by the near total lack of reference to these dimensions, other than culture, in the institutions not specifying a list of dimensions (the one exception is University of Minnesota Morris (A) that references class).

Those institutions not using a list overwhelmingly limit their reference to culture or international diversity. As noted in the chapter 4, there are a couple of additional references to gender and ethnicity; but, overall, when the policies provide information on the dimensions of diversity considered for diversity education, they refer to culture or aspects of international difference (e.g., reference to global diversity). Overall, when
policies incorporate a list of human differences, they tend to adopt a certain set of categories. On the other hand, when policies avoid such an enumeration, then, within this sample, they stick to broad language on diversity or cite the need to understand culture or global difference. Hu-DeHart (2000) observed that such a generality is unthreatening to dominant interests by permitting diversity to encompass any claimant to difference.

“Culture” may be employed as a general term to embrace or reflect a multitude of human differences (Talbot, 2003). The term allows for recognition of difference without necessarily considering questions of privilege and oppression, in ways that is harder to avoid when discussing socialized concepts of race, gender, or class, for example (Gore, 1993; Kenyatta & Tai, 1997; Musil, 2006; Tatum, 1992). Culture may embrace multiple aspects of the lived experience of those identified by the lists, and so may be understood as a useful generalized term in policies to encompass many of these dimensions. There is a lack of modifiers that clarify the intended scope or meaning of culture as a dimension for diversity education. This collection of policies maintains a generalized presentation of culture, often pairing it with non-specific forms of the word “diversity” (e.g., “diverse cultures” (St. Mary’s College, A); “cultural diversity” (University of Wisconsin Green Bay, A)).

Perhaps most striking is the high frequency of reference to international diversity. With 41 institutions making reference to students’ understanding of global or world diversity, it is the highest mentioned dimension in this sample. This preponderance suggests that a primary aspect of the need and opportunity for diversity education is understood as residing with diversity across nations and nationalities. Unlike the references to culture, the frequent references to global, international, and world are at
times modified with words that suggest challenge, even danger. For example:
“multifaceted, everchanging global society” (Kentucky State University, B);
“increasingly diverse and challenging world” (United States Air Force Academy, C); “an
increasingly complex world” (Fort Lewis College, B); “the complex world in which we
live” (Massachusetts College of Liberal Arts, E); and “a changing and dynamic world”
(Savannah State University, C). These modifiers foster an image of a diverse world as a
challenge and potential threat, one for which diversity education can provide students the
tools and strength to confront and turn to productive ends.

Summary

In this chapter, I described my analysis of the expressed and implied means and
purposes of diversity education, as articulated in this sample of policy statements. I
considered each of the three aspects of diversity education goals (learning modes,
outcomes, and dimensions) as depicted by these policies. Through analysis of the coded
material and interpretation using the methodology of policy discourse analysis, I
articulated my understanding of the dominant and alternative images, assumptions, and
themes reflected and produced through these policies. Throughout, I considered the
language used and the relative frequency across the sample of the various policy
priorities and themes. In the next chapter, I examine the dominant and alternative
discourses that give rise to these policy images, assumptions, and themes.
CHAPTER 6
THEMES, DISCOURSES, AND SUBJECT POSITIONS

In this chapter I explore the discourses that shape, and are advanced by, this sample of diversity education policies. My inquiry into discourses was based on the methodological frames of policy discourse analysis discussed in chapter 2. My analysis of prominent themes and emphases, described in the last chapter, are the basis for this interpretation of discourses producing these policies. The policy language on diversity education goals is shaped by broader dominant discourses commonly taken up in the framing of education-related issues. The dominant discourses I explore in this chapter provide the socially compelling context for these policies; in other words, the policy goals are discursively constituted. In turn, these policies produce and reinforce assumptions and images that contribute to shaping particular educational realities. In keeping with the methodology of policy discourse analysis, I adopt appropriate labels for the discourses as means to further discussion, while recognizing the limitations and, at times, unintended images such labels may foster.

I begin my discussion of the discourses of diversity education goals by identifying the broad themes revealed through the analysis and interpretations of chapter 5. This summary leads to the identification of two dominant, overarching discourses I label as a Market discourse and a Harmony discourse. I then link each of these broad discourses with discursive strands of Commodification, Productivity, Affirmation, and Banking. Collectively, these discourses shape the policy themes and their specific assumptions and intents.
My analysis and interpretations lead me to identify these discourses as dominant since the texts treat them as natural, unspoken assumptions and unarticulated values that permeate through the texts. The policy statements reflect these unarticulated givens, thereby, through policy establishment, reinforcing their social naturalness and privileged standing.

I connect each dominant discourse to the identified themes, and I discuss them in light of previous related policy discourse research. Then, I examine ways in which these discourses advance subject positions for students and others. Finally, in the last section of this chapter, I discuss the alternative discourses evident in these policies.

**Themes and Assumptions**

The organization of the two previous chapters revolved around the coding structure (Appendix E). This structure grew from key questions that policies for diversity education goals address (What dimensions of diversity should students consider? For what purposes? In what ways will they engage?). The review and analysis of the findings described in the previous two chapters allow me to look across sectors of data to consider overarching assumptions and themes. My interpretation of the data, via a policy discourse methodology, leads me to the identification of prominent assumptions and themes, which I have organized into three broad areas: (a) nature of diversity and the social setting; (b) student interaction with diversity; and (c) purposes and end results. In each area I identify the prominent themes. When supported by the data, I have identified distinct yet closely related themes, and highlight these if the nuanced difference is helpful to revealing supporting discourses that might otherwise be overlooked.
In this section, I consider the assumptions and themes (labeled in italics) in each of these three areas, relying upon (but not restating) the examples, analysis, and interpretations of the previous two chapters. In subsequent sections, I draw upon these themes to identify the dominant discourses that support such policy themes.

**Themes on the Nature of Diversity and the Social Setting**

Across these policies there are embedded assumptions about the nature of diversity and the social context through which individuals both affect and are impacted by diversity considerations. The policies produce an understanding of diversity as a *proficiency*: a set of definable competencies, skills, and perspectives that students may acquire through the educational process. Such proficiency is portrayed as having definable value to the student and, once so equipped, able to employ the proficiency effectively and purposefully. Throughout the policies there is, moreover, a positioning of diversity, in each of three policy conceptualizations, as a *commodity*. First, the policies highlight the role of a diverse community in enhancing the educational experience. Second, the policies emphasize the educational benefits that diverse perspectives may bring to existing disciplinary-based studies. Third, the policies stress diversity proficiency as an asset for the individual student’s success. Therefore, I use the label *commodity* to suggest these depictions of diversity—whether as a characteristic of community, a disciplinary perspective, or as a set of skills and abilities—as having tangible, supplementary benefit; a benefit that a student or community can acquire, and that produces a net, meaningful gain. The overall dominant image in these policies is of students (and universities and disciplines) gaining meaningful value through the acquisition of diversity proficiency.
The policies reveal assumptions about the social setting in which diversity is considered in the educational process. In setting policy about the nature of dialogue on campuses and in classes, there is an unspoken assumption of a level playing field where differences can be safely and constructively discussed. While the policies extol the virtues of vibrant dialogue across a diverse community, the unstated assumption is that such interactions do not implicate power differentials and may be conducted in an atmosphere of mutual affirmation, even celebration. Change in the university community is framed as non-disruptive, supporting an overall emphasis on integration of reconcilable viewpoints and shared interest and ability to consider fully multiple viewpoints.

Finally, there is a theme across these policies of a competitive social world. The policies position diversity proficiency as a means for students to successfully meet the external challenges and succeed in a competitive global environment (competitive in large part because of the diversity that is celebrated within the community). In this way, the external world is discursively framed in a way opposite to that of the university community. The latter is a supportive environment in which multiple perspectives are celebrated, shared, integrated, and acquired. The former is an increasingly challenging setting for which students need to prepare by acquiring as many tools as possible, including diversity proficiency.

In summary, the themes concerning the nature of diversity and the social setting advanced by these policies are as follows (within parentheses I have indicated the primary codes whose corresponding policy material is associated with each theme; the relevant examples, and my analysis and interpretations for each, were described in chapters 4 and 5):
• Proficiency - Diversity education produces a set of definable skills, competencies, and perspectives which students may employ (1.2, 2.3, 3.8)

• Commodity - Diversity is positioned as an asset at three levels: diversity proficiency for the individual student; diverse community for the educational practice; and diverse perspectives to enhance disciplinary thought (1.2, 2.3, 2.6, 2.7, 2.9)

• Level Playing Field - Dialogue about issues of diversity is conducted in the community in an atmosphere of respect and equality of position. (1.4, 2.2.1, 2.7, 2.8)

• Affirmation - Respectful sharing and supporting of multiple perspectives is manifest and welcome across all sectors of a tolerant community (1.4, 2.2.3, 2.6, 2.7, 2.8)

• Non-Disruptive - Incorporating diversity and reconciling viewpoints is a gradual and constructive process (1.2, 1.4, 2.1.1, 2.1.2, 2.1.3, 2.2.3, 2.6, 2.7, 2.8, 2.9)

• Competitive World - The social environment beyond the university community is competitive and rapidly changing, for which students must prepare (2.3, 3.8)

Themes on Student Interaction with Diversity

There are dominant themes throughout the policies on the nature of student engagement with issues of diversity. The policies depict diversity content as accessible to students. There is the unspoken assumption that newly acquired knowledge, understanding, perspectives, and values (to cite primary expressions of diversity education) are compatible or reconcilable with any existing mental constructions. Moreover, diversity is positioned as an object of detached inquiry, one which is
susceptible to *neutral cognitive learning processes*. There is a presumed fixed relationship between the student as subject and diversity as an object of inquiry that is discursively maintained throughout the policy representations of student inquiry. The policies support certain discursive relationships between the student and the diversity education goals.

The student is understood to be a *recipient of content* (perspectives, values, etc.), not a producer or contributor. This structural assumption places certain expectations for the role of students as a consumer of diversity in a one-way process, similar to the student-as-consumer subject position explored by hooks (1994). At the individual student level, diversity education is regularly discussed as a set of additional competencies or perspectives that enhance student preparedness or supplement their understanding of the world. Learning modes that center appreciation or acquisition foster discursive images of learning as a cumulative exercise, in keeping with Freire’s (1970/1995) Banking model of education. Each successive competency enhances the collection up to that point. Each new perspective builds a broader, more complete, world view.

In a related discursive structuring, the student is positioned as distinct from the diversity to be encountered. The policies promote an image of a *fixed juxtaposition* of the student with his/her cultural identities (or other aspects of diversity), set in fixed contrast to a multitude of other cultures, distinct and separate, yet accessible to the student. In this way, the policies resist a blurring (or confusion) of identities, perspectives, or realities. The set of diversity attributes (perspectives, cultures, epistemologies) serves as a subject of cognitive inquiry, under these policies.
The image of the student is of one who acquires or gains from the perspectives of others. When diversity perspectives are positioned by policy as subjects for inquiry, dominant norms may be discursively reinforced as being at the center of this constellation of inquiry, thereby strengthening such dominant norms for the student and unintentionally marginalizing others (Gore, 1993, Keyatta and Tai, 1997, Rothenberg, 2007). In particular, for the individual student, as Meacham (2009) noted, such an external structuring of inquiry potentially undermines students’ internal questioning or challenging of core, socialized beliefs.

In summary, the themes concerning student interaction with diversity are:

- **Accessible** - Student acquisition of diversity learning is achievable and consistent with existing sense of identity and characteristics (2.1.1, 1.2, 2.3, 2.9, 3.4)
- **Neutral, Cognitive Process** - Learning about diversity is achieved through primarily detached, cognitive means (1.2.4, 1.3)
- **Recipient** - The educational process is unidirectional. The student receives and is enriched by educational diversity (1.2, 2.3)
- **Juxtaposition** - The student identity is distinct from the expressions of diversity to be encountered (1.2, 2.1, 2.2.1, 2.2.2, 2.7)

**Themes on Purposes and End Results**

These documents are active voices in discursively shaping higher education’s conceptions and framing of the purposes and end results of diversity education. My analysis and interpretation of the data reveal several dominant themes. These themes primarily are expressed through the stated outcomes for students, the university community, society, and for disciplinary thought.
The overarching theme of *strength* is implicit, and at time explicit, in much of the policies. The language builds a contextual framing of diversity (whether as a student competency, a characterization of the community, or providing modes of inquiry) as bestowing strength or effectiveness. Diversity’s productiveness is understood to provide a competitive advantage; it is positioned as increasing educational effectiveness. Community is strengthened through the diversity of its members. Linking diversity with images of strength, power, or effectiveness shapes discursive understandings of the role and purposes of diversity in educational settings.

Importantly, the discourse provides that it is diversity as a subsumed attribute that bestows strength on the student, community, or discipline. Diversity consideration is not portrayed as a strength in itself, or one that has the power to disrupt or alter in fundamental ways. Instead, diversity is discursively portrayed as providing ever-growing strength and effectiveness (rather than, say, providing uneasy tension, creative conflict, or a troubling resistance) and this strength is linked not with diversity itself, but rather with its incorporation into preexisting dominant frames (e.g., student learning goals, community culture, disciplinary modes of inquiry).

As a manifestation of strength, an emphasis on *material success* is woven across the policy outcomes. Student achievement of diversity learning goals is linked with their personal and career success. These policies collectively position success as achieved through the add-on of diversity considerations. Success is not positioned, in these policies, as growing from diversity considerations challenging, or potentially supplanting, previous modes of thinking, expression, and self-identity.
Likewise, diversity is positioned through policy as a means of *enhancing* community and social capacity in the context of a globally competitive environment. Nations and communities that acquire diversity attributes gain a competitive, economic edge, and are positioned, according to these policies, to advance overall community and social success. Similar to the image of diversity enhancing both personal and social economic success, diverse perspectives are positioned as supplemental enhancements to disciplinary inquiry. The policies do not suggest diversity considerations as a means to disrupt existing epistemological paradigms, but again position diversity as a complementary tool to augment disciplinary success and effectiveness. In summary, diversity inclusion, as expressed generally in these policies, supplements, but does not challenge or revise, established social organization and productions of knowledge.

Finally, language about the purposes of diversity education suggests an *individualistic* conceptualization of the purpose for diversity education. The policies largely position diversity as an individual attribute. The focus is foremost on individual student learning or moral improvement. Diversity at the community level is understood as the diversity of the individuals constituting the community. This discursive positioning advances (and reflects) the apparent naturalness of identifying diversity competencies (or perspectives or knowledge) as an individual attribute, rather than a social construction or community-understood quality.

In summary, the themes discursively advanced through the policy articulation of purposes and end results are:

- *Material Success* - The goals set individual and societal economic success as an over-riding motivation and purpose for diversity consideration (2.3, 2.6, 2.8, 3.8)
• *Strength* - The benefits of diversity education are expressed through images of strength and effectiveness (2.3, 2.7, 2.8, 3.8)

• *Enhancement* – Success and strength are associated with diversity augmenting, not supplanting, student, community, and disciplinary values and attributes (1.2, 2.1.3, 2.1, 2.2.1, 2.3, 2.7, 2.9)

• *Individualistic* - Diversity learning is conceptualized as producing an individual with certain particularized properties (rather than a community or social manifestation) (1.2, 1.2.6, 2.1.1, 2.3)

**Dominant Discourses**

Analysis of these themes reveals two overarching dominant discourses that produce such policy orientations. I adopt the labels *Market Discourse* and *Harmony Discourse* to identify them. In the remainder of this chapter and in chapter 7, I explore the meaning and implications of each of these overarching discourses, the subject positions they constitute, and the resonance of each within and across the policies. I place these two dominant discourses at the same conceptual level, without prescribing relative weights to them. Two strands of each dominant discourse shape diversity education policy. Figure 1 presents a visual summary of the relationship between (a) the two dominant discourses; (b) their particular manifestations in four policy arenas associated with diversity education goals; and (c) the policy themes produced by these dominant discourses.
The Market discourse produces policy emphasizing material value and economic benefit at the individual and societal levels. It gives rise to images of diversity learning as the acquisition of something of value which, in turn, brings benefits (to students, communities and societies) and can be leveraged to produce other marketable gains or advantages. The Market discourse gives rise to the dominant neoliberal ideology, one that imposes on education and other social enterprises the paradigms and economic strictures of capitalistic enterprises, and promotes privatization of previously public

Figure 1. Dominant Discourses and Associated Themes

**Market Discourse**

The Market discourse produces policy emphasizing material value and economic benefit at the individual and societal levels. It gives rise to images of diversity learning as the acquisition of something of value which, in turn, brings benefits (to students, communities and societies) and can be leveraged to produce other marketable gains or advantages. The Market discourse gives rise to the dominant neoliberal ideology, one that imposes on education and other social enterprises the paradigms and economic strictures of capitalistic enterprises, and promotes privatization of previously public
enterprises (Ayers, 2005; Barnett, 2004; Giroux, 2002; Hu-DeHart, 2000; Jones, 2009; McCarthy et al., 2003; Milliken, 2004; Suspitsyna, 2010a & b; Youdell, 2006). Other recent research has revealed the prevalence of a Market discourse across broader education policy expression. Iverson (2008) identified a marketplace discourse in her analysis of university diversity action plans that is revealed, in part, in these policies’ emphasis on providing “exposure to multicultural perspectives in order to compete” (p. 186). Suspitsyna (2010b) likewise found a dominant neo-liberal market discourse emphasizing individual and societal economic success expressed across recent US Department of Education public rhetoric. Ayers’ (2005) examination of community college mission statements revealed discourses that position education as “justified primarily by its effect on economic conditions” (p. 539). Unterhalter (2005) found that, internationally, governmental policy primarily bases improvements in gender equity in terms of economic development. For this study, I am considering a neoliberal ideology, with its associated social and political agenda, to be a product of the dominant Market discourse. In this way, I consider the policy effects of the neoliberal ideology to be discursive productions of the Market discourse.

This Market discourse is broadly expressed in my analysis through strands of Productivity and Commodification. A discourse of Productivity promotes an understanding of diversity as useful to furthering other ends. It thereby produces policy assumptions associated with the ultimate purposes for diversity education. Productivity places diversity as a means to larger cohesive and desirable purposes. It emphasizes the functional capacity of diversity learning (e.g., skills or perspective) that produces
measurable products (e.g., community effectiveness, student career success, disciplinary flexibility).

The discourse of Productivity grows most notably from my analysis and interpretation of the policy language describing the learning modes of exposure (1.1) and of acquisition, especially skills or abilities (1.2.3). It is further buttressed by the policy language related to learning outcomes concerning: interpersonal/intercultural skills (2.3), cultural development or social success (2.6), equal access and treatment (2.7), and organizational community and culture (2.8). Finally, the discursive framing of diversity as a utility or Productivity is advanced through the emphasis on international competition (3.8), as I explored in the policy consideration of the dimensions of diversity.

The dominant Market discourse is revealed in the images of diversity concepts (e.g., perspectives, competencies, community composition) as attributes that are developed for their associated value. Across these policies, diversity knowledge, perspectives, and skills are positioned as transferable and acquirable. Such a discursive framing implies that there is meaning to having or not having a diversity attribute (e.g., a skill for a student, perspective for a disciplinary approach, or mutual respect within a community). I therefore adopt the label Commodification to identify those manifestations of the Market discourse that advance this image of the products of diversity learning as assets. In this study of curriculum goals, I find that Commodification, as an aspect of the Market discourse, produces policy assumptions concerning the content of diversity education goals. A discourse of Commodification creates the policy orientation that there is a uniformity or definability to the end products of diversity learning, and that it is an
individualized possession (rather than produced and made real through social construction).

The image of diversity learning as an individualized commodity is most clearly revealed in the emphasis on gaining individualized skills, abilities, and values (1.2.3, 1.2.6 and 2.3) via diversity education. Diversity as a community commodity is reflected in the learning outcomes associated with cultural development or societal success (2.6), especially in the policy emphasis on diversity as a community attribute, and in the language supportive of equal access and treatment (2.7), with the policy discussion on the benefits of a diverse community. Diversity as a social attribute bestowing value to the community is consistent with the findings of Iverson (2008) in her identification of a discourse of excellence, conveyed through the association of prestige with a diverse student body, producing an understanding of diversity as a marketable commodity.

Finally, the articulation of outcomes concerning disciplinary paradigms (2.9) reveals the commodification of diverse perspectives within curriculum. Previously excluded modes of inquiry are added as curricular commodities to increase disciplinary potential, not to interrogate or challenge the established norms. Overall, the discursive positioning of diversity learning as an add-on commodity that enhances students’ future productivity is consistent with a neoliberal understanding of education as centered on the development of human capital for economic development (Ayers, 2005; Giroux, 2002; Jones, 2009).

**Harmony Discourse**

I adopt the label *Harmony* to characterize a second overarching dominant discourse shaping these policies. This dominant discourse supports policy constructions
associated with both the environment of learning and the process of learning. The term Harmony reflects multiple manifestations across diversity education goals of compatibility, continuity, accessibility, and an assumption of shared values. The Harmony discourse produces policy conceptualizations of a student or community embracing, without conflict, new perspectives, which layer consistently with existing ones and provide for a newly enriched state. The new state, of individual or community, is, in turn, positioned as more fully in harmony with its internal and external circumstances. The policies promote the image of a harmonious interaction across frames of identity. The educational process is positioned as resulting in cohesive student and community development, growing from existing understandings, perspectives, and values, and achieved by adding new layers of perspectives and values. Two discursive strands of the overarching discourse of Harmony circulate in these policies: discourses of Affirmation and of educational Banking.

The discourse of Affirmation produces policy assumptions about the environment within which students and the university consider diversity. The shared foundations and mutual support presumed as a given within an Affirmation discourses are expressed through policy language suggestive of collegial respect and common purpose in diversity education. The discourse of Affirmation constitutes the portrayal of diversity learning as growing from open, trusting, and even celebratory dialogue. This is consistent with a discourse of Affirmation as a strand of a dominant discourse of access identified by Allan (2003) in her analysis of the reports from university women’s commissions, and by Iverson (2012) in her study of university-wide diversity action plans. Gudeman’s (2000) content analysis of the mission statements of prominent US liberal arts colleges similarly
revealed dominant images of respectful, tolerant campus communities. Hu-DeHart (2000) found this emphasis on a welcoming, mutually respectful community reflective of a neoliberal civility, oriented around a “corporate model” of collegiality (p. 42).

Similarly, the Harmony discourse resists policy consideration of internalized power differentials that impact diversity learning. The frequent expression of policy language placing a student’s perspective in juxtaposition with those of others in a fixed and understandable array reinforces a level, structured, static affirmative discourse. Overall, the policies portray diversity education as occurring in a context of respectful dialogue in an environment of shared values and equality of power, where the array of diversity frameworks is established and well understood, all of which are policy orientations produced by the discourse of Affirmation.

As discussed in the previous two chapters, the discourse of Affirmation emerges most clearly in the policies pertaining to learning modes of acquiring perspective (1.2.1) and those that emphasize respect, appreciation, and experience (1.2.4 and 1.4). In the articulation of learning outcomes, the discourse of Affirmation is most apparent in the language describing student identity formation (2.1), knowledge and understanding (2.2), cultural development (2.6), equal treatment (2.7), and organizational community and culture (2.8.3).

A discourse of Banking, as an aspect of the overarching discourse of Harmony, produces policy assumptions about the processes of diversity education. The Banking discourse (drawing on the concept developed by Freire (1970/1995) and hooks (1994), as discussed in chapter 2) generates the strong themes of acquisition, both by the student and the community, of diversity attributes. The acquisition of diversity learning (by the
student) and of diverse populations and perspectives (by the community and disciplines) are positioned by the Banking discourse as being achievable in harmony and consistency with pre-existing conditions. The emphasis in the learning modes on the use of cognitive processes, with a detached, impersonal positioning, stresses the presumed accessibility of various learning goals. The predominant image is one of students steadily acquiring (Banking) an array of diversity attributes. The resulting growth of the student (and the corresponding community development) is portrayed through these policies as one of positive, unidirectional change. A discourse of Banking produces the positioning of students as recipients of diversity learning, rather than as co-creators of meaning, or of challenging or troubling the production of diversity meaning. The progress is non-disruptive and achievable in a conflict-free atmosphere, both internally to the student and in the learning community.

The discourse of Banking appears to be particularly prominent in policy addressing student acquisition of perspective, appreciation, respect, sensitivity, and values (1.2.1, 1.2.4, and 1.2.5) and in the emphasis on cognitive processes and non-disruptive learning processes (within 1.2.4, 1.3, and 1.4). Across the expression of learning outcomes, I found a discourse of Banking most visible in the language pertaining to student identity formation (2.1), knowledge and understanding (2.2), cultural development (2.6), equal treatment (2.7.1), organizational culture (2.8) and the expansion of disciplinary prospective (2.9).

These dominant discourses of Market (including Productivity and Commodification) and Harmony (including Affirmation and Banking) give rise to specific policy assumptions and formulations. They socially normalize the assumption
that diversity education should be linked to productive ends, and that meaningful
diversity outcomes, for the individual or for the community, can be readily
accommodated within existing dominant norms. To the extent that these policies have a
high profile (within the universities or beyond), they have a role in strengthening these
dominant discourses. As such, the discourses revealed through my interpretation both
shape these policies and are strengthened by them. In the next chapter I further explore
the relationships between these dominant discourses and related dominant discursive
elements in education, and I consider the implications for diversity education practice and
policy. First, in the next section, I examine the alternative discourses that give rise to the
weaker policy themes before exploring the subject positions that these discourses
produce.

**Alternative Discourses**

Across these policies, my analysis revealed evidence of nascent alternative
discourses. Through the methodology of policy discourse analysis, I consider these to be
weaker, alternative discourses since they (a) do not yield policy themes as widely as the
dominant discourses; and (b) they are not as fully articulated and pronounced as those
policy measures produced by dominant discourses. These alternative discourses
potentially unsettle and question the prevalent policy themes and assumptions. In this
way, the alternative discourses may be understood as potential areas for new
conceptualizations of diversity education theory and for consideration in developing
specific curriculum policies. I discuss three alternative discourses in the sections that
follow and summarize the productive effects of the discourses in Figure 3 in the section
on alternative subject positions and in Table 16 in chapter 17.
Transformative Social Change

The dominant discourses act across these policies in orienting diversity education toward boosting the student’s and society’s effectiveness within status quo social assumptions. Policy that instead focuses on providing students the attributes needed to challenge societal assumptions and injustices is much less common. I described instances and implications of such policy formation in chapters 4 and 5 (related to material with codes 1.5, 2.4, 2.5, 2.6, 2.7.2, and 2.8.5). These policies are supported by an alternative discourse of transformative social change. Only eight universities have developed language produced by such a discourse, and those only in general, vague manners. The policies neglect to consider the means and scope of what such an education entails; nor do they explore the policy implications for students and community to be oriented and equipped to deeply engage in social justice and activist change.

Nonetheless, these policies do position diversity learning as providing an educational foundation for social change. For example, the goal to “build sustaining cultures that model alternatives to prejudice” (California State University Channel Islands, A) advances an alternative discursive frame for diversity education that counters the more dominant discursive orientation toward advancing status quo social success. Although currently general in scope and often modest in ambition, policies produced by the alternative discourse of transformative social change provide available, countervailing policy stances. Policy-makers and practitioners may advance this discourse by explicitly setting goals for student and community engagement with social inequity and exploring the curriculum implications for educational dialogue that challenges and disrupts social frameworks.
Conflict

The overarching dominant discourse of Harmony, explored earlier in this chapter, is present throughout these policies. This dominant discourse produces policy images of un-troubling, supportive interactions across diverse communities. A weak, alternative discourse, only slightly evident in these policies, suggests that conflict may be inherent to dialogue on diversity. This alternative discourse of conflict, even of constructive conflict, produces sparse images and only spare policy orientations. It produces marginal policy references to community tensions. For example, Christopher Newport University’s (B) reference to “conflicts and creative resonances shaped by cultural difference” is quickly followed in the same sentence by a metaphor produced by the dominant discourse of Harmony: “bridges built by shared understanding.” The policy images created by an alternative discourse of unsettled community conflict are overwhelmed by the expansive images of shared understandings and common goals.

Likewise, individualized internal conflict, as students grapple with diversity education, is hinted at only rarely and indirectly in these policies. An alternative discourse of constructive friction can give rise to policy consideration of the productive benefits of cognitive dissonance at the individual or community level (e.g., University of Maine at Machias’ (C) expectation that diversity education will lead students to “reexamine their own underlying assumptions”). Even within this weak alternative discourse of conflict there is no suggestion that embracing a vibrant yet troubling and disruptive collaborative dynamic might be the basis for a creative, non-totalizing dialogue in a poststructuralist sense. Educators can resist the totalizing effects of a harmonious banking discourse and explore the curricular implications of letting dissonance linger,
and even fester. This alternative discourse provides a poststructural setting for diversity education, affecting both individuals and communities, to unsettle dominant orientations and keep open difficult questions.

**Social Construction of Disciplinary Thought**

As I explored in earlier sections of this chapter, a discourse of Banking characterizes both individual student learning and the incorporation of diverse perspectives in curriculum. The most dominant theme through these policies on diversity education goals is one of layering new modes of inquiry and understanding onto existing ones (for example, the policy language coded 2.9). There is, however, an alternative theme within a small sector of policies emphasizing the role of diverse perspectives in informing, challenging, and altering dominant disciplinary norms. As I described in the previous two chapters, most references are fleeting and only indirectly imply potential impact on shifting established disciplinary discourses, such as references to gender construction or broad mention of social construction of difference.

Nonetheless, such policy formations serve as roots for a potential alternative framing of the role of diverse perspectives in truly transforming disciplinary modes of inquiry and understanding. The more pronounced expressions of shifts in paradigm grow from strong statements on the social construction of knowledge and on challenging what appears culturally natural or unquestioned (e.g., Massachusetts College of Liberal Arts, D and F; Humboldt State University, A). The narrow scope of such policies reflects the limits of this discourse. For example, among those policies citing the social construction of disciplinary thought, none specifically call for marginalized perspectives to interrogate, disrupt, or challenge dominant disciplinary assumptions and structures. This
alternative discourse does provide an opening for such an explicit challenging of disciplinary norms via diversity education policy and practice.

The three alternative discourses produce weak, yet recognizable, policy assumptions and orientations. Practitioners and policy-makers who intentionally adopt such discursive frames may situate diversity education in wholly different contexts than those produced by dominant discourses. Students, instructors, and communities who interact with such alternatively oriented policies would find new possibilities for energizing social change and questioning assumptions that, under currently dominant discourses, appear natural and permanent. In the next section I explore the subject positions that alternative discourses give rise to, after first examining the currently more prominent subject positions produced by the dominant discourses.

**Subject Positions**

These policies on the content and purposes of curriculum, as discursive products, directly reveal social understanding of what diversity means as an area of educational inquiry and development. Furthermore, since the policies are about the relationship between students and diversity learning goals, they also reveal information on the subject positions advanced by these discourses. In this section, I explore the subject positions that are produced by the dominant and alternative discourses I have identified.

Taken together, the dominant discourses produce images of students consuming diversity content in order to achieve social and economic ends. The high frequency in the policies of specifying acquisition as the learning mode suggests that the dominant role for the student is that of absorbing diversity content. As such, students are largely portrayed as embodying a passive role of accumulating those diversity understanding and
competencies transferred to them. The subject position for the student is further constrained by the collective discursive emphasis on using diversity education to further individual and social success. In summary, students are constructed by the policy as passive, both by the prominent portrayals of the nature of learning and the policy assumption that they will adopt their intended role as economic contributors to a status quo society.

The dominant discourses make this process appear natural to the student by creating a consumer subject position for the student to assume. The content of diversity education is positioned, as I have described, as a commodity by the dominant Market discourse. For the student, therefore, diversity perspectives, skills, values, sensitivities, and other attributes are positioned, therefore, as valuable assets worth securing. The policies, as oriented by the dominant Market discourse, impose on students the role of absorbing (or consuming) content in order to acquire new attributes that, in turn, will advance their personal success and are essential for broader productive aims (e.g., success in an ever-changing world). In this way the consumer subject position implicates the student in accepting the passive role of acquisition and in endorsing the narrow purposing of diversity education.

Suspitsyna’s (2010a) examination of the discourse of accountability in education policies likewise revealed a positioning of student subjectivities within a neoliberal context as a means toward advancing social and economic production. Ayers (2005) and Jones (2009) found a discursive identification of students with economic production capacity in their separate discourse analyses of educational policies. My finding that students are discursively portrayed as consumers of diversity competencies associated
with future economic and social return reflects this currently dominant market-oriented student subject positioning.

The dominant discourse of Banking provides assurance to the student that the new attributes may be acquired without risk of challenge to existing perspectives or assumptions. In the case of students of a dominant social group, these discourses position them to acquire new cultural fluencies without challenging them to question their own socio-political advantage. The student subject position is one of acquiring attributes and diverse perspectives without suggestion that the acquisition might call into question the student’s internal mental frames or upset dominant (potentially hegemonic) community norms.

The discourse of Affirmation produces through these policies a comforting, reassuring setting for student engagement with diversity. Concurrently, it sets expectations for student contribution to that community setting. The discourse of Affirmation thereby builds a student subject position that embodies support for normative assumptions of shared values, modes of expression, and mutual support. The strength of this subject position is evident in the prevalence of policy emphasis on mutual respect, assumption of a level playing field, and celebrations of difference. Bensimon (2005) identifies these discursive elements with a diversity cognitive frame, which she contrasts with an equity cognitive frame that instead acknowledges institutionalized power differences. The dominant Affirmation discourse seemingly assures students of the safety and smoothness of acquiring the diversity attributes while simultaneously setting subject position expectations for their docile support for community norms.
In the following sections, I characterize specific subject positions constituted by the dominant discourses. Figure 2 summarizes the relationship between the dominant discourses and these resulting student subject positions.

**Student as Economic Entity**

The discourses of Productivity and Commodification, both expressions of the Market discourse, produce a subject position of the student as a social, and specifically economic, engine. Students are portrayed, through these discourses, as being equipped with educational commodities, the value of which is made manifest in the commodities’ ability to strengthen the student. The commodities (e.g., diversity skills) prepare students for their role in a competitive, risky, changing world as agents of social and economic success, at the personal, organizational, social, and national levels. Through language of education as preparation, these Market discourses position the student to be measured as
an economic engine. The successful student is one prepared to advance personal, organizational, and social efficacy.

**Student as a Corporate Collaborator**

The discourses of Productivity and Affirmation jointly constitute a subject position of student as a congenial, tame co-creator of economically meaningful work. The discourse of Affirmation imposes on students the orientation that mutual support and regard are core expectations for the university community in preparation for similar expectations in the workplace (juxtaposed with the portrayal of a competitive society). The student role is to exhibit such collaborative discipline within an assumption of power equity across the community. The discourse of Productivity provides the motivation and overall organizing purpose for the collaboration: measurable economic gains at multiple levels: organizationally (e.g., workplace), socially, and nationally. Jointly these discourses enforce a subject position of the student as an organizationally obedient contributor to economic success.

**Student as Malleable**

The Productivity, Commodification, and Affirmation discourses together produce a subject position of the student as a potential: a pliable and docile individual ready to be prepared for productive enterprise. The Affirmation discourse develops a role for the student as one who is supported; in turn the discourse positions the student as amenable to support. The supportive, respectful educational environment implies that the student accepts and returns the support and respect, both for others in the community but also for the community norms and priorities which grant that support and respect. In this way the discourse of Affirmation, in the context of community support of the individual, sets
expectations for the student to in turn develop support for the community. The resulting subject position is of the student as malleable, via education, to the purposes defined by the community. This malleability, when combined with the broader Market discourses of Productivity and Commodification, positions the student as a formable entity, one that in its fulfillment serves as a commodity for organizational and social productivity.

**Student as Passive Receptacle**

The discourses of Affirmation and Banking together produce an image of the student as a manageable receptacle for diversity knowledge. As constituted by Affirmation, the student’s role as an agreeable component of a supportive community positions him or her for the non-disruptive infusion of learning. This receptiveness is reinforced by the Banking discourse’s positioning of learning as cognitively attainable without complication of inconsistency. Inconsistency is further avoided by the assumption, via the Banking discourse, of presumed personal detachment from the layers of knowledge being procured. These receptive conditions, and the image of educational filling produced by the Banking discourse, combine to generate the subject position of students as vessels.

**Student as Consumer and Colonizer**

The discourses of Commodification and Banking combine to create a more active subject position for the student, one of consumer of diversity skills and colonizer of diverse perspectives. This subject position complements and contrasts with that of the student as passive receptacle. As students are disciplined to bank diversity skills they are conditioned by this discourse to actively acquire skills and knowledge as assets, constituted by the Commodification discourse. The framing of education as preparation
for social success in a competitive world enhances the image of educational product as assets, which students are subjectively positioned by discourse to value and acquire.

In similar ways, the student subject position of colonizer places diverse perspectives and epistemologies as territory to acquire and integrate into existing, potentially dominant, standpoints. Jointly, the discourses of Commodification and Banking give rise through policy to an understanding of the successful student as one who has gained the discipline to acquire (bank) diversity attributes, and to hold them collectively as assets to serve the broader market needs.

**Other Dominant Subject Positions**

The dominant discourses expressed through these policies shape the subject position of instructors as well as students. Instructors are positioned by the Market discourse to be conveyors of economically advantageous content. The dominant discourse of Banking produces a teacher who is understood to be equipping students without challenging core assumptions or sense of self. The instructor is positioned in these policies as providing tools, freeing him- or herself of a cultural frame that might distort or shape the conveyance. The instructor is thus primarily positioned in a modernist frame as one who is capable of guiding students toward, if never fully accomplishing, a positivist embodiment of a potentially universal understanding (and acquisition) of diversity content.

Finally, just as these dominant discourses shape an understanding of diversity learning attributes as a commodity, they convey an analogous commodity subject position on all community members, as the potential embodiment of those diversity attributes. As I discussed in the analysis of the policy aspects concerning community (2.7
and 2.8 primarily), the emphasis on building a diverse community for purposes of enhancing the educational experience tends to position community members themselves as commodities. Iverson (2008) found a similar commodification of campus diversity as a means “to maintain (or gain) a competitive edge and to achieve prominence in the academic marketplace” (p. 191).

**Alternative Subject Positions**

The three identified alternative discourses produce subject positions available to students that form points of opposition to the dominant images. Figure 3 summarizes the relationships between the three alternative discourses and the subject positions which they produce.

![Figure 3. Alternative Discourses and Produced Subject Positions](image)

The discourse of transformative social change gives rise to the student subject position of *change agent*. This weak discourse produces an alternative conceptualization...
of the student being prepared, not for an economic role, but for engaging fundamental social issues. Through this alternative subject position, the student acquires diversity understanding and experience in preparation to challenge status quo power differentials at the organizational, community, and societal levels. This subject position shifts the student from a stance of producing and succeeding in a competitive world to one of confronting oppressive, hegemonic systems (often at the center of the competition) and challenging resulting inequities. Students who are able through alternative discourses to assume a change agent position are constituted to revise society, rather than to serve it or to merely succeed in it (or despite it). This subject position is consistent with the equity cognitive frame identified by Bensimon (2005).

The alternative discourses of conflict and transformative social change jointly produce a radical student subject position. The constructive conflict discourse provides a poststructural element to disrupt a modernist narrative of progressive social development. The jointly produced radical subject position produces a role of the student who disrupts dominant narratives within the community (e.g., university, workplace, nation) and resists settled solutions to intractable inequities. The student is prepared to inquire into the social construction of problems and of solutions. The radical subjectivity, potentially advanced by these two alternative discourses, positions students to not just work to realign society but to keep questioning (without permanent resolution) why social structures are positioned as they are, who the structures serve, and how available responses may implicate other, potentially unforeseen, power dimensions. As I noted in the section on the discourse of constructive conflict, the weak presence of this discourse
in producing policy suggests the difficulty a student would have in assuming such a subject position in the face of much more dominant discourses.

Finally, the discourses of conflict and social construction of disciplinary thought jointly produce a student subject position of *unsettled, active learner*. Students embodying such a subject position are active learners in the fullest sense, exploring disciplinary and interdisciplinary epistemologies and questioning their unstated assumptions. The student asks why certain questions are made subject of inquiry and what social forces are behind both the questions and how they are resolved. The unsettled, active subject position fosters student conceptualization of the social construction of paradigms of knowledge. Such a subject position is strengthened by policy and practice that provides a means of using diversity education to promote alternative social constructs of knowledge, problems, and solutions.

**Summary**

In this chapter I described the primary themes emerging from the policies investigated in this study. I explored the dominant overarching discourses of Harmony and Market. These two discourses are embodied through these policies in four discursive strands. I described these dominant discourses of Productivity, Commodification, Affirmation, and Banking, and their portrayal through the primary themes growing from my analysis and interpretation in previous chapters. I described the productive results of these discourses in framing policy possibilities and the subject positions they advance. Finally, I explored three alternative discourses that are weakly expressed across the policies, but which represent potential shifts for social development of policy concerning diversity education. In the next chapter, after summarizing the overall findings of the
study, I examine the implications of these discourses and subject positions in research and in policy development.
CHAPTER 7

IMPLICATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

In this final chapter, I summarize the findings of the overall research; consider the theoretical and policy-making implications of the conclusions in light of broader understandings of dominant discourses in higher education; and, finally, suggest areas of further research that extend and complement this project and related inquiries.

Summary of Findings

The detailed breakdown of the expressed priorities and purposes for diversity education across this sample is in chapter 4. The description of my analysis and interpretations of these policies is in chapter 5. Finally, in chapter 6, I explore the dominant and alternative discourses that emerge from these analyses and interpretations. In this section I briefly review and consolidate these primary findings at all three levels in order to consider their implications in light of other theoretical conceptions of higher education and for future policy-making and educational practice.

Learning Modes

The primary learning mode, expressed by 46 of the 56 institutions, is one that foregrounds student acquisition of a cognitive characteristic (including acquisition of knowledge, appreciation, values, and skill). Acquisition of diversity as a knowledge or skill, in particular, is a priority across a majority of diversity education policies. Roughly twice as many institutions place attainment of diversity education in the realm of rational thought as place it within language more suggestive of an emotional connection. This finding complements the research of Gudeman (2000), in which she found that 61% of
the university mission statements in her sample emphasize the acquisition of diversity perspectives.

Secondary policy consideration, within the learning mode, is given to student analysis, experience, and creation. In the area of analysis, the policies overall give priority to a cognitive examination, with fewer than a quarter of the institutions advancing critical analysis and even fewer establishing student ability to integrate or negotiate across multiple diversity orientations. Experiential engagement with diversity is subsidiary to cognitive engagement; however, it represents an alternative policy framing. Likewise, the seven universities that call for student creation or action as a learning mode provide an alternative policy image of students as active creators of community and as makers of meaning, rather than mere recipients of knowledge.

**Learning Outcomes**

There is a wide range of intended outcomes expressed across these diversity education goals. The primary ones center on individual student abilities and bolstering community. Overall, the primary and secondary learning outcomes expressed by this set of policies are (the number of institutions for each code is indicated in parentheses):

**Primary:**

- Diversity knowledge and understanding (41)
- Interpersonal/Intercultural skills (32)
- Diverse community: Equal access and treatment (33)
- Organizational Community and Culture (29)

**Secondary:**

- Student personal identity formation (19)
• Dominant and alternative disciplinary paradigms (16)
• Learning: Power, inequality, and social construction (14)
• Student action: Addressing social change (14)
• Student action: Cultural development or societal success (10)

Similar to the policy articulation of learning modes, the priorities of the educational outcomes include student knowledge and ability. The educational outcomes also include community development, with an emphasis on access and affirmation. Secondary priority is given to the individual student’s development of sense of self and contributions to society. Alternative, yet relatively under-represented outcomes, contribute to policy consideration of social change, student empowerment, and disciplinary development.

Dimensions of Diversity

The overall study revealed a dominant focus on cultural and international diversity, with little discursive development of dimensions that implicate more immediate consideration of power differentials. The policies tend to either provide an inventory of possible dimensions of human differences (the 14 university policies with lists) or limit to broad statements of cultural, global, or human diversity.

Discourses

My interpretations, through a policy discourse analysis approach, reveal two overarching dominant discourses. A Market discourse, expressed through two discursive strands of Productivity and of Commodification, produces policies that emphasize material value and economic benefit at the individual and societal levels. The second overarching discourse revealed through my interpretation is one of Harmony, expressed
through two discursive strands of Affirmation and Banking. I explored the subject positions, policy impacts, and discursive production of each of these overarching discourses in chapter 6. In Table 15 I briefly summarize the primary ways each dominant discourse is thematically expressed within the primary arenas considered by these policies.

Table 15. Dominant Discourses and Implications

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dominant Discourses</th>
<th>Expression Within Policy Arenas</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Market</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Productivity</strong></td>
<td>Individual Student Subject Position</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Post-graduate material success Contribute to economy &amp; social effectiveness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Commod-ification</strong></td>
<td>Acquiring proficiency Recipient of unidirectional learning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Affirmation</strong></td>
<td>Acquiring within supportive, similarly oriented community</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Harmony</strong></td>
<td>Accessible Internalizing Compatible layering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Banking</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
My study revealed three alternative discourses, which are represented much more sparsely in the texts and expressed in more general terms. There is a weak discourse of social change juxtaposed with the more dominant discourse of social and individual Productivity. There is an alternative discourse of conflict, both internal to the student and in community dialogue, which is an alternative to the dominant discourse of Harmony. Likewise, an alternative discourse challenging disciplinary paradigms provides a countervailing dynamic to the portrayal of diversity as primarily supplemental: a value-added component to both disciplinary and student perspectives and values. In Table 16 I briefly summarize examples of the ways these alternative frames produce policy over the same three arenas.

Table 16. Alternative Discourses and Implications

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Change</th>
<th>Individual Student</th>
<th>University Community</th>
<th>Discipline &amp; Pedagogy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Subject Position</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Change</td>
<td>Change agent</td>
<td>Boosting equity</td>
<td>Education for social action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflict</td>
<td>Exploring frictions &amp; contradictions</td>
<td>Collaboration without resolution</td>
<td>Explore vying frames and unsettled inquiry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Leaving understandings tentative, local, and open</td>
<td>Dialogue without totalizing expectation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Construction</td>
<td>Unsettling internalized assumptions</td>
<td>Disrupting social understandings</td>
<td>Enquire into production of disciplines and consider alternative inquiry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Opportunity to build new models</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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Implications

This research adds to the body of work outlining the influence of market-oriented discourses on policy development in higher education (Ayers, 2005; Barnett, 2004; Giroux, 2002; Hu-DeHart, 2000; Jones, 2009; Milliken, 2004; Suspitsyna, 2010a & b; Unterhalter, 2005; Youdell, 2006). These researchers have revealed ways a predominant neoliberal ideology imposes on education and other social organizations the paradigms and economic strictures of capitalistic enterprises, including a focus on privatization, competitive potential, and market-based justifications. Within this frame, a neoliberal understanding of the purposes for education is centered on the development of human capital for economic development (Ayers, 2005; Giroux, 2002; Jones, 2009, Suspitsyna, 2010a).

My research reveals that a dominant Market discourse gives rise to similar orientations in these policies on diversity education goals. The Market discourse is reflected through the positioning of diversity education as a commodity that provides a competitive edge for students and society in furthering economic success. The predominance of this discursive frame can also be seen in the primary legal justification advanced for affirmative action in admissions processes. In the high-profile Supreme Court cases of the past decade (Grutter v. Bollinger and Fisher v. University of Texas) diversity considerations are advocated for principally as means to advancing student competence for personal and social success. For example, in prepared testimony before the Court in Fisher v. University of Texas, the Solicitor General of the United States, Donald Verrilli, stated that, “The core of our interest is in ensuring that the Nation’s universities produce graduates who are going to be effective citizens and effective leaders.
in an increasingly diverse society, and effective competitors in diverse global markets [emphases added].”

This neoliberal framing of education represents a narrowing of purpose from the traditional understanding of education as a means to advance democratic, social ends for education (Ayers, 2005; Barnett, 2004; Giroux, 2002; Suspityna, 2010b). This current research demonstrates the manifestation of such a policy orientation toward economic ends in diversity education goals. Boosting market competitiveness results in policy situated primarily within the framework of student development, among the theoretical frames for diversity education discussed in chapter 2. It precludes policy consideration for diversity education associated with the frames of social justice and epistemological transformation. As Jones (2009) noted, policy shaped by a neoliberal ideology overlooks “the ideals of engaged citizenship,” instead fostering “a view of other citizens as little more than “competition” that must be defeated in order to achieve economic success (p. 62).

This research reveals a similarly strong discourse of Commodification framing and shaping educational practices and diversity experiences. By framing diversity education as principally preparing students for competitive success in a diverse world, policy positions education, and those engaged in it, as instruments for advancing success within existing economic and disciplinary regimes. As researchers have found in other policy arenas, the Market discourse associated with a neoliberal ideology avoids policy-making that grapples with questions of power and production of knowledge (Baez, 2000; Giroux, 2002; Hu-DeHart, 2000; Jones, 2009; McCarthy et al., 2003; Suspitsyna, 2010b, Youdell, 2006).
Neoliberalism rests on an economic reading of the modernist agenda of rationality yielding universal claims, individual autonomy, and self-determination (Suspitsyna, 2010b; Tierney, 2001). The broader modernist paradigm is revealed most fully in the current research through the policy themes produced by a Harmony discourse. As I discussed in chapter 6 and summarized in Table 15, a discourse of Harmony is expressed through discursive strands of Affirmation and Banking. These discourses emerge through the policy portrayal of an individual or a community acquiring diversity attributes (e.g., perspectives) in order to consistently build toward a more complete (theoretically universal, even if never fully reached) understanding of diversity and multicultural competence. This assumption of a neutral educational stance providing a rational arena in which knowledge may be deliberately, consistently, and additively acquired reflects a dominant modernist conception of education (Bloland, 2005; Gore, 1993; Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1993; McCarthy et al., 2003; Simpson, 2003; Tierney, 2001; Willis Jr., 1995).

A poststructural critique of the dominant discourses revealed by this research highlights the limitations of this modernistic policy stance. Considering diversity is an ideal arena for engaging in open questions about ways of knowing, ways of communicating, and the social dynamics at work. Rather than positioning diversity education as a means to acquiring mastery and competence, diversity education might be positioned through policy as a mode of questioning dominant epistemologies and resisting oppressive discursive and power structures. The scholars cited above have described the opportunities and challenges of education that embraces the postmodern moment. Diversity education is arguably the ideal setting in which to engage students in
engaging such difficult and shifting questions. Indeed, diversity education, infused in multiple disciplines, can be the avenue for introducing poststructural dialogue across the curriculum. The dominance instead of discourses reflective of modernistic and neoliberal positions in these policies constrains through policy the potential scope and impact of diversity education. As Gore (1993) noted, when radical pedagogies are “framed, as they so often are, within modernist concerns for universal explanations and for progress” they are “doomed to fail” (p. xii). Instead, a modernist orientation results in policy subtly reinforcing existing dominant discourse rather than unsettling assumptions or fostering deep change in perspective (Allan, 2003; Hu-Dehart, 2000; Iverson, 2012).

The current accountability emphasis in higher education, including educational assessment, reflects the overarching neoliberal ideology (Suspitsyna 2010a). The structures of assessment, in imposing quantifiable metrics on educational activities, reinforce the dominant discourses that emerged from my research on diversity education goals: Productivity and Harmony. Assessment orients educational activity toward production of established learning outcomes (Astin et al., 1993; Buzzetto-More & Alade, 2006; Moss, Osborn, & Kaufman, 2008). Likewise, it imposes a structure (harmony) on educational dialogue at odds with the tentative and local conversations envisioned by advocates for a postmodern university (McCarthy et al., 2003; Tierney, 2001). The prevalence and dominance of the assessment paradigm within the broader neoliberal construct buttresses the dominant discourses I have identified as advanced through diversity policies. The strength of these overarching paradigms and their accompanying discourses necessitates educators and policy-makers to all the more thoroughly question
assumptions and inquire into alternative formulations for the ends and means of diversity education.

The alternative discourses that emerge through my analysis provide a critique and point of challenge for these dominant discourses and policy frames. The relatively weak policy themes they produce, calling for a questioning of dominant disciplinary norms and challenging societal injustice, can be a fulcrum, however, for inquiry into areas of poststructural concern, such as power and its relationship to knowledge, as well as a means to incorporate elements of critical analysis into education. As alternative discourses, they are available to educators and policy-makers to adopt and use to develop a more expansive understanding of the dialogue of diversity in educational settings.

Policy and curricular practices can be embraced that inquire into the social construction of difference in the context of power differentials. Educational dialogue can foster conversation on diversity with an end of unsettling dominant assumptions. Students can be empowered to interrogate societal power structures and develop the ability to effect change to advance equity and disrupt dominant and oppressive norms. Rather than advancing a subject position of students as passive recipients being prepared for economic productivity, policy makers who take up these alternative discourses may promote a subject position of students as co-creators of a vibrant, unsettling social dialogue.

Diversity can be approached not as an additional tool for students to supplement an education; but rather as a primary mode of questioning that education and a means to consider other ways of knowing and communicating. Students can view diversity education as a multifaceted set of shifting lenses through which to interrogate disciplines
and other systems of discourse and epistemology. As I described in chapter 2, researchers and practitioners have identified broad and powerful impacts for diversity education—well beyond the neoliberal focus on preparation for students for post-graduation success. Policy and practice can promote diversity dialogue that transforms students and unsettles dominant means of inquiry. In this way, diversity education can be at the heart of a liberal education in the 21st century, providing, in the words of Giroux (2002) the “pedagogical conditions for students to come to terms with their own sense of power and public voice as individual and social agents” (p. 451).

**Future Research**

This research project suggests a number of avenues for future inquiry into purposes and impacts of diversity education. This policy discourse analysis focused on textual analysis of university-wide policy. Similar policy analysis should be undertaken at the course level, analyzing course descriptions, syllabi, and outcomes statements to consider the discursive effects of these more local policies. Likewise, this research suggests the value of inquiry into the reflective experience of students and teachers (using any of a number of qualitative approaches) in how they perceive the priorities and purposes of diversity education. Besides inquiry into conceptions of the goals of diversity education, specific research into the meanings that students and instructors attach to language such as “global diversity” or “cultural perspectives” would provide further insight into the discourses produced by these policies. Potential shifts in these perceptions through certain educational activities may also provide information on the impacts of these activities in certain settings and for the applicable research participant groups. As outlined in chapter 2, there is a great deal of important research into the
learning effects and student reception of diversity education. Inquiry into the frames through which instructors and students perceive the roles and purposes of diversity education, and linking it to policy expectations, would complement this broad research record.

Future policy analysis may examine the policy development processes that result in the diversity education goals. Inquiry into the methods and agents of the policy creation would provide information on the organizational and political processes associated with diversity policy, and how that may or may not coincide with the dynamics (and individuals involved) for other university policy-making. With the growth of the assessment policy arena, research could explore the similarities and differences between educational policy development within assessment rubrics and that associated with (a) university policy outside of this explicitly accountability oriented activity and (b) more local policy-making at the course or program levels.

I chose the particular sample of public liberal arts institutions in order to gain insight into the understandings and discourses shaping diversity education in this critical sector of US higher education. Similarly intended research into the discourses of diversity education in other areas of higher education would provide both broader interpretations of the discourses produced as well as any potential differences in conceptions of diversity by sector. Additional critical higher education sectors to consider may include non-profit liberal arts colleges (perhaps considering, as in Gudeman’s (2000) content analysis of mission statement, perceived institutional status), community colleges, for-profit institutions, and comprehensive land-grant universities.
Research might also consider policy development and discourses across institutions of varying demographic student and staffing profiles.

**Summary**

Through this research project, I conducted a policy discourse analysis of a sample of diversity policies in order to provide insights into the questions: What goals do public baccalaureate liberal arts universities articulate for diversity education, including their policy on the ways students learn as well as their expressed outcomes for diversity learning? What dominant and alternative discourses produce the policy stances? What subject positions do these discourses make possible and promote through policy?

Through my analysis of the explicitly stated purposes of diversity education, two primary dominant discourses emerged of Market and Harmony. I explored their discursive strands and the subject positions they produce. I connected my exploration of these discursive effects with other discourse analyses of higher education policy, and identified how my findings fit with broader research into dominant neoliberal and modernistic paradigms in higher education.

These findings hold implications for the ways in which policy-makers, faculty, and students conceive of the roles of diversity education as expansive and primary modes of educational dialogue. I believe that diversity education can be the central lens by which instructors and students engage in questions of power, knowledge, agency, and meaning. Ongoing exploration of the discourses and subject positions produced by associated policies and practices is essential to keeping a lively and intellectually open dialogue for such contested and promising aspects of human expression.
REFERENCES


Gudeman, R. H. (2000). College missions, faculty teaching, and student outcomes in a context of low diversity. In ACE/AAUP, Does diversity make a difference? Three research studies on diversity in college classrooms (pp. 37-60). Washington, DC:
American Council on Education and American Association of University Professors.


APPENDIX A: INSTITUTIONS IN STUDY

Table 17. Institutional Locations and Affiliations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>State</th>
<th>Affiliation</th>
</tr>
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<td>California State University Channel Islands</td>
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Notes:
COPLAC indicates a member of the Council of Public Liberal Arts Colleges.\(^8\)
HBCU indicates an Historically Black College or University according to the National Center for Educational Statistics.\(^9\)
HSI indicates an Hispanic Serving Institution as defined and identified by the US Department of Education.\(^10\)
Tribal College indicates a member of the American Indian Higher Education Consortium.\(^11\)
All other notes are from statements made on the institutions’ website.

### APPENDIX B: CARNEGIE FOUNDATION CLASSIFICATIONS

Table 18. Carnegie Foundation Classifications

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Undergraduate Program Classification</th>
<th>Basic Classification</th>
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<tr>
<td>California State University-Channel Islands</td>
<td>A&amp;S+Prof/SGC: Arts &amp; sciences plus professions, some graduate coexistence</td>
<td>Master's S: Master's Colleges and Universities (smaller programs)</td>
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<td>California State University-Monterey Bay</td>
<td>A&amp;S+Prof/SGC: Arts &amp; sciences plus professions, some graduate coexistence</td>
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<td>Castleton State College</td>
<td>Bal/SGC: Balanced arts &amp; sciences/professions, some graduate coexistence</td>
<td>Bac/A&amp;S: Baccalaureate Colleges-Arts &amp; Sciences</td>
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<td>Charter Oak State College</td>
<td>A&amp;S-F/NGC: Arts &amp; sciences focus, no graduate coexistence</td>
<td>Bac/A&amp;S: Baccalaureate Colleges-Arts &amp; Sciences</td>
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<td>Cheyney University of Pennsylvania</td>
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<td>Master's M: Master's Colleges and Universities (medium programs)</td>
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<td>A&amp;S+Prof/SGC: Arts &amp; sciences plus professions, some graduate coexistence</td>
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<td>Institute of American Indian Arts</td>
<td>A&amp;S+Prof/NGC: Arts &amp; sciences plus professions, no graduate coexistence</td>
<td>Tribal: Tribal Colleges</td>
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<td>Johnson State College</td>
<td>A&amp;S+Prof/SGC: Arts &amp; sciences plus professions, some graduate coexistence</td>
<td>Master's S: Master's Colleges and Universities (smaller programs)</td>
</tr>
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<td>Kentucky State University</td>
<td>Bal/SGC: Balanced arts &amp; sciences/professions, some graduate coexistence</td>
<td>Bac/A&amp;S: Baccalaureate Colleges-Arts &amp; Sciences</td>
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<td>Longwood University</td>
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<td>Louisiana State University at Alexandria</td>
<td>A&amp;S-F/NGC: Arts &amp; sciences focus, no graduate coexistence</td>
<td>Bac/A&amp;S: Baccalaureate Colleges-Arts &amp; Sciences</td>
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<th>Institution</th>
<th>Undergraduate Program Classification</th>
<th>Basic Classification</th>
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<td>Massachusetts College of Liberal Arts</td>
<td>A&amp;S+Prof/SGC: Arts &amp; sciences plus professions, some graduate coexistence</td>
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<td>Bal/SGC: Balanced arts &amp; sciences/professions, some graduate coexistence</td>
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<td>Bac/A&amp;S: Baccalaureate Colleges--Arts &amp; Sciences</td>
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<td>Master's M: Master's Colleges and Universities (medium programs)</td>
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<td>Master's S: Master's Colleges and Universities (smaller programs)</td>
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<td>Arts &amp; sciences plus professions, some graduate coexistence</td>
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<td>A&amp;S+Prof/SGC</td>
<td>Arts &amp; sciences plus professions, some graduate coexistence</td>
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<td>Arts &amp; sciences plus professions, no graduate coexistence</td>
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<td>Thomas Edison State College</td>
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<td>Truman State University</td>
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<td>Bal/NGC</td>
<td>Balanced arts &amp; sciences/professions, no graduate coexistence</td>
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<td>United States Military Academy</td>
<td>A&amp;S+Prof/NGC</td>
<td>Arts &amp; sciences plus professions, no graduate coexistence</td>
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<td>A&amp;S+Prof/NGC</td>
<td>Arts &amp; sciences plus professions, no graduate coexistence</td>
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<td>A&amp;S-F/NGC</td>
<td>Arts &amp; sciences focus, no graduate coexistence</td>
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<td>A&amp;S-F/SGC</td>
<td>Arts &amp; sciences focus, some graduate coexistence</td>
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## APPENDIX C: DATA SEARCH RESULTS BY INSTITUTION

Table 19. Data Search Results

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<th>Institution</th>
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<th>Plan Diversity Learning Outcomes</th>
<th>Diversity Learning Outcomes</th>
<th>Multicultural Assessment</th>
<th>Strategic Plan</th>
<th>Catalog</th>
<th>Number of Policies</th>
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Notes:
“Yes” indicates that one or more policies addressing diversity education goals were found via the associated search term.
“No” indicates that no policies addressing diversity education goals were found.
“None found” indicates that a catalog or strategic plan was not available on the website.
## APPENDIX D: POLICY STATEMENT TYPES AND CITATIONS

Table 20. Policy Statement Types and Citations

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APPENDIX E: CODING OUTLINE

1. Learning Mode
   1.1. Expose (4)
   1.2. Acquire (46)
      1.2.1. Perspective, recognition (19)
      1.2.2. Understanding, comprehension (31)
      1.2.3. Ability (8)
      1.2.4. Cerebral: Appreciation or respect (31)
      1.2.5. Emotional: Sensitivity, empathy, value (12)
      1.2.6. Responsibility, responsiveness, ethics, or civility (7)
   1.3. Analyze, Explore, or Critique (17)
      1.3.1. Cognitive engagement: Examination; reflection, exploration (8)
      1.3.2. Critical assessment: Analysis, evaluation, interpretation (12)
      1.3.3. Synthesis or comparative analysis: Integrate, negotiate, connect (5)
   1.4. Experience (12)
   1.5. Create, Build, or Do (7)

2. Outcome
   2.1. Student personal identity formation (19)
      2.1.1. Cultural development, enrichment, creativity (8)
      2.1.2. Self-awareness (10)
      2.1.3. Ethical and character development (4)
      2.1.4. Juxtaposition of self to others (8)
   2.2. Learning: Diversity knowledge and understanding (41)
      2.2.1. Diversity range (36)
      2.2.2. Juxtaposition of self to others (9)
      2.2.3. Contrasts, Interactions, and Impacts (14)
   2.3. Learning: Interpersonal/Intercultural skills (32)
      2.3.1. Intercultural relations and communication (16)
      2.3.2. Ability to work or live with others, or engage others (21)
      2.3.3. Can be part of a team/collaboration (6)
      2.3.4. Can participate in larger-than-self structure (pre-existing & external) (13)
      2.3.5. Leadership ability (8)
   2.4. Learning: Power, inequality, and social construction of difference (14)
      2.4.1. Ethnocentrism (5)
      2.4.2. Social construction (4)
      2.4.3. Discrimination and social justice (5)
      2.4.4. Power and oppression (6)
   2.5. Student action: Addressing social change (14)
      2.5.1. Civic responsibility (4)
      2.5.2. Social justice (10)
   2.6. Student action: Cultural development or societal success (10)
   2.7. Diverse community: Equal access and treatment (33)
      2.7.1. Access: Education programs to support diverse student success (11)
      2.7.2. Build diverse community (14)
2.7.3. Respect and equal treatment (14)
2.7.4. Diverse community for educational purposes (9)
2.8. Organizational Community and Culture (29)
  2.8.1. General embrace of diversity and inclusiveness (11)
  2.8.2. Tolerance, respect, support, celebration (18)
  2.8.3. Dialogue and collaboration (9)
2.9. Discipline construction: Dominant and alternative paradigms (16)
  2.9.1. Learning: Construction of knowledge (3)
  2.9.2. Curriculum: dominant & alternative disciplinary modes (14)
3. Dimensions of Diversity
  3.1. Ability (8)
  3.2. Age (4)
  3.3. Class (9)
  3.4. Culture (35)
  3.5. Ethnicity (14)
  3.6. Gender (14)
  3.7. General Variety of Human Difference (15)
  3.8. International (41)
  3.9. Race (13)
  3.10. Religion (7)
  3.11. Sexual Orientation (11)
BIOGRAPHY OF THE AUTHOR

Stuart Swain was born in Long Beach, California. Following a childhood primarily in the Washington, DC area, he graduated from Wakefield High School in Arlington, Virginia in 1979. He earned a Bachelor’s degree in Mathematics from Colby College in 1983 and a Master of Arts degree in Mathematics from the University of Washington in 1985. Stuart taught mathematics at Highline Community College, Olympia College, Colby College, and, since 1987, at the University of Maine at Machias. In addition to serving as Associate Professor of Mathematics at the University of Maine at Machias, he has held, since 2005, the position of Provost and Vice President for Academic Affairs. Stuart is a candidate for the Doctor of Philosophy degree in Education from The University of Maine in May, 2013.