Shifting the Lens:
A Critical Examination of Diversity Discourses in College Recruiting

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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my family, my partner, and to the many friends and educators who have supported and inspired me to follow my passion and live life with purpose.

Abstract

This dissertation examines how diversity is constructed in college recruiting, with a focus on how discourses, language and images regarding diversity influence the college choice process for students and impact the goal to increase diversity in sustainable ways. Use of Critical Discourse Analysis highlights how recruiters' interpretations of diversity are practiced and aligned with those represented in institutional language and messaging in college admissions. Methods include an analysis of college viewbooks and recruiting events and exploring how recruiters understand and give meaning to "diversity" in their engagement with students. Admissions and college recruitment are important sites of study because the leaders and practitioners in these units develop and implement practices and policies that enact certain meanings about diversity in higher education. This research demonstrates how distinct representations of diversity support or reject particular diversity and identity characteristics, which affect recruiting and influence the college choice process. This study also illustrates why the shaping and positioning of diversity from individual and institutional levels matter in supporting accessible, equitable and culturally responsive programming for prospective college students.

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Chapter 1: Introduction to the Problem

Former chancellor of the University of California at Berkeley, Chang-Lin Tien affirmed, “We can no longer afford to ask: Should we—or can we—diversify at the undergraduate, graduate, and faculty levels? Instead, the question for higher education is: How can we diversify? How can we make diversity work?” (as cited in Steele, 1994, p. 238). Leaders in higher education have responded to these questions through the development of diversity committees, action plans, recommendations and specific recruitment strategies to support and increase diverse student enrollment and participation on campus (Iverson, 2012; La Noue, 2003; Pope, Reynolds, & Mueller, 2009). Despite past and current efforts to increase diversity in equitable, economically feasible and culturally responsive ways, however, data on non-traditional student admissions, persistence and graduation suggest that the intention to increase student diversity to a level reflective of non-White and nontraditional demographic rates has not yet been accomplished (Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education, 2014).

This study is born out of the call to increase diversity in colleges and universities[1] across the United States. Often this call is articulated in enrollment management plans, affirmative action policies and research focused on the benefits of diversity (Chun & Evans, 2015; Gurin, 1999a; Iverson 2012; Mendoza, Taylor, & Weissbrodt, 2006). To better recognize how this call is being interpreted, a deeper understanding is needed of how diversity is understood and operationalized by higher education constituents.

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[1] For the entirety of this dissertation, I use the term “colleges” and “universities” interchangeably.

Exploring how diversity discourses are conceptualized and communicated is particularly pertinent for those individuals who interact with and recruit a diverse student body to their campuses (Dixon, 2001; Evans, Forney, Guido, Patton, & Renn, 2010; Iverson, 2007; Patton, McEwen, Rendón, & Howard-Hamilton, 2007). This research is critical because existing scholarship suggests that how institutions represent diversity impacts students' college choice process and sense of belonging (Klassen, 2000; Pippert, Essenburg, & Matchett, 2013). For example, by enacting or supporting one type of diversity, other ways of knowing and understanding the world may become less meaningful or legitimate (Iverson, 2012). In addition, showcasing only certain types of diverse identities may negatively affect prospective students' impressions of a college if their identity is not represented or valued.

Understanding Diversity as Discourse

According to Gee (1999), "discourse" is mobilized, represented and coordinated by a variety of factors including language, values, beliefs, times, places, identities and societal structures. Within this framing, languages-in-use are considered "little d", which represent "how languages are used 'on site' to enact activities and identities" (p. 7). Gee states that combining "little d" discourse with "non-language 'stuff' to enact specific identities and activities", is referred to as "big D" discourse (p. 7). He asserts that those who are "in the Discourse" are participants who either sustain or transform a particular Discourse. It follows that:

> If you put language, action, interaction, values, beliefs, symbols, objects, tools, and places together in such a way that others recognize you as a particular type of who (identity) engaged in a particular type of what (activity) here and now, then

> you have pulled off a Discourse (and thereby continued it through history, if only for a while longer. (p. 18)

Grounded in Gee's description and framing of discourse, I define "diversity discourses" in this research as practices, initiatives, language and policies integrated into higher education that advocate for the recruitment and participation of a diverse student body.

Informed by Iverson's (2012) scholarship on diversity, "discourse" both constructs and is influenced by the beliefs, values and norms of society and its social institutions. Diversity, then, is constructed by active and reflexive exchanges of cultural, political, economic, legal and social messages that are reflective of distinctive individuals, institutions and groups within society. Iverson notes that discourses are invariably connected to power, privilege and authority, and normalize the way we understand and structure educational policies and programs. Using this view of discourse provides a way to critically deconstruct language used in admissions policies and higher education recruitment practices to uncover issues of power and oppression therein.

Because society is made up of a variety of different groups, it is important to represent each group's understanding and conceptualization of diversity. Thus, in this paper, I draw from Talbot's (2003) definition, which states, "*diversity* is a structure that includes the tangible presence of individuals representing a variety of different attributes and characteristics, including culture, ethnicity, sexual orientation, and other physical and social variables" (p. 426). According to this description, diversity is best understood in a group context, as an individual can then be identified as diverse in some way when they are different from another individual in the group. Using these parameters allows me to be as inclusive as possible when exploring the literature and discourses regarding college admissions policies, plans and recruitment practices. While I recognize that what it means to be "diverse" is dependent upon individual, cultural and societal contexts, for the purposes of this study, I use the term "diverse" to denote the variety of different types of students that recruiters draw from to develop a diverse student body. The next section of this chapter describes the changing characteristics of college students in the United States today. It focuses on how major changes in students signal a need to explore how student affairs professionals, and in particular, college recruiters, are working with prospective and incoming students in their recruitment efforts to increase diversity on their campuses.

The Changing Characteristics of College Students Today

Arguably, one of the most significant issues impacting colleges and universities in the 21st century is the transformation of the K-16 student population (Haring-Smith, 2012). According to Haring-Smith, American institutions of higher learning are more diverse than ever before, citing that "over the past forty years, our freshman classes have changed from over 90 percent White to about 73 percent White" (p.6). This rapid increase in nontraditional students is not reflective of the historical roots of higher education institutions in the United States. During the first half of the 20th century, colleges and universities were largely composed of White, middle to upper class students (Cornwell & Stoddard, 2006; Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education, 2014). An embedded and assumed purpose of higher education during the early to mid 20th century was to educate privileged, White, heterosexual U.S. male citizens for the purposes of cultivating an educated citizenry and workforce to support the country (Cornwell & Stoddard, 2006). Scholars argue that this obsolete education model no longer addresses the needs of the diversity that exists in the current American prospective college student population (Bowman, 2011; Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education, 2014).

Within the last several decades, administrators, educators and student affairs professionals have revisited their missions and policies, with the purpose of aligning their goals more closely with the changing student demographics, and the socio-political, cultural and economic environment of the United States (Gutmann, 1987; Hu & Kuh, 2003; Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education. 2014). Smith and Ota (2013) state:

> As the American academy moves further into the mid-2010s, it is important to continue to expand our push towards educating global citizens who will inherit the leadership of the "free world". At the same time it is just as critical that populations historically underrepresented in higher education are not left behind; American higher education should continue to be the vehicle for social mobility and a "ladder of ascent" for first-generation students of all races. (p. 20)

As the prospective undergraduate student population continues to diversify, this ongoing process of reflection, revision and realignment of diversity goals will continue, particularly in the area of admissions (Kahlenberg, 2014; Karkouti; 2015; Talbot, 2003).

A key strategy in realigning the objectives of higher education is to reflect on the current and projected characteristics of K-12 students and the needs of incoming undergraduates (Haycock, 2006; Kuh, Kinzie, Buckley, Bridges, & Hayek, 2006; Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education, 2014). Present demographic rates indicate that the composition of prospective college students is experiencing incredible flux. As the 2013 U.S. Census Bureau stated, "minority births exceeded White non-

Hispanics for the first time ever in 2011, and Whites in the under five group are expected to fall below 50 percent within the year" (as cited in Western Commission for Higher Education, 2013, pp. 3-4). A 2007 report by the National Center on Education Statistics (NCES) showed that the percentage of bachelor degrees conferred to White students in the United States decreased by 16.2 percent between 1976 and 2007 and is continuing to wane. While the White birth rate decreases, higher education leaders have become more intentional about attracting and recruiting a diverse student body to fulfill the public good and respond to the changing demographics (Haycock, 2006; Kuh et al., 2006; Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education, 2014).

The Changing Definition of "Diverse" Student Groups

In addition to racial and ethnic diversity, college administrators are also paying more attention to increasing access to all traditionally underserved populations, as David Longanecker, president of the Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education affirms:

> New responses are required to address the global economic challenges facing America, particularly in the West; and the rapid changes in the demographic composition of our nation and region, especially the significant increases in the number of prospective students from communities that higher education has not traditionally served well. (Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education, 2014, p. 6)

Pope et al. (2009) argue that higher education practitioners, administrators and scholars have already begun to make attempts to reach out to diverse student groups on campus such as women, adult learners and veterans (p. 642). Given the changes in economic, cultural, political and social diversity, higher education leaders need to increase their efforts in creating supportive and accessible learning environments for all types of students (Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education, 2014).

Historically, the strategies used to recruit a diverse student body have focused on race, ethnicity, gender, and class, as evidenced by affirmative action policies and race-based admissions. These methods have largely sought to redress racial, gender and class inequalities and systemic discrimination (Chang, 2002; Kahlenberg, 2014; Moses & Chang, 2006). In addition to these historically underrepresented groups, international students, older adult learners, students with disabilities and new immigrant students are making increases in college participation and visibility as well (Aw, 2012; Kennedy & Ishler, 2008; Pope et al., 2009). Moreover, Pope et al. stress that while it is challenging to measure areas of diversity such as religion and sexual orientation, these minority groups are also becoming more prevalent on campus and often included within the umbrella of diversity, particularly within student affairs (p. 690).

In regards to current descriptions of college students, Levine and Dean (2012) note:

> Though of the same ethnicity or race, students arrive on campus today more than in the past from different income strata, geographies, social classes, family experiences, educational backgrounds, and interests. They are first-generation college students and multigenerational attendees, rich and poor, taking remedial classes and having poles of Advanced Placement credits, from the inner cities and the most affluent suburbs, and needing full scholarships and paying full sticker

> price. The fact that they share a common skin color is often not sufficient to overcome their differences. (p. 113)

Aligned with these changes, the field of student affairs is widening its diversity lens to include emerging nontraditional student groups within the discourses and strategies about diversity (Karkouti, 2015; Pope et al., 2009; Talbot, 2003). Practitioners and scholars argue that these additional groups of students ought to be considered as part of a diverse student body because they are different from the historically traditional college student profile, which means that they may have distinct values, needs and expectations (Pope et al., 2009; Tremblay, 2011). Moreover, research suggests that to exclude students outside the traditional racial and ethnic diversity scope could deter them from enrolling and participating in college (Patton et al., 2007).

It is important to note that within the literature discussing diversity, some scholars only draw from data that includes racial and ethnic minorities and students who come from low-income families, which are traditionally measured categories of diversity (Haring-Smith, 2012; Humphreys, 1999). However, other scholars provide research that affirms that diverse individuals from a broad range of backgrounds also benefit from additional resources and support through diversity recruitment and retention efforts (American Speech-Language-Hearing Association, 2012; Denson & Bowman, 2013; Pope et al., 2009). The tension and ambiguity that exist regarding who may or may not be included in the definition of diversity is important to explore because it sheds light on how diversity is constructed and used in recruitment policies and practices (Iverson, 2012).

According to Bowman (2010), “diversity” in higher education traditionally referred to students of color. Specifically, he espouses that this term applied to Black and Latino students during the Civil Rights era. However, due to transformations in the political, economic and cultural context of the United States within the past several decades, diversity has become a more comprehensive and inclusive concept (Bowman, 2010; Patton et al. 2007; Pope et al., 2009; White, 2015). In part, some scholars have opted for a more inclusive diversity discourse in order to be fully cognizant and respectful of the evolving social, cultural, biological, political, philosophical and religious identities that students bring with them to college (Haring-Smith, 2012; Humphreys, 2015; Moses & Chang, 2006).

A review of the literature indicates that more recent descriptions of diversity in higher education are now inclusive of different physical, cognitive, behavioral and social characteristics (Bowman, 2010; Pope et al., 2009; White, 2015). An illustration of the evolution of the diversity definition is exemplified in the definition given by the Association of American Colleges and Universities (AAC&U) (2012). The AAC&U states that diversity is inclusive of “Individual differences (e.g., personality, learning styles, and life experiences) and group/social differences (e.g., race/ethnicity, class, gender, sexual orientation, country of origin, and ability as well as cultural, political, religious, or other affiliations)” (para. 6).

Although broad diversity definitions are supported by prominent professional higher education associations (Haring-Smith, 2012; Humphreys, 1999), some scholars contend that certain characteristics of difference should not be included within the parameters of diversity efforts (Hurtado, 2007; Michaels, 2006). Hurtado argues that an overly inclusive notion of diversity may diminish the original intent of diversity efforts, which was to provide equitable access and opportunities for people of color to participate in higher education. Powell (2008) asserts that a watered-down and more generalized definition of diversity may not adequately address the positionality, situated conditions and discrimination experienced by certain minority groups. He adds that color-blind language used in diversity discourse makes it difficult to challenge the issues of racism that are embedded in diversity work because there is no recognition of systemic power, privilege and historic oppression of minority groups (Powell, 2008).

In addition to Powell's (2008) concerns, Smith and Ota (2013) state that as higher education has become more internationalized, some leaders have focused primarily on the benefits and recruitment of international diversity, negating recruitment of domestically diverse and historically underserved populations. These scholars are critical of the broader version of diversity because it discounts equity and access issues that still exist for many minoritized and underrepresented student populations (Powell, 2008). For these reasons, some scholars and social justice advocates opt for a narrower scope of diversity that focuses on redressing historical inequalities to access and participation in higher education (Hurtado, 2007; Michaels, 2006; Powell, 2008; Smith & Ota, 2013).

Due to differences in cultural, social, philosophical and political beliefs, administrators, scholars and practitioners have not yet reached consensus about how diversity should be defined, represented or used in higher education (Haring-Smith; 2012; Moses & Chang, 2006). This disagreement has led to the understanding and framing of diversity in distinct and varied ways and has contributed to the development of multiple discourses about this term (Aguirre & Martinez, 2006). A prime example of the variance in definitions of diversity is illustrated in a study conducted by the Ford Foundation and cited by Aguirre and Martinez (2006). The study notes:

> Fifty percent of survey respondents interpreted “diversity” as meaning different ethnicity, race, nationality, or culture. Some survey respondents (18 percent) interpreted “diversity” as referring to people with different thoughts and ideas. Some survey respondents (12 percent) interpreted “diversity” as referring to different social status or economic and education levels. Eight percent of survey respondents interpreted diversity to mean different religious backgrounds. (p. 56)

The findings from the Ford Foundation study uncover the uncertainty and complexity that frame diversity and how it is uniquely understood at individual and institutional levels. The study also demonstrates how each individual draws from larger societal discourses, as well as from their own situated identities to develop and communicate their understandings of diversity. The ambiguity regarding this word signals a need to further explore the ways that diversity discourses are known, accepted and put into practice in higher education. Exploring diversity rationales and definitions as discourses allows a focus on the language as it is influenced and situated within the American economic, socio-political, legal and political systems (Iverson, 2012; Marichal, 2009). Thus, I now move into a discussion of the shifts and development of dominant diversity discourses used to support increases in diversity in higher education.

Dominant Discourses of Diversity

Based on the relevant literature regarding diversity in higher education, I have organized the dominant diversity discourses into the following categories:

1. Demographics

2. Neoliberalism
3. Internationalization
4. Equity
5. Academic Excellence
6. Pluralistic Democratic Education

In Figure 1**:** Dominant Diversity Discourses in U.S. Higher Education, I present a visual representation of my understanding of the relationships within the discourses of diversity in U.S. higher education. In this figure, a different lens represents each discourse. These lenses symbolize fluid and coordinated systems of language, images, messages and values that exist within the larger socio-political context of higher education. Each lens is not entirely independent of itself. Rather, these lenses shift and overlap in the ways that they are structured, positioned and viewed by higher education scholars, administrators and practitioners (Marichal, 2009; Mendoza et al., 2006). As a result, throughout this analysis, several of my rationales and critiques are similar for the discourses. The coding component of my analysis overlaps for several of these discourses as well.

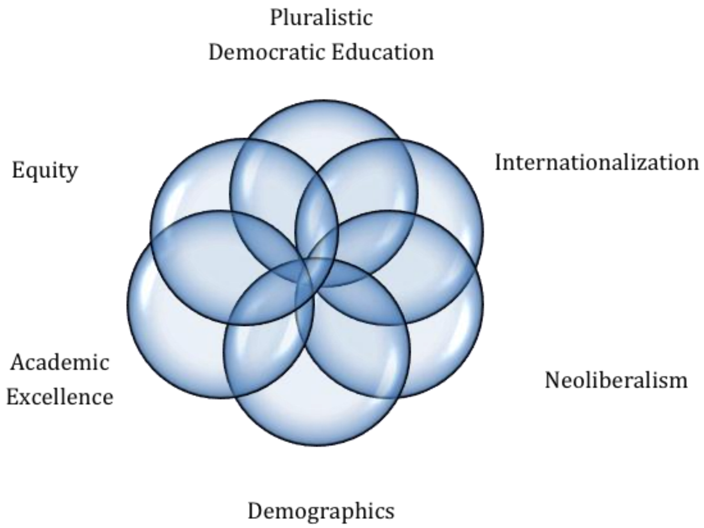


Figure 1: **Dominant Diversity Discourses in U.S. Higher Education**

Kuh (2015) argues that increasing diversity is an important aspiration for higher education officials; yet, this goal has continued to be a challenge due to the evolving and nebulous nature of what constitutes diversity. Iverson (2012) notes that institutional language and conceptions of diversity are framed and informed by overall discourses in American society and are based on the discursive practices of politics, popular culture and media. Motivated and influenced by these societal institutions, higher education leaders have crafted a variety of discourses to justify the need to diversify higher education (Chang, 2013; Gutierrez, 2011; Harper & Quaye, 2015; Iverson, 2012; Marichal, 2009; Mendoza et al., 2006).

Diversity discourses are programs, practices, language and policies used to developed and support the recruitment and participation of a diverse student body in higher education (Iverson, 2010; Iverson, 2012; Moses & Chang, 2006). Influenced by societal values, beliefs and activities, discourses develop and shift over time through language, knowledge and social institutions (Foucault, 1984; Gee, 2011a; Iverson, 2012). While several common discourses have emerged in the literature, contention exists as to which ones are the most effective in supporting and enhancing diversity (Chun & Evans, 2015). In addition, scholars and practitioners are still uncertain about which discourse would be most effective in attracting a broad range of students and in institutionalizing diversity throughout higher education (Humphreys, 1999; Moses & Chang, 2006).

Different ideologies regarding the purposes of higher education have impacted which discourses have become more legitimate, recognized and widespread (Carnivale, 2012; Haring-Smith, 2012; Humphreys, 1999). Based on a review of the literature, six discourses have emerged as more common ways to frame diversity. The main diversity discourses discussed in this research argue that having a diverse student body is imperative to address changing student demographics (AAC&U, 2012; Hossler & Palmer, 2012), to meet the demands of future workforce needs (Ota-Smith, 2013; Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education, 2014), to internationalize campus and assist in the development of students' intercultural skills (Denson & Bowman, 2013; Chickering & Braskamp, 2009; Paige & Mestenhauser, 1999; Salisbury, Umbach, Paulsen, & Pascarella, 2008), to address educational inequities (Chang, 2002; Chun & Evans, 2015; Haycock, 2006; Hurtado, 2007), to enhance academic excellence (Chang, 2013; Gurin, 1999a; Moses & Chang, 2006; Smith, 1991), and to achieve the ideals for a pluralistic democratic society in the 21st century (Bowman, 2011; Curris, 2006; Guarasci & Cornwell, 1997; Gutierrez, 2011; Gutmann, 1987).

Grounded largely within the values, norms and language of current socio-political context, each diversity discourse shapes the boundaries, meaning and significance of diversity in distinctive ways (Iverson, 2012). It follows that the discourse used at specific colleges will inevitably influence how administrators, scholars and student affairs professionals of those colleges frame and discuss diversity, especially in their diversity recruitment efforts. Thus, I now turn to a discussion of the field of student affairs, with a focus on admissions unit and college recruiters, as they play an important part in the goal to increase diversity in higher education. I also describe and discuss several current diversity recruitment strategies that have been highlighted in the literature, noting why scholars believe that more support for a diverse student body is needed. Finally, I expound on the influence of identity on student affairs professionals and articulate why these individuals serve such a critical role in recruiting a diversity of students.

Student Affairs Professionals in Higher Education and Recruiting

Similar to the evolution of diversity in higher education, the field of student affairs also evolves within the context of the American political climate, economic environment, student demographics and cultural norms (Harper & Quaye, 2015; Nuss, 2003). In "The Development of Student Affairs," Nuss (2003) provides a succinct overview of the progression of the student affairs profession in higher education, noting that this field has also been referred to as college student personnel, student affairs and student support services, among other labels. The field has become more inclusive of the wide range of services and programming that student affairs professionals direct, manage and influence within the context of the students they are serving (Nuss, 2003). Units within student affairs, such as admissions and recruiting, have a history of purposefully tending to the needs and specific backgrounds of nontraditional students through financial aid, affirmative action policies and college preparation programs (Karkouti;

2015; Talbot, 2003). Scholars who research and work in student affairs assert that admissions professionals and recruiters have the potential to function as critical players in preparing and developing a campus culture that is ready to meet the needs and expectations of a diverse student body (Dungy, 2003; Harper & Quaye, 2015; Karkouti, 2015; Talbot, 2003).

In an overview of admissions staff roles and responsibilities in U.S. higher education, Dungy (2003) states, "the basic job of admissions personnel is to tell prospective students about the institution and its programs, as well as to recruit, screen, and accept applicants" (p. 343). Historically, admissions units have been included under the umbrella of student affairs. In more recent years, some institutions have created a separate division referred to as enrollment management. Enrollment management aims to strategically increase particular groups of students' participation and mitigate attrition rates (Dungy, 2003). Similar to the admissions office, a major objective of this newer unit is to increase minority student persistence and graduation rates. Dungy maintains that enrollment management may report to student affairs, but also may report to the provost, vice president or president. Given that admissions and recruitment units were traditionally housed within student affairs, for this paper, I follow Dungy's categorical placement (p. 342). While new student affairs units focusing on diversity continue to emerge, the next section of this discussion will specifically explore the important role of admissions units and recruiting strategies used in the admissions process for a diverse student population.

Current diversity recruitment strategies used in higher education.

Admissions and recruiting in higher education are significant tools for institutional management and change (Dungy, 2003). Accordingly, many institutions have developed approaches to transition nontraditional students into higher education institutions through support services geared toward addressing a variety of student characteristics (Milem, Chang, & Antonio, 2005; Smith & Ota, 2013). Some of the strategies to increase diversity have begun with the recruiting phase, wherein new and prospective students gain knowledge about college campuses by interacting with admissions personnel and college recruiters (Daun-Barnett & Das, 2013; EDge Interactive Youthography, 2004; Kennedy & Ishler, 2008; Pippert et al., 2013). In recognition of the broadest range of diversity, recent diversity admissions efforts have included the development of materials and literature for nontraditional students, increased attention to alternative admissions policies and enhanced college readiness services (Milem et al., 2005; Talbot, 2003). In regard to recruiting efforts for ethnic, racial, gender and low-income students, Pitre and Pitre (2009) argue that these initiatives do not have sufficient resources or financial support to increase participation rates to a level that is proportionate to the ethnic and racial demographics of the United States.

Pope et al. (2009) note that it can be challenging and sometimes problematic to collect accurate measures of participation rates for certain types of students, such as GLBT students, students with physical disabilities and students with minority religious backgrounds. Even though it may be difficult to measure rates for all types of diversity, many scholars maintain that the broad description of what it means to be "diverse" needs to be considered in diversity recruitment strategies (Haring-Smith, 2012; Patton et al., 2007; Pope et al., 2009). They support this claim based on scholarship that indicates that recruitment methods designed for one type of student may not be as useful when recruiting students with different social, cognitive and physical characteristics (Patton et al., 2007; Thomas & Thurber, 1999).

Research on the broad range of students suggests that many recruitment strategies are not tailored to all students' needs. In order to attract and retain students from a variety of backgrounds and experiences, it is critical for recruiters to recognize and understand how to position and market their institutions in meaningful ways to students who come from different environments and who identify as nontraditional students (Diversity Pipeline Alliance, 2002; Pippert et al., 2013; Talbot, 2003). Rather than using only one type of recruitment strategy, as the pool of prospective students changes, college recruiters need to be able to identify and tailor their efforts to the needs, desires and expectations of different types of students (Chang, 2013; Karkouti, 2015; Pippert et al, 2013; Pope et al., 2009; Thomas & Thurber, 1999). Thus, in this next section, I investigate the role that college recruiters play in addressing and implementing recruiting strategies for a diverse student body.

The role of admissions and college recruiters in recruiting for diversity. Even though many American higher education institutions have supplemented their mission statements and strategic plans with goals targeted toward increasing diversity (Curris, 2006; Confer & Mamiseishvili, 2012; Iverson, 2012; Moses & Chang, 2006), leaders within student affairs argue that support also needs to be reinforced by the admissions division because of its central role in attracting a diverse student body to campus (Dungy, 2003; Karkouti, 2015; Pope et al., 2009). For example, in a seminal study examining factors that impact student success in college, Crosson (1988) found that admissions personnel and college recruiters are positioned as influential figures in the retention and success of racial and ethnic minority students. Extending Crosson's research, in *What Matters in Student Success: A Review of the Literature*, Kuh et al. (2006) note Crosson's (1988) findings as pivotal to supporting the development of customized and culturally specific admissions policies. Scholars add that all types of diversity ought to be considered when crafting admissions policies and practices for nontraditional students in order to be as inclusive and equitable as possible (Haring-Smith, 2012; Kuh et al., 2006).

Higher education scholar, Kuh (2015) maintains:

> A dependency on sameness is no longer appropriate, as contemporary cohorts of students at colleges and universities are different; the ways they experience and respond to their campuses vary. Thus, faculty and student affairs educators must be strategic and intentional about fostering conditions that compel students to make the most of college both inside and outside the classroom. (p. x)

Talbot (2003) concurs, affirming that it is crucial for student affairs professionals, including college recruiters, to learn how to interact with all types of students to work effectively in the university. Yet, Pope et al. (2009), Gutierrez (2011), and Karkouti (2015) have found that many student affairs professionals are inadequately trained to address the challenges faced by a diverse prospective student body and the complex issues they confront during the college choice process. This discrepancy in training and preparation is particularly relevant for the admissions division because recruiters need to be able to identify specific student needs and use culturally sensitive dialogue in order to authentically increase diversity and support a diverse student body on their campuses (Castellanos, Gloria, Mayorga, & Salas, 2008; Patton et al., 2007; Talbot; 2003).

To help prepare student affairs professionals in working with diverse student populations, a variety of multicultural competence frameworks have emerged in the last several decades (Castellanos et al., 2008). Talbot (2003) cites several prominent examples that support the development of cultural competence such as Bennett's developmental model of intercultural sensitivity (1986), Pedersen's multicultural development model (1988) and the concept of multicultural organizational development (Pope, 1993). While these frameworks are a step in the right direction, researchers and administrators argue that the models alone are not enough to increase and support diversity at the level that has been put forth by many diversity strategic plans and policies (Gutierrez, 2011; Kuh, 2015; Patton et al., 2009; Pope et al., 2009; Talbot, 2003). Rather than using models that address only certain aspects of diversity issues, a more consistent and comprehensive level of training and preparation is needed for student affairs professionals to effectively interact with nontraditional students (Castellano et al., 2008; Dungy, 2003; Talbot, 2003). Accordingly, training on how to respectfully recognize the role of identity, and respond to difference are important factors that influence recruiting a diverse student body (Patton, et al., 2007; Pippert et al., 2013; Thomas & Thurber, 1999).

Because recruiters are progressively engaging with students different from themselves, a component of this study focuses on how recruiters' understandings of distinct identity characteristics shape their conceptions of diversity and how they interact with different types of students during the recruitment process. Helms (1990) asserts that people's notions of their own identities influence how they see, understand and interact in the world. Patton et al. (2007) concur with this conclusion, adding that for student affairs professionals, it is critical to recognize how their own social identities impact how they value and interpret other identities. For example, Patton and colleagues state, "addressing issues of race only and ignoring the fact that an individual is a woman, lesbian, and from a low socioeconomic status is oppressive because parts of her are pushed to the margins" (p. 17). It follows that college recruiters affect the valuing or marginalization of students' identities, based on their own perceptions, language and behavior regarding diversity (Pippert et al., 2013). Thus, college recruiters must have the training, skills and reflective ability to discern both their own understandings of identity as well as how students position themselves (Kuh, 2015; Patton, et al., 2007).

Purpose of the Study

This study is grounded in scholarship establishing that admissions units and college recruiters play an important role in increasing and institutionalizing diversity across college campuses (Freeman, Nuss, & Barr, 1993; Karkouti, 2015; Pope et al., 2009, Talbot, 2003). Despite work that admissions personnel and college recruiters have done to increase access, recruitment and support for a diverse student body, higher education institutions are not yet meeting the needs of all diverse student populations (Hossler & Palmer, 2012; Kuh, 2015; Patton et al., 2007; Pope et al., 2009; Talbot, 2003; Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education, 2014). Ambiguity continues to exist about how diversity is being discussed and communicated in higher education (Harper & Quaye, 2015) and during the recruitment process (Aguirre & Martinez, 2006). Dungy (2003) insists that diversity recruitment efforts need to be supported by every unit and individual within the university structure. Scholars posits that student affairs professionals can play a central role in this task, but more knowledge is needed regarding how college recruiters understand and approach their work with different types of students (Pope et al., 2009).

This research situates recruiters' actions and beliefs within the larger discursive framework of diversity in higher education to investigate: 1) how institutional diversity discourses are represented, communicated and discussed in the literature as it relates to rationales supporting increases in diversity in higher education, and 2) how admissions units and recruiters enact and support particular diversity discourses in their work with diverse prospective students. Research questions for this study include:

1. How do higher education institutions discursively frame diversity at college recruitment fairs and in their online and in-print admissions and recruitment literature?
2. How do college recruiters shape, communicate and draw from diversity discourses in their work with prospective students?

Critical discourse analysis applied to diversity. Analysis in this dissertation is driven by the exploration of big "D" discourses, as I aim to explore how admissions units and college recruiters take up and communicate understandings of diversity during the recruitment process. Using critical discourse analysis in my literature review helps to sheds light on some of the limitations of the diversity discourses framed by demographics, neoliberalism, internationalization, equity, academic excellence and pluralistic democratic education. This critical inquiry can help lead to the development of more culturally responsive and value-added programming and framing of discourses related to diversity. While some scholars advocate for one correct way to talk about diversity, the purpose of this study is not to promote one suitable discourse. Rather, my study aims to demonstrate the variety of ways that higher education scholars, admissions leaders and recruiters understand and articulate interpretation of diversity in the context of higher education.

My examination of diversity discourses forms the way that I consider, structure and analyze how diversity is framed in literature, policies and programs in higher education. Accordingly, I draw on Gee's understanding of Discourse. According to Gee (1992):

> Discourses are inherently "ideological." They crucially involve a set of values and viewpoints about the social and political (power) relationships between people and the distribution of social goods (at the very least about who is an insider and who isn't, but often many others as well). One must speak and act and at least appear to think and feel in terms of these values and viewpoints while being in the Discourse; otherwise one doesn't count as being in it. (p. 111)

Hence, my inquiry and subsequent assertions in this paper are openly value-mediated, potentially transformative, and shaped by the time, place and socio-political context in which I am situated in higher education.

Conclusion

Chapter one of this study described the changing characteristics of college students today within the American political, social and cultural landscape. It then highlighted the tension and complexity that exists regarding the term diversity and how these descriptions have been represented and communicated in discourses about increasing diversity on college campuses. I then provided a brief discussion of the important function of student affairs professionals, and in particular college recruiters, in creating, recruiting and promoting a diverse college student body. I concluded with a discussion of how I use critical discourse analysis in chapter two to demonstrate how the discursive elements of diversity discourses influence recruitment practices and policies geared toward enhancing diversity. I now turn to a discussion of the discourses, policies, practices and rationales related to increasing diversity in higher education. I describe how each diversity discourse shapes recruitment efforts and has the potential to alienate, stigmatize, stereotype and deter certain students from attending or participating in college. I also expound on how these discourses have the opportunity to transform the way that diversity is conceived and represented to support a diverse student body in higher education.

Chapter 2: An Exploration of Diversity Discourses in Higher Education

Chapter two of this dissertation provides a review of the major diversity discourses used in American society and in the context of U.S. higher education research and practice. Its main emphasis is an in-depth analysis of literature discussing the six dominant diversity discourses: *demographics, neoliberalism, internationalization, equity, academic excellence* and *pluralistic democratic education*. Each section of this chapter begins with an investigation of the narratives and rationales used to construct and influence efforts to increase student diversity in higher education, followed by a critical analysis of each discourse. In addition, an exploration of the function of higher education institutions and the role of admissions and college recruiters is woven into the discussion. In Table 1: Dominant Discourses of Diversity-Key Features and Critiques, I provide a description of each discourse, highlighting their key features and critiques.

Table 1: Dominant Discourses of Diversity-Key Features and Critiques

Discourse	**Key Features and Phrases**	**Critiques**
Student Demographics	• Student of color demographics need to be proportionate to U.S. higher education population • Focus on racial and ethnic diversity, students of color • Multicultural diversity	• Exclusive of certain types of diversity • Interest convergence principle applies • Creation of a binary of diversity or academic excellence (Impossible to have both)
Neoliberalism	• Economic rationale • Business vitality • University sustainability • International competition • Free market capitalism • Focus on racial, ethnic and international diversity	• Privatization => Selectivity, no room for equity • Diversity as commodity • Interest convergence principle applies • Ahistorical perspective of diversity (Does not acknowledge historical racism or rationale for diversity efforts)
International-ization	• Internationalization agenda • Global perspective	• Exclusive of certain types of diversity (All others except

	• Studying abroad • Cross-cultural events • Augmenting curriculum with international topics • Global citizenship • Intercultural development • Focus on international student diversity	international origin) • Places White student experience as priority • Interest convergence principle applies • Ahistorical perspective of diversity (Does not acknowledge historical racism or rationale for diversity efforts) • Elements of neocolonialism
Equity	• Focus on affirmative action and redressing of historical inequities toward domestic people of color • Focus on racial and ethnic diversity, students of color • Multicultural diversity	• Exclusive of certain types of diversity • Interest convergence principle applies • Creation of a binary of diversity or academic excellence • Does not acknowledge the transformative benefits of adding diversity to campus
Academic Excellence	• Focus on educational benefits of adding domestic racial and ethnic diversity on campus • Diversity enhances quality of education and academic achievement of White students • Focus on racial and ethnic diversity, students of color • Multicultural diversity	• Exclusive of certain types of diversity • White students at the center of the benefits of diversity • Interest convergence principle applies • Ahistorical perspective of diversity (Does not acknowledge historical racism or rationale for diversity efforts)
Pluralistic Democratic Education	• Includes equal value, respect, and opportunity to freely participate in all aspects of society • Focus on race and ethnic diversity and more inclusive of gender, class, immigrant diversity	• Diversity is fluid concept, understandings may change • Watered-down understanding of diversity • U.S. centric focus on individualistic understanding of diversity

The Demographic Discourse of Diversity

A major argument that supports enhancement of diversity in higher education is the belief that colleges and universities need to reflect the growing diversity of the United

States, as well as the locally diverse environments where they are located (Banjeri, 2006; Gerald & Haycock, 2006; Haycock, 2006; Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education, 2014). This argument is based on the projection that the K – 12 student of color population will continue to grow in upcoming decades (Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education, 2013). For example, the American Council on Education (2006) reported that from 1993 to 2003 K-12 enrollments for Whites increased by only 3 percent, whereas enrollment rates for minorities increased by 52 percent. According to Debra Humphreys, Editor of Diversity Digest, and Director of Programs, Office of Diversity, Equity, and Global Initiatives within the AAC&U, "The number of undergraduates qualified to attend colleges and universities in the United States will grow by 19 percent--2.6 million students--between 1995 and 2015, with minority students making up 80 percent of the increase" (Humphreys, 2015, p. 1). These statistics clearly demonstrate the changing demographics in prospective college students.

Humphreys (2015) asserts that as demographic rates for minority students increase, the need to enhance these rates (and in her words, "diversity") in higher education will continue to expand. Proponents of the demographic discourse affirm that universities need to increase their diversity simply due to the increases in population demographics of non-Whites and participation rates of nontraditional students (American Speech-Language-Hearing Association, 2012; Chickering & Braskamp, 2009; Humphreys, 2015; Mather & Adams, 2012). It is important to mention that not all scholars support the fact that higher education should serve everyone; however, given the growth in racial and ethnic demographic student diversity and decline in White birth rates, advocates of the demographic discourse support increases in demographic diversity in higher education (Chang, 2006; Humphreys, 2015; Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education, 2014).

A critical analysis of the demographic discourse. Scholars using the demographic rationale for supporting diversity efforts often cite research that discusses the increase in racial and ethnic minority students in K-12 public schooling and the concurring decline of the White student population (Chickering & Braskamp, 2009; Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education, 2013). A significant critique of this framing of diversity is that the research is solely based on population and enrollment rates of race and ethnicity, which fails to recognize the vast components of identity that characterize diverse students today (Brah & Phoenix, 2009; Kuh, 2015; Solorzano & Yosso, 2009). The demographic discourse relies largely on quantifying racially and ethnically diverse students and categorizing them into diversity indexes related to national and international college rankings (Dill, 2009). Within this discourse, then, the diversity definition is limited to specific racial, ethnic, gender and class characteristics. As a result, it indirectly relegates students with other diverse social, cognitive and physical identities to the periphery (Haring-Smith, 2012; Talbot, 2003).

In critique of exclusively relying upon the demographic rationale to understand and discuss diversity in higher education, then-President of the AAC&U Carol Geary Schneider notes:

> The problem is that *U.S. News and World Report* defines campus diversity solely in demographic terms. They assign a "diversity index" based on the total proportion of minority students (not including international students) and the mix

> of racial/ethnic groups. This measure does not begin to capture the complexity of campus diversity. (1999, para. 4)

While Schneider's criticism is nearly two decades old, this critique still applies, in that a limited framing of diversity does not acknowledge the multiple characteristics that are included in the broader umbrella of diversity in today's world (Haring-Smith, 2012). Research indicates that the demographic rationale of diversity does not adequately recognize the many academic, social, political and communal ways that diversity of all types can enrich students' lives and the university community (Chun & Evans, 2015). In fact, scholars contend that by quantifying diversity using only the boundaries of race, ethnicity and gender, the demographic discourse separates the goals of increasing diversity from the goals of achieving academic excellence. Separating the achievement of academic excellence from the benefits to increase diversity infers that to have diversity would sacrifice the quality of education, rather than enhance it. Contrary to this assertion, Lou and Jamieson-Drake's (2009) research indicates that universities need to increase demographic diversity in order to truly achieve academic excellence (p. 81).

An additional limitation of the demographic discourse is that it is based on a Eurocentric framing of how to evaluate and measure diversity (Gutierrez, 2011). This discourse largely relies upon demographic statistics to assess diversity, which means that it compares racial and ethnic participation and demographic rates with White students. Within this perspective, it is assumed that when a certain level of racial and ethnic diversity is attained, the goal to increase diversity has been achieved. Placing White student rates as the norm and the center of analysis reveals a Eurocentric framing of diversity. The demographic discourse does not allow nontraditional students to name their own reality as particular types of diverse individuals, which may alienate some students (Kumasi, 2011). It follows that the demographic discourse fails to value all identity characteristics as being equal to each other, potentially marginalizing some students, while inadvertently endorsing White students as the norm (Gutierrez, 2011; Patton et al., 2007). Ultimately, this limited understanding of diversity does not allow for the wide range of possible benefits and understandings of diversity and difference, nor does it acknowledge the civic, academic or social benefits of increased diversity on college campuses (Chun & Evans, 2015; Hurtado, 2007; Kennedy, 2013).

The Neoliberal Discourse

Some higher education scholars, policymakers and practitioners have moved away from a demographic discourse toward a discourse that frames increasing diversity as a positive goal within a neoliberal paradigm (Hartley & Morphew, 2008; Phillips, 2014; Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education, 2014). Proponents of the neoliberal discourse use an economic rationale that is grounded in neoliberal tenets as grounds to support efforts to enhance diversity (Mather & Adams, 2012). As a political and economic system, neoliberalism has played a major role in the progression of the world economy for the past 25 years (Apple, 2002; Fish, 2009). Its basic tenets include individualism, rational choice, free market capitalism, deregulation, economic competition and privatization (Fish, 2009). Within this economic model, social justice is based on the supply and demand of the marketplace (Apple, 2002). According to Treanor (2005):

> Neoliberalism is a philosophy in which the existence and operation of a market are valued in themselves, separately from any previous relationship with the

> production of goods and services . . . and where the operation of a market or market-like structure is seen as an ethic in itself, capable of acting as a guide for all human action, and substituting for all previously existing ethical beliefs. (para. 3)

The principles of neoliberalism have significantly influenced the development of higher education within the last few decades (Hartley & Morphew, 2008). In particular, Clawson and Leiblum (2008) maintain that this economic system has led to the privatization of many colleges and universities in the United States, meaning that instead of being funded through federal and state allocations, universities are now seeking financial support from corporations and private businesses. The decrease in government support has contributed to an increase in corporate and private donor funding and subsequent pressure to increase national and world-class rankings in order to attract more money to fund colleges and universities (Clawson & Leiblum, 2008). The literature notes that privatized colleges are now competing with not only national institutions, but also international and “world-class” universities to draw donors and to recruit the most promising students, which are often considered diverse in some way (Freidman, 2005; Hartley & Morphew, 2008).

Neoliberalists argue that basing the American higher education system on market-driven values will compel universities to develop superior education programs so that they can successfully recruit and educate an elite global workforce (Freidman, 2005). The literature indicates that neoliberal principles undergird many facets of the American higher education system (Apple, 2002). Thus, in the next section, I examine several neoliberal rationales used by the government, businesses and universities to support the goals to increase diversity, with a critical focus on the discursive elements of these categories. While these rationales are linked together through use of similar rhetoric and logic, each section has distinctive elements that focus on particular neoliberal motivations for increasing diversity in higher education.

The economic framing. Scholars supportive of the economic framing within the neoliberal discourse affirm that if higher education institutions do not increase diversity and create sufficient retention efforts for diverse students, they will not be profitable or competitive due to the extreme changes in student demographics (Astone & Nunez-Wormack, 1991; Chickering & Braskamp, 2009; Clawson & Leiblum, 2008; Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education, 2014). Research based within this perspective focuses on projected non-White and nontraditional student population and college participation rates, economic and workforce trends and market-oriented notions of the purposes of higher education (Apple, 2002; Marichal, 2009; Smith & Ota, 2013). Supporters of the economic rationale within the neoliberal discourse believe that the rising number of non-White and nontraditional students at the K-12 level logically signals a need to increase these students' participation rates in higher education (Clawson & Leiblum, 2008). In support of this assertion, scholars provide evidence of the major increases in minority students in the K-12 public school system and the concurring decline of the White student population (American Speech-Hearing-Language Association, 2012; Tremblay, 2011). This is not a new concern, as Astone and Nunez-Wormack argued in 1991:

> By 2000, minorities will account for roughly 30 percent of the population (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1990c). Even now, 27 percent of all public school students

> in the 24 largest city school systems are minorities (Hodgkinson 1986). Yet for nearly all minority groups, high school graduation rates are significantly lower than for the majority, and entry rates of college-age minorities into higher education are actually shrinking. (para. 7)

Despite efforts to increase minority enrollment and persistence for several decades, recruitment and retention of minority students remain low in most four-year public and private higher education institutions (Clawson & Leiblum, 2008; Gerald & Haycock, 2006; Sweeny, 2013).

Research within the neoliberal paradigm espouses that students of diverse experiences, backgrounds, needs and characteristics ought to be included in higher education because they have the potential to play a significant role in maintaining and increasing educational, social and economic capital in the United States (Carnevale & Fry, 2000; Chun & Evans, 2015; Haycock, 2006). In particular, scholars note that the increasingly diverse student population will need to enter and graduate from higher education so that they can contribute to the demands of the national workforce and compete in the growing knowledge economy (Banerji, 2006; Clawson, & Leiblum, 2008; Freidman, 2005; Gerald & Haycock, 2006). Within this discourse, scholars argue that failure to provide sufficient access to and support for diverse students in higher education will have long-term impacts on the economic strength of the United States compared with other nations (Gutierrez, 2011; Pitre & Pitre, 2009). Ultimately, business leaders, higher education scholars and practitioners using the economic rationale to support increases in diversity argue that the shifts in student demographics require leaders in higher education, admissions and college recruiting to become more strategic and deliberate in recruitment processes and enrollment management in order to attract and support a sufficiently diverse student body (Hossler & Palmer, 2012; Pope et al., 2009; Stage & Hossler, 2000).

The business vitality framing. A coinciding category related to the neoliberal discourse is business vitality. It is distinctive because the focus shifts from the economic wellbeing of the United States to the welfare of corporate America. Elements of this category include competition, increasing profit and gaining a competitive edge in the global economy (Apple, 2002; Friedman, 2005). For the past few decades, American businesses have invested in efforts to increase diversity in higher education because they believe that this investment will lead to a stronger workforce and more profit for businesses (Astone & Nunez-Wormack, 1991; Carnevale, 1999; Dill, 2009; Gutierrez, 2011; Humphreys, 2015). According to the American Speech-Hearing-Language Association (2012), "The traditional White male workforce will shrink by an estimated 11% (U.S. Census Bureau) while the minority workforce will expand rapidly. By 2028, it is expected that there will be a shortage of 19 million skilled workers to fill jobs in the U.S." (para. 6). In response to the potential shortage, corporate America and the U.S. government have called to action a number of higher education leaders to support efforts to increase diversity (American Speech-Hearing-Language Association, 2012; Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education; 2014).

Much of corporate America's support for increasing diversity is driven by their fear of the convergence of declining White birth rates in line with a scarcity of students of color in higher education (Smith & Ota, 2013). Lack of students, and in particular nontraditional students, enrolled in higher education institutions will lead to a scarcity in skilled workers, which could culminate in the breakdown of corporate American (Freidman, 2005; Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education, 2013). This logic is based on the neoliberal principle of deregulated competition. According to Treanor (2005), “The free market generates a form of Darwinian selection: the survival of the competitive. Non-competition, or incomplete competition, is failure. The market produces a hierarchy of failure, with the most competitive firms and individuals at the top” (para. 23). According to neoliberal rules of competition, for government and businesses to remain competitive, they must have the most qualified graduates working to support them. Corporate America needs a sufficient number of non-White students to be able to fill all positions available in order to continue to compete in the global economy (Smith & Ota, 2013). The major risk in this scenario is that if the supply of qualified diverse students does not fill the demand for qualified and educated workers in American businesses, the United States could fall lower in the ranks of the global economic hierarchy (Carnevale, 1999; Diversity Pipeline, 2002; Friedman, 2005; Gildersleeve, Kuntz, & Pasque, 2008).

Largely grounded in neoliberal rhetoric, Anthony Carnevale, former Vice President for Public Leadership at the Education and Testing Service, illustrates the business vitality rationale for increasing diversity in “Diversity in Higher Education: Why Corporate America Cares”. He asserts:

> The emergence of a global economy and the increasing diversity of the U.S. population are changing the face of the U.S. workforce. To meet the needs of customers across the planet's 30-odd time zones, American companies are working faster, cheaper, and smarter than ever before. And whether in Beijing or

> Baltimore, global competition has empowered diverse consumers with more choices. Consumers want products that reflect their lifestyles and values. They want to see faces like theirs in product advertisements, and in the showrooms and boardrooms of the companies whose products they buy. (1999, para. 4)

Many business professionals supporting neoliberalism recognize the necessity to increase diversity in American higher education institutions. Thus, they argue for a more educated and diverse workforce because they claim that it will contribute to greater national and international economic competition, increased government revenue and corporate profit (Hossler & Palmer, 2012).

University sustainability framing. In addition to diversity enhancing the economic and business vitality of the United States, some scholars have shifted their focus from the economy or corporate American to university sustainability as a rationale for increasing diversity (Apple, 2002; Berdahl, 1998; Smith & Ota, 2013). According to the university sustainability rationale within the neoliberal discourse, failing to increase access to and participation in college by opening the gates to non-White and nontraditional students could pose a significant threat to the financial sustainability of colleges in the United States (Banjeri, 2009; Friedman, 2005). Institutions of higher learning are expected to be key agents in developing and generating future economic, political and business leaders for their country (Banjeri, 2009; Haycock, 2006; Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education, 2014). If these institutions are unable to attract enough qualified students to produce an educated workforce, support from state, federal and business corporations may decline (Banjeri, 2009). Similar to the rationale used in the economic rationale, scholars argue that expanding the pool of potential student candidates through diversity efforts will help higher education institutions remain globally competitive by enhancing the quality of their institutional research and increasing their scholarly strength (Haycock, 2006; Humphreys, 1999).

Situating university sustainability within the neoliberal discourse frames universities as dominant discursive sites within society that connect to the state, national and global economy in the production of knowledge and the development of an educated workforce (Friedman, 2005; Gildersleeve et al., 2008). Smith and Ota (2013) concur, adding that the principles of neoliberalism have strongly influenced current American economic, political and education policies and practices. Along with other scholars, they believe that using neoliberalism as the dominant rationale to increase diversity in higher education has become increasingly popular (Marichal, 2009; Smith & Ota, 2013). Yet, scholars argue that neoliberalism may mask social inequalities and often commodifies education and diversity (Iverson, 2012; Dill, 2015). Accordingly, in the next section, I will explore the neoliberal discourse of diversity with a focus on how it may impact the recruitment process and affect diverse students' perspectives on college and college choice.

A critical analysis of the neoliberal discourse. Eurocentric privilege is embedded throughout the neoliberal discourse that is used to support increases in diversity in higher education. Gildersleeve et al. (2010) argues that this privilege is passed off as meritocratic, because it is based on a value-free capitalist system. Apple (2002) coined the term "conservative modernization" to describe the "hegemonic bloc" of neoliberal discourse, which includes tenets from neoliberalism, neoconservatism, authoritarian populist religious conservatism and managerialism. He maintains that this “hegemonic bloc” serves to legitimize social inequities and discrimination through the myth of meritocracy, which argues that individuals can go as far as their own merits can take them. Apple also stresses that this “bloc” has commandeered the purposes of American higher education, which has complicated the social contract that these institutions have made to serve the public good and masked social inequalities under the façade of capitalist rhetoric.

In an article exploring recruiting methods to attract a diverse college student body, Pippert et al. (2013) acknowledge that the neoliberal consumer model now dominates many practices in American higher education. An illustration of using neoliberal discourse that these authors discuss is when institutions represent their profitability or attractiveness with racially or internationally diverse students in their recruitment materials. In their findings, Pippert and colleagues note, “it is clear that racial diversity is being used as a commodity in the marketing of higher education and presenting an image of diversity is more important than accurately portraying the student body” (p. 275). Scholars argue that inaccurately advertising diversity, or only advertising certain “diverse” students could hinder the goal to authentically increase diversity (Pippert et al.), and also impede upon the social contract and public agenda that higher education institutions have made with the American government and its citizens (Gildersleeve et al., 2010). This factor is particularly pertinent to institutions that have a historic responsibility to serve the public interest (Apple, 2002; Haring-Smith, 2012; Kuh et al., 2006).

Blackmore (2006) adds that the neoliberal discourse of diversity in higher education skirts around issues of social justice, affirmative action and redressing historical inequities. She states that higher education policies are now based on “the deregulatory aspects of the increasingly managerial and market orientation of schooling, decentering earlier discourses of more transformatory notions premised upon reducing inequality and discrimination” (p. 181). Haring-Smith (2012) affirm that higher education administrators and policymakers have moved away from using affirmative action legislation or social justice rationales to support increasing diversity. Instead, many researchers, administrators and practitioners have begun to frame diversity as a commodity that benefits the economy, businesses and universities (Blackmore, 2006; Haring-Smith; 2012). Because certain types of diversity (specifically international students) are viewed as economically beneficial to the university, diverse students are symbolically used to attract more students and increase diversity ranking scores (Hartley & Morphew, 2008; Humphreys, 1999; Smith & Ota, 2012). In recruitment practices and literature, diversity is thus understood and represented as an input that increases the value and marketability of a higher education degree at institutions labeled as highly diverse (Blackmore, 2006; Humphreys, 1999).

Drawing from work that problematizes neoliberal polices in higher education, Iverson (2007) further examines the effects of non-White students being represented as commodities. She critiques the legitimatized meanings and representations of diversity in “marketplace” higher education policies because she argues that framing these individuals as commodities may make college less appealing to them. In her work, Iverson also notes that diversity discourses are drawn upon from the larger discourses in society and shape the perceptions that administrators, scholars and practitioners hold of diverse groups. It follows that when non-White students are perceived as commodities in institutional discourses, the college recruiters at those institutions may use neoliberal language when recruiting those students, which could drive them away or negatively impact their college search experience. In addition, recruitment materials that are designed to market diversity as a commodity may exaggerate the number of non-White students are on campus, which may deter certain students from those schools due to their misrepresentation (Hartley & Morphew, 2008; Pippert et al. 2013).

Some scholars argue that in order to remain sustainable, social structures, such as higher education, must follow the broader rules of capitalism, which is organized by competition (Apple, 2002; Smith & Ota, 2012; Treanor, 2005). According to this rule, individuals with the greatest financial resources will attain the finest K-12 education, all the while gaining social, cultural and educational capital that will ultimately help them gain access to the highest quality universities. This shift to a model based on consumer-driven demands reveals how neoliberalism innately supports unequal access to college and disregards current and historical discrimination with regard to race, class, gender, sexual identity and ability (Gildersleeve et al., 2010; Kuh et al., 2006).

Within neoliberalism, colleges operate as businesses driven by competition and serve students as the ultimate consumers of their product (education) (Gildersleeve et al., 2010; Kuh et al., 2006). Apple (2002) affirms that within this economic system, morality and justice are placed in the hands of individual consumers. Scholars note that allowing consumers to determine what is fair in society is dangerous because it places all notions of accountability for justice and equity on a system that is inherently unjust and inequitable (Apple, 2002; Guildersleeve et al., 2010). As a result, a major problem with the neoliberal discourse is that it legitimizes the myth of meritocracy and normalizes the discourse as value-free and unbiased. The neoliberal discourse also ignores the moral consequences of limiting access to non-White and nontraditional students who may lack the necessary financial resources and social capital necessary to enter a system based on the premise that every student receives a quality K-12 education and is raised in a family with sufficient financial resources (Kuh et al., 2006).

Since a higher education system based on neoliberal principles does not acknowledge racism, an additional critique of the neoliberal discourse is that it supports the belief that the United States has moved beyond racist and inequitable social policies (Apple, 2002). Accordingly, neoliberals maintain that racism is no longer an issue that needs to be addressed through diversity efforts (Blackmore, 2006). In *The Trouble with Diversity: How we Learned to Love Identity and Ignore Inequality*, Walter Benn Michaels (2006) examines diversity in the neoliberal context of higher education. He argues that the market, and more broadly, American capitalism is an inherently discriminatory system. Michaels (2006) affirms, “High prices aren’t a clever way of keeping out the poor. The purpose of charging high prices is to find an indirect way of excluding those whom the law no longer allows you to exclude” (p. 64). He cites the American poll tax as evidence proving that prejudice and racist attitudes in American history have often been hidden under the guise of capitalism and meritocracy.

Using a critical perspective similar to Michaels’ (2006) reveals that the neoliberal discourse in higher education overshadows the systemic racism that exists in the American economic and political systems (Apple, 2002). The neoliberal model condones decisions, values and actions that have been made through the ostensibly value-free hand of the market (Apple, 2002; Fish, 2009). Free-market capitalism, then, is based on the belief that all individuals are consumers who have both *free* and *equal* choice, access and opportunity to attend any college they desire (Gildersleeve et al., 2010). Analyzing the discourse from a critical perspective problematizes these types of purportedly value-neutral policies and models in order to uncover assumptions and biases that mask discrimination and racism (Kumasi, 2011). Supported by the myth of meritocracy, color-blind and allegedly race-neutral neoliberal policies have become increasingly popular in higher education, because they are seen as less contentious than race-conscious policies (Chun & Evans, 2015; Patton et al., 2007). A critical perspective of the neoliberal discourse reveals that unequal participation rates in proportion to demographic rates, along with lower quality K-12 education for many non-White and nontraditional students, result in unfair and value-biased policies supported and maintained by neoliberalism (Kumasi, 2011).

Troubling the logic of the neoliberal discourse shows how educational inequities are couched within economic principles that mainly benefit White individuals (Forman, 2004; Kumasi, 2011). Gildersleeve et al. (2010) argue that the meaningless rhetoric of freedom, equality and opportunity within neoliberalism conceals the historical and systemic issues of educational inequality and inequity. It follows that any diversity efforts or recruitment policies grounded in neoliberal discourse most likely perpetuate the inequitable practices that they are attempting to redress (Gildersleeve et al., 2010; Iverson, 2007). Scholars displeased with the constraints of neoliberalism have turned to a rationale that highlights the benefits of adding a diverse student body to higher education without having to frame diversity as a commodity (Chang, 2013; Chickering & Braskamp, 2009; Hayward & Siaya, 2001; Hu & Kuh, 2003). Recognizing the limits of the neoliberal discourse they have turned to a different diversity rationale, which I categorize as the internationalization discourse (Haring-Smith, 2012; Smith & Ota, 2013). The internationalization discourse is still structured within the context of increasing global diversity and globalization; however, this discourse focuses less on the economy, corporate American or university sustainability and more on how international experiences can benefit college students.

The Internationalization Discourse

The internationalization discourse frames diversity and diverse experiences as core strategies for the development of students in higher education, particularly through an international lens (Milem et al., 2005; Smith & Ota, 2013). The two common narratives within this discourse are the need to enhance students' global awareness through international experiences and interactions, and the necessity for students to develop intercultural skills to be successful in a globalized world (Knight, 2004; Smith & Ota, 2013). Scholars supporting this discourse see it as a way to increase diversity in higher education and affirm that universities ought to be more accountable for creating leaders and citizens who can succeed in and contribute to diverse environments around the world (Chickering & Braskamp, 2009; Denson & Bowman, 2013).

Advocates of the internationalization discourse at times use a similar justification compared with the neoliberal rationale for increasing diversity (Moses & Chang, 2006; Smith & Ota, 2013). One major distinction is that in the internationalization discourse shifts from focusing on how diversity benefits the national economy, corporate America and the university system, to benefiting students and contributing to the achievement of a global citizenship perspective (Chickering & Braskamp, 2009). The second key difference in the internationalization discourse is that the focus moves from domestic diversity to international student diversity and international and intercultural education (Bernardo, 2003; Denson & Bowman, 2013). Accordingly, proponents of this discourse maintain that students must learn the intercultural knowledge and skills necessary to effectively engage with diverse cultures from across the globe (Bernardo, 2003; Chickering & Braskamp, 2009; Hu & Kuh, 2003; Humphreys, 1999; Moses & Chang, 2006; Pope et al., 2009).

Rooted in a macrosociological and structural perspective, the internationalization discourse maintains that institutions, including higher education, are controlled and directed by international political and economic interests and needs (Smith & Ota, 2013). Within this framework, then, the global undercurrents of political and economic forces significantly influence every facet of higher education, including diversity rationales (Ramirez & Meyers, 2000). Smith and Ota (2013) argue that because the recruitment of international diversity and the incorporation of international experiences are viewed as economically profitable, these types of diversity efforts are strongly promoted within the internationalization discourse.

Diversity, as defined by the internationalization discourse, highlights international cultural identity, values and norms (Blackmore, 2006). Frequently, internationalization efforts, interaction with international students, and having international experiences are emphasized within this discourse (Crichton, Paige, Papademetre, & Scarino, 2004). Other approaches to increasing intercultural skills (and diversity) within the intercultural field include increased study abroad opportunities and the augmentation of curricula with international topics in order to suffice diversity goals (Smith & Ota, 2013). While there is a movement to look at the benefits of internationalization at home (IaH), which explores experiences with domestic diversity and immigrant populations, this movement is less common within the internationalization discourse (Crichton et al., 2004; Knight, 2004).

Despite recent efforts to combine international, intercultural and domestic multicultural fields into one discourse, in 2012 the AAC&U released a publication discussing the enduring divide between these elements in higher education. They argue that this division is largely based on the divergent starting points, motivations, interests and rationales undergirding internationalization, intercultural development and efforts regarding domestic diversity (AAC&U, 2012; Knight, 2004; Smith & Ota, 2013). Thus, in this next section, I explain the various historical contexts of intercultural education and internationalization and their implications in increasing diversity within higher education and recruiting.

The historical context of intercultural education. Initially, the call for increased intercultural skills emerged due to America's need to prepare its citizens to work effectively for and with individuals different from themselves while living or working abroad (Pusch, 2004). Pusch asserts that beginning in the 1950s, the American government and military supported efforts that promoted intercultural sensitivity training, couched within the context of international travel and cross-cultural interactions. Born out of the lack of cross-cultural skills observed within American diplomats and military officials overseas, practitioners in the field of international education and intercultural communication studies developed trainings regarding culture shock and re-entry, micro and macro cultural differences, and recognition of cultural knowledge and value orientations (Pusch, 2004). While the origins of intercultural development and training were focused on cross-cultural exchange and international cultural communication, over the past few decades, its principles have become relevant to the higher education sector as well through the movement known as internationalization. Internationalization is a process where college campuses incorporate more international components such as study abroad, recruitment of foreign students and augmenting curriculum to be more internationally-focused (Begalla, 2013; Chickering & Braskamp, 2009; Crichton et al., 2004).

Many leaders in higher education recognize the need for students to learn how to interact with cultural difference (Chickering & Braskamp, 2009; Knight, 2004). One way to teach students about intercultural skills is through intercultural education, training and development (Begalla, 2013; Bennett, 2004). In the context of higher education, intercultural development is often grounded in Bennett's developmental model of intercultural sensitivity (Talbot, 2003). According to intercultural educator, Milton Bennett (1998), "intercultural competence" describes individuals' abilities to maintain "the skills of operating in their own cultures while adding the ability to operate effectively in one or more other cultures" (p. 29). Bennett also notes that this concept includes one's ability to recognize the interplay of power, privilege and cultural values. Higher education administrators, scholars and practitioners have begun to develop strategies to advance intercultural skills among students to help them understand the function of culture in people's lives, identify the relationship between cultural characteristics and personality, and successfully adapt to different cultural situations (Begalla, 2013; Bowman, 2011; Hayward & Siaya, 2001).

The development of a global citizenship perspective. A complementary way of framing diversity that is linked to the internationalization discourse is the need for students to develop a global citizenship perspective (Chickering & Braskamp, 2009). Development of this perspective is often referred to when viewing intercultural development as a means to creating socially aware and globally conscious citizens. Chickering and Braskamp assert that higher education institutions ought to play a central role in helping students develop an educated and culturally responsive worldview, which they coin as a “global citizenship perspective”. These authors affirm, “The traditional-aged college student needs to develop and internalize a global perspective into her thinking, sense of identity and relationships with others” (p. 27). Grounded in classic student development theory, Chickering and Braskamp opine that attainment of intercultural skills and a global worldview are crucial components of a quality higher education experience in the 21st century.

By adopting a global citizenship perspective, students are expected to be more tolerant of ambiguity, adaptable to change and culturally flexible (Trueba, 2002). Championed by scholars and practitioners from the AAC&U, scholars and practitioners in higher education aspire for this worldview to lead to the following outcomes:

> Having students develop a global perspective means helping them develop the capacity to think with complexity, taking into account multiple cultural perspectives. They need to form a unique sense of self that is authentic and consistent with their own cultural background, and to relate to others who differ with respect and openness. Developing a global perspective stresses personal and social responsibility that is based on interdependence, identity, purpose, and

> emotional intelligence. (Chickering & Braskamp, 2009, p. 28)

Many higher education leaders and practitioners have taken on the responsibility to develop international curricula, diversify their campuses, and integrate diverse learning and knowledge into their classrooms. These internationalization efforts provide clear evidence that higher education constituents support the internationalization discourse as a way to increase diversity on their campuses (Begalla, 2013; Curris, 2006; Knight, 2004).

Logic framing the internationalization discourse. The logic within the internationalization narrative is that if undergraduate students of the 21st century are not trained to communicate and work effectively across difference, they will not successfully function in the global economy. They will also struggle to contribute positively to the diverse social, civic and professional communities in which they are situated (Denson & Bowman, 2013; Hu & Kuh, 2003; Knight, 2004). Scholars posit that as the student population continues to diversify the need for inter-racial and cross-cultural understanding and awareness will become even greater. Recognizing the major social, cultural and demographic shifts in K-16 student characteristics in the United States, Chickering and Braskamp (2009) re-conceptualized four of Chickering's (1964) seven vectors of student development to include a more global view. In their newly conceptualized model, Chickering and Braskamp (2009) assert that it is necessary for students to develop skills that will help them become fluent in the new language of globalization. This language includes understanding how to move through different social, professional and community environments successfully, while also understanding the effects of one's actions within the larger global community. Movement through the following four vectors- from autonomy to interdependence, establishing identity, developing purpose, and managing emotions- will provide the foundation for students to effectively interact in multicultural environments (Chickering & Braskamp).

Given the historic, social, and political context of the United States, focusing on Chickering and Braskamp’s (2009) recently revised vectors will increase students’ skills in becoming engaged global citizens. While these authors do not explicitly refer to intercultural competence, they affirm that becoming globally responsive and socially responsible individuals “requires us to become as competent as we can in understanding persons who differ widely in their political, religious, and spiritual orientations; in privilege and social class, and in ethnicity and national origin” (p. 28). They maintain that student development in higher education focused on their four vectors will accomplish the goal of becoming globally minded citizens.

Proponents of the internationalization discourse assert that participating in higher education is one of the first times that many students have the chance to consistently interact and learn from diverse students and experiences (Denson & Bowman, 2013; Reason, 2015). Thus, scholars stress that it is critical for higher education institutions to provide students with diverse cultural experiences in order to enhance intercultural skills and knowledge, and develop a national and global citizenship perspective so that they can ultimately function in an increasingly globalized world (Hu & Kuh, 2003). Clearly, supporting the need for students to develop intercultural skills and global awareness is a growing rationale used to promote efforts to increase diversity in higher education (Chickering & Braskamp, 2009; Hu & Kuh, 2003; Salisbury, Umbach, Paulsen, & Pascarella, 2008; Trueba, 2002). Although this rationale is becoming increasingly common, critics are concerned with several limitations within this discourse that may negate certain diverse identities and hinder the goal to increase all types of diversity in higher education (Crichton et al., 2004; Otten, 2003; Paige & Mestenhauser, 1999).

A critical analysis of the internationalization discourse. Some scholars and practitioners point to several limitations of the internationalization discourse when it is used to support increases in diversity. For example, critics contend that the internationalization discourse focuses too heavily on international experiences to build intercultural skills, without fully acknowledging the benefits of diverse experiences in one’s own country (Otten, 2003). Others suggest that this discourse negates issues of social justice and historical inequity (Crichton et al., 2004) and only highlights the positive elements of diversity (Hartley & Morphew, 2008). The internationalization discourse is also criticized for using the interest convergence principle by placing white students at the center of the intercultural development research (Kumasi, 2011), and pushing other types of diverse students to the margins (Otten, 2003). Finally, the internationalization discourse “exoticizes” diverse identities and experiences, which showcases elements of neocolonialism (Osei-Kofi, Torres, & Lui, 2013, p. 397).

Because the intercultural field developed its view of diversity based largely on international differences related to national and ethnic culture, this discourse originally used a limited scope of what it considered “diversity”. Since much of the focus of diversity remains on international experiences, issues of historical inequities in access, inclusion and racism within the realms of domestic diversity are often glossed over or seen as a separate issue (Crichton et al., 2004; Smith & Ota, 2013). Paige and Mestenhauser (1999) stress that in order for social justice issues to be addressed in internationalization, educators must delve into concepts such as identity, power, language and privilege on a more consistent basis.

A focus on only international campus diversity can lead to the exclusion of other types of diversity, as well as an inadequate representation of what it means to be diverse. An example of this focus is clearly illustrated in a content analysis of college viewbooks, where Hartley and Morphew (2008) found:

> Diversity is frequently "celebrated," but ill defined. For example, a number of institutions referenced the diversity of their student body and then went on to describe their geographic distribution—"our students hail from 46 states and 23 countries." (p. 686)

This analysis can easily be applied to the college recruitment process. For example, showcasing only an international description diversity to prospective students who are not international students, but identify as diverse in some way, could have negative consequences on their college choice process, as it may negate their lived experience as being diverse (Iverson, 2007). Moreover, if college recruiters and college recruitment materials only emphasize international diversity when discussing campus diversity, prospective students with other identities may feel estranged or excluded from that institution's diversity discourse, and may feel that they would not fit in (Pippert et al., 2013).

Scholars critical of the internationalization discourse argue that discussions of intercultural development and global citizenship have minimized and disregarded the broad range of diversity outside of cultural and national identity (Crichton et al., 2004; Smith & Ota, 2013). This oversight overlooks a growing population of new immigrant students and students who are diverse socially, religiously, psychologically and physically on college campuses (Chickering & Braskamp, 2009; Haring-Smith, 2012). These scholars contend that the internationalization discourse needs to go beyond supplementation of international components of diversity and explore the value of all types of diversity and intersections of identity in order to satisfy the needs and demands of multiethnic, multicultural and nontraditional students (Delgado & Vilalpando, 2002; Haring-Smith, 2012; Otten, 2003).

The rationale that shapes the internationalization discourse highlights the fact that increasing diversity in higher education will better prepare students for an intercultural world (Chickering & Braskamp, 2009; Denson & Bowman, 2013). This view is principally based on the assertion that “monocultural” students will be working with American immigrants, sojourners or living outside of the United States (Crichton et al, 2004; Paige & Mestenhauser, 1999). This assumption is exemplified by the fact that most intercultural scholars and practitioners assert that White American students need to have study abroad experiences in order to fully develop intercultural knowledge, tools and awareness (Crichton et al., 2004; Salisbury et al., 2008). Because of this emphasis, scholars supportive of intercultural development regularly cite the benefits of intercultural skill building for White students who have studied abroad. Research within this field is often linked to the attainment of student learning outcomes for White students (Reason, 2015; Salisbury et al., 2008).

Scrutinizing the language in the internationalization discourse uncovers who is being represented and who is absent through this lens (Salisbury et al., 2008). Historically, nontraditional students, including students of color, low socio-economic students and students with disabilities have not participated in study abroad opportunities at a rate that is proportionate to White students who study abroad in college. According to the Institute of International Education (2012), in 2010 60.5 percent of White students participated in study abroad out of the entire U.S. college student population, and consisted of 77.8 percent of the study abroad population. With only a small number of non-White students taking advantage of the opportunity to study abroad (Sweeny, 2013), scholars have less knowledge about how intercultural and international experiences benefit them, which has also contributed to more of a focus on the benefits of intercultural development on White students (Denson & Bowman, 2013; Salisbury et al., 2008).

Haring-Smith (2012) criticizes the internationalization discourse because it lacks recognition of race and historical racial inequities in its diversity language, which leads to a color-blind ideology about how to support a diverse college student body. Patton et al. (2007) assert, “color-blind ideologies ignore the systemic nature of race, excuse accountability for racial injustices, and promote apathetic, covert acts of racism, which ultimately place power and privilege with the dominant group” (p. 43). Applying Patton and colleagues’ assertion to the internationalization discourse exposes the potentially harmful effects of this privileged discourse of diversity on students who are racially diverse. These authors note that administrators and practitioners must critically consider how their allegedly value-free and color-blind policies, language and practices shape their interactions with diverse students when talking about diversity, enhancing intercultural skills and study abroad opportunities.

The internationalization discourse typically emphasizes international diversity, driving other types of diversity to the periphery (Haring-Smith, 2012). Failing to name or acknowledge these other kinds of diverse identities may inadvertently marginalize them (Patton et al., 2007). Questioning how race is (or is not) discursively framed and discussed within internationalization literature can help to expose how racist and inequitable recruitment efforts and programs may be perpetuating discriminatory practices by only attracting or promoting certain types of diversity (Iverson, 2012; Patton et al., 2007). Otten (2003) asserts that intercultural learning by way of addressing racial inequities and discrimination is currently a tertiary goal in internationalization, when it ought to be a top priority. Smith and Ota (2013) believe that scholars and practitioners need to intentionally combine social justice issues, including racial inequity, with internationalization goals in order to effectively understand and respond to the multiple ways of knowing, interpreting and interacting in a multicultural world. The suggestion to combine these elements of diversity and equity would be beneficial for admissions policies and college recruiters in developing more holistic and inclusive practices to support a diverse student body.

An additional critique of the internationalization discourse is based on the principle of interest convergence, which was coined by Derrick Bell and is defined as a process in which “Whites will promote racial advances for Blacks only when those advances also promote White self-interest” (Kumasi, 2011, p. 207). Applying the interest convergence principle to this discourse exemplifies how the research, values and assumptions of the internationalization discourse focus largely on White students, more than any other group of students as the beneficiaries of intercultural development and international experiences. This point is especially pertinent when taking into account how scholars structure the intercultural benefits for White student development when they are exposed to diversity and diverse experiences (Chickering & Braskamp, 2009; Denson & Bowman, 2013; Hu & Kuh, 2003; Humphreys, 1999; Moses & Chang, 2006; Sweeny, 2013). An example found in some intercultural literature is when scholars only focus on the international and multicultural experiences that compel White students to become more reflective of their values, beliefs and cultural orientation (Chickering & Braskamp, 2009; Denson & Bowman, 2013; Reason, 2015; Ropers-Huilman et al., 2012). Not only does this rhetoric leave out non-White students as beneficiaries, but it also presupposes that only White students need intercultural and multicultural exposure, assuming that multicultural and international students already have intercultural skills, which research suggests is not always accurate (Crichton et al., 2004; Denson & Bowman, 2013).

A final limitation of the internationalization discourse is that it uses neocolonialism as a way to describe positive diverse experiences in U.S. higher education. For example, in a study on racialization in college admissions viewbooks, Osei-Kofi et al. (2013) argue, “The representations of study abroad as White/’Other’ perpetuate the exoticization of other cultures and logics of discovery, where literally and metaphorically, White affluent students from the West ‘discover’ the ‘native’ in the global South” (p. 397). This discourse places Whites as superior to the diverse “other”. It also affirms that “diverse” international experiences aid diverse “others” in becoming healthier, more prosperous and economically advanced, which perpetuates Western notions of what is right, good and healthy. These authors suggest that this neocolonial narrative is translated into a discourse that frames students of color as inferior “others” as well.

Universities have often used the internationalization discourse within their institutions as support for interventions combining White students within a diverse student body to enhance learning, broaden perspectives and develop intercultural awareness in an international context (Cornwell & Stoddard, 2006; Guarasci & Cornwell, 1997). While these developments indicate positive outcomes for White students, scholars critical of this line of thinking argue that it continues to marginalize nontraditional and domestically diverse students by placing Whites at the center (Denson & Bowman, 2013; Kumasi, 2011). As an alternative, some scholars advocate for a discourse that focuses distinctly on social justice, historical inequalities and educational disparities with regard to race, gender and class (Gerald & Haycock, 2006; Haycock, 2006; Hurtado, 2007; Moses & Chang, 2006). Named by Chang (2002), I now shift to a discussion of the “preservation discourse” of diversity. For the purposes of this study, I refer to Chang’s “preservation” discourse as the equity discourse of diversity.

The Equity Discourse

According to Chang (2002), one of the main rationales used to support increases in higher education grounds itself in the desirability of educational equity and social justice through affirmative action legislation. He labels this discourse the preservation discourse and argues that it is based on a diversity agenda that seeks to increase diversity specifically through race-based recruiting and admissions policies and practices. With the goal of preserving affirmative action policies, scholars and practitioners who promote this type of discourse advocate for efforts that work toward countering historical inequities, educational inequalities and continued underrepresentation of historically underrepresented students of color (AAC&U, 2012; Beckham, 2008; Chang, 2002; Haring-Smith, 2015; Haycock, 2006; Hurtado, 2007; Kahlenberg, 2014; Moses & Chang, 2006; Pike, Kuh, & Gonyea, 2007; Steele, 1994).

The equity discourse uses logic that cites the need for race-based admissions policies due to disproportionately low college participation rates of students of color compared with their rising demographic rates (Kahlenberg, 2014; Moses & Chang, 2006). Gutierrez (2011) argues that the affirmative action rationale uses the discrepancies between participation and population rates to argue for equal participation and representation of racial minority students in higher education institutions. In sum, an equity discourse of diversity frames higher education institutions as the vehicle for redressing historical injustices and equalizing racial inequities through targeted admissions policies and procedures (Chang, 2002; Chun & Evans, 2015).

The logic of affirmative action within the equity discourse. Administrators, scholars and practitioners using the equity discourse assert that disparities in college participation rates exist largely due to discrimination against racially diverse students (Banjeri, 2006; Chun & Evans, 2015; Haycock, 2006). Affirmative action policies were implemented in the 1960s to address this discrimination; however, backlash aimed at the race-based mandates as well as continued legal challenges to affirmative action policies have stunted increases in participation and access for students of color (An, 2010). According to Astin and Oseguera (2004), criticism against affirmative action continues to contribute to high attrition rates due to the sense that minority students are unwelcome on college campuses. Advocates of affirmative action stress the need for more deliberate recruitment efforts to attract students of color in order to increase their rates to an equitable level (Gerald & Haycock, 2006; Gurin, 1999a; Haycock, 2006). According to Chang (2002), within the equity discourse of diversity, admissions divisions are usually charged with the responsibility of increasing diversity. In an effort to effectively manage enrollment, these units structure their diversity polices based on serving a certain number of students of color, which would indicate that students of color are being served on a more equitable level (Humphreys, 2011).

The equity discourse grounds itself in the political milieu of racially charged legal debates that focus on remedying historical inequities to minoritized groups (Chang, 2002; Chun & Evans, 2015; La Noue, 2003; Moses & Chang, 2006). Interestingly, Chun and Evans argue that affirmative action policies to date have primarily benefited White people (p. 5). However, beginning with the decision in 1978 in the court case *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke* (438 U.S. 265), affirmative action policies have evolved to address more racial injustices for people of color in the United States. Chun and Evans provide an outline of the classical and contemporary purposes of affirmative action stating:

> 1) [Classical affirmative action] seeks to remedy social bias rather than individual violations; (2) it mandates race-, ethnic-, and gender-conscious remedies for adverse effects or the disparate impact of social discrimination; and (3) it seeks to integrate institutions in terms of race, ethnicity, and gender. In successive phases, affirmative action has evolved from (1) a mechanism for prohibiting discrimination to (2) compensatory or remedial justice designed to address prior discrimination to (3) practices designed to address contemporary realities, such as the pursuit of educational diversity in higher education or as a mechanism for addressing structural imbalances in the workplace. (pp. 11-12)

Based on the contemporary purposes of affirmative action policies, current logic and framing of diversity within the equity discourse is “heavily driven on court rulings” and relies on language of equity as defined by racially diverse participation rates in proportion to their demographic rates (Chang, 2002, p. 135). Albertine and McNair (2011) state that “equity” in educational and legal scholarship is defined as “The creation of opportunities for historically underrepresented populations to have equal access to and participation in educational programs that are capable of closing the achievement gaps in student success and completion” (p. 4). Scholars supportive of the preservation of affirmative action draw on Albertine and McNair’s definition in their discourse to support the claim that racism continues to play a role in American education and needs to be addressed through legislation such as affirmative action policies (Chun & Evans, 2015; Ladson-Billings, 2009; Lopez, 2003).

Advocates of the equity discourse argue that higher education institutions ought to be obligated to promote affirmative action policies as a core part of their mission to help recruit and educate racial minority students in a fair and socially just way (Chun & Evans, 2015; Patton et al., 2007; Pike et al., 2007). Supported by the belief that affirmative action should be “preserved”, an emerging role of higher education leaders and recruiters has been to increase diversity through specially tailored recruiting and admissions strategies in order to counter a historical narrative of racism and discrimination directed particularly toward people of color (Chang, 2002; Chun & Evans, 2015; Hurtado, 2007). While the equity discourse has been valuable in opening the doors to some students of color, in the past several decades, higher education and legal scholars have become critical of its use in maximizing the benefits of diversity due to public and legal backlash.

The most recent court case under scrutiny for its affirmative action admissions policy was *Fisher v. University of Texas,* heard by the Supreme Court of the United States in 2013. In this case, a White female who was denied admission to the University of Texas, Austin, accused the University of illegally practicing a race-conscious admissions policy. This case was based on a previous court ruling in 2003's *Grutter v. Bollinger*, where the court ruled that race could be considered as a "narrowly tailored" factor in the admissions review process. The Supreme Court remanded the *Fisher v. University of Texas* case, annulling the appellate court's ruling in favor of the University in 2009 (Chun & Evans, 2015). The appellate court once again ruled in favor of the University of Texas, meaning that the Supreme Court has decided to hear the case once more (Jacobs, 2015). With pushback from many prospective students, parents, and conservatives in regards to race-conscious affirmative action policies, some administrators, scholars and practitioners are focusing less on using affirmative action to support increases in a diverse student body (Chang, 2002; Chun & Evans, 2015; Kahlenberg, 2014). These individuals have turned to other rationales to help support the goal to increase diversity and equity on campus (Chickering & Braskamp, 2009; Curris, 2006; Gurin, 1999a; Kennedy, 2013).

A critical analysis of the equity discourse. Several authors highlight key limitations of the equity discourse as it relates to institutionalizing a diversity agenda on campus (Chang, 2002; Chun & Evans, 2015; Haring-Smith, 2012; Kennedy, 2013). The first critique is that the equity discourse centers too much on redressing historical racial inequalities (Chang, 2002; Kahlenberg, 2012). The second critique is that the equity lens only focuses on one identity characteristic (race), which does not take into account students' intersectionality and the variety of benefits a diverse student body brings to campus (Kahlenberg, 2014; Kumasi, 2011). The final critique is that this discourse concentrates on admissions, negating how diversity ought to be infused into and supported by all units on campus (Chang, 2002).

Chang states that discussing diversity from an equity perspective is limited because it ignores "transformative aims" that could help challenge the current legal and educational system in which affirmative action relies (p. 132). A central drawback within the equity discourse, then, is that it circumvents rather than challenges discriminatory policies and perceptions about diversity because this discourse is based on a restricted view of how to add diversity through admissions policies. Because this discourse mainly focuses on redressing past inequalities for historically underserved populations it disregards how increasing diversity in college can enhance intercultural competence (Pope et al., 2009) and increase educational quality (Denson & Bowman, 2013).

Another major critique of the equity discourse is that its language, research and scholarship typically center on race, negating other types of identity and characteristics of diversity (Haring-Smith, 2012). Chang (2002) asserts:

> While the general public discourse aimed at preserving the consideration of race in admissions may well prove to be a sound legal defense and perhaps even a persuasive public one, it often fails to acknowledge more fully the breadth and depth of diversity as practiced on college campuses. (p. 128)

According to Chang, the limited view of diversity is evidenced by the fact that most preservation rhetoric is supported by affirmative action legislation that espouses that increasing representation of students of color to a proportionate level will ultimately lead to educational equity. In more recent legal debates regarding diversity in higher education, the necessity to break away from the traditional constructs of racial and ethnic diversity has emerged as an important move towards developing a more equitable and inclusive campus that can transform institutionally inequitable policies and include a broader range of minoritized students (Chun & Evans, 2015; Gutierrez, 2011; Haring-Smith, 2012; Kahlenberg, 2014). Kahlenberg (2012) asserts that only focusing on race in admissions actually hinders the creation of a diverse student body. He maintains that new admissions policies ought to be more cognizant of economic disadvantages as well as racial inequities.

Limiting the view of diversity to certain minority races reinforces assumptions about what it means to be diverse and who should have access to higher education through affirmative action policies. This narrow diversity definition impacts students who may not be classified as diverse within affirmative action parameters, but who would add to the diversity of the student body in different ways (Chun & Evans, 2015; Ladson-Billings, 2000; Ladson-Billings & Tate IV, 1995; La Noue, 2003; Litowitz, 2009). For example, Chun and Evans (2015) cite that affirmative action admissions policies have historically excluded Asian Americans, limiting the benefits of this discourse in terms of inclusiveness for all types of student diversity. Moreover, because the equity discourse is based on legislation that protects only certain racial identities, college recruiters may categorize non-White students inaccurately due to the language they used by the courts (Kahlenberg, 2014; Patton et al. 2007; Steele, 1997).

Scholars and practitioners critiquing the equity discourse argue that this discourse is too fixated on the particular element of a student's identity (race), rather than all of the overlapping components that are made meaningful based on the student's socio-political, economic and cultural context (Chang, 2002; Chun & Evans, 2015; Moses & Chang, 2006, Pope et al., 2009). Kumasi (2011) asserts that some scholars "are critical of any sociological analyses that focus solely on race without recognizing that racial oppression exists in multiple layers based on gender, class, immigration, status, surname, phenotype, accent, and sexuality" (p. 209). It follows that a discourse that limits its focus to one identity component cannot fully name or appreciate the lived experiences and unique perspectives that all students bring with them to campus (Moses & Chang, 2006; Talbot, 2003). These scholars argue that the recognition of all types of diversity, and their intersections, would lead to a discourse that could both challenge discriminatory practices and also highlight the benefits of a diverse student body (Brah & Phoenix, 2009; Haring-Smith, 2012).

A final critique of the equity discourse is that the affirmative action policies in which it draws from are typically limited to the admissions stage (Chang, 2002). Chang states that equity discourse "overlooks the importance of accounting for the evolution of diversity, thinking beyond admissions, recognizing transformative aims, and viewing learning more broadly" (pp. 135-136). He also notes that in order for a university-wide diversity agenda to increase diverse student representation in equitable and sustainable ways, it needs to include the historical, structural, psychological and behavioral aspects of the college experience (Chang, 2002). Regardless of how affirmative action policies are implemented, the emphasis on targeting diversity in admissions inadvertently disregards the fact that other academic and student affairs units on campus ought to be involved in supporting and promoting diversity (Chang, 2002; Chun & Evans, 2015; Iverson, 2012).

Ultimately, the key limitations of the equity discourse are that it focuses solely on redressing historical racial inequalities (Chang, 2002; Denson & Bowman, 2013; Kahlenberg, 2012), it only provides support for certain racially diverse students (Kennedy; 2013), and it places the onus of increasing diversity solely on the admissions units (Chang, 2002; Chun & Evans, 2015). Consequently, this discourse misses out on ways in which the wide range of diversity and diversity efforts beyond admissions could be useful in making universities equitable, inclusive and academically excellent (Brah & Phoenix, 2009; Chang, 2002; Denson & Bowman, 2013; Kumasi, 2011). Given the limitations of the equity discourse, some scholars have worked to advocate for the benefits of diversity through the academic excellence discourse of diversity (Chun & Evans, 2015). The academic excellence discourse is sometimes used to supplement or replace the equity discourse because it is seen as a more transformative way to create a diverse student body in higher education (Blimling, 2001; Chang, 2002; Denson & Bowman, 2013; Milem et al., 2005). As such, in the next section, I describe the tenets and the discursive elements that structure the academic excellence discourse.

The Academic Excellence Discourse

Often described as the original “diversity rationale”, the academic excellence discourse “requires the university to prove that White students and all other students gain educational benefits from policies that were intended to address the long history and tradition of White preference" (Chun & Evans, 2015, p. 26). Within this discourse Milem et al. (2005) maintain that by framing "diversity as a process" that can lead to academic excellence for all students, it can be institutionalized as a central element of learning in higher education (p. iv). Advocates of the academic excellence rationale argue that diversity should no longer be viewed as a supplemental add-on, but rather as an integral component of an invaluable educational experience for every student (Chang, 2013; Gurin, 1999a; Gurin, 1999b; Humphreys, 1999; Milem et al., 2005). Research supporting this discourse developed in part due to backlash against affirmative action legislation (Chang, 2007; Chun & Evans, 2015). Scholars and practitioners were seeking a way to prove the value and importance of diversity that did not offend or challenge the status quo as harshly as affirmative action policies seemed to (Chang, 2002). Consequently, advocates of affirmative action conducted a variety of studies to provide evidence of the educational benefits of diversity on campus (Beckhan, 2008; Chun & Evans, 2015; Gurin, 1999a).

One important grounding example of scholarship within the academic excellence discourse is Patricia Gurin's (1999a) research, which focuses on the value of added diversity in postsecondary education. Drawing from student development, psychological and sociological theories, Gurin examined how diversity enhances the quality of education for colleges and universities in the United States. For example, in *Selections from the Compelling Need for Diversity in Higher Education: Expert Report of Patricia Gurin*, Gurin (1999a) states:

> The empirical analyses presented later in this Report directly test the theoretical arguments I am advancing for the impact of racial diversity on student learning. All of these analyses confirm that racial and ethnic diversity is especially likely to increase effortful, active, engaged thinking when universities set up the conditions that capitalize on these positive environmental features, namely when they offer courses that deal explicitly with racial and ethnic diversity and when they provide a climate in which students from diverse backgrounds frequently interact with each other. (p. 36)

Many scholars have extended Gurin's research, showing how diversity can be a value-added opportunity that cultivates active and critical thinking and contributes to the recognition and appreciation of cultural values, beliefs and ideologies (Chun & Evans, 2015; Denson & Bowman; 2013; Denson & Chang, 2009; Wells, Duran & White, 2008). Also within the academic excellence discourse is an emphasis on how domestic diversity in the classroom and on campus can broaden attitudes, awareness, knowledge and skills of White students (Bowman, 2011; Orfield, 2001; Pope et al., 2009).

Scholars and administrators backing the academic excellence discourse critique the neoliberal and social justice arguments that support increases in diversity because those rationales claim that the mere presence of diversity is enough to add to educational quality (Denson & Bowman, 2013; Gurin, 1999a; Gurin, 1999b). Proponents of the academic excellence discourse argue that intentional efforts to build cultural competence and learn about difference are necessary to glean benefits from the presence of a diverse student body (Bowman, 2011; Chang, 2013; Gurin, 1999a; Hu & Kuh, 2003; Pettigrew, 1998). In addition, advocates of academic excellence opine that framing the diversity rationale as simply a way to redress historical inequities fails to highlight how adding diversity to campus can enhance intercultural skills and educational learning. Similar to the internationalization discourse, the academic excellence rationale places a focus on intercultural skill development largely for White students so that they can succeed in an increasingly multicultural world (Chickering & Braskamp, 2009; Humphreys, 1999; Kennedy, 2013; Milem et al., 2005).

Supporters of the academic excellence rationale for increases in diversity assert that structured interventions are necessary in order for students to truly benefit from diversity (Bowman, 2011; Gurin, 1999a; Gurin, 1999b). For example, Hu and Kuh (2003) affirm that White students must have diverse experiences and interact with diverse others in order to fully benefit from the presence of cultural difference. In their study of diverse student experiences and personal development, Hu and Kuh (2003) establish three levels of diverse experiences. Structural diversity represents the demographic compositions of the student population on campus; classroom diversity represents the quantity of individual and cultural diversity in the curriculum; interactional diversity embodies the purposeful contact and interaction of diverse students. It is largely through these structured experiences that students benefit from increases in diversity (Denson & Bowman, 2013).

In his chapter “Engaging White students on Multicultural Campuses”, Reason (2015) argues that even though colleges are more diverse than ever before, White students still require more intercultural development and training regarding how to interact with diversity and identities that are different from their own. He cites a breadth of research indicating that working with racially and ethnically diverse students enhances intercultural maturity and assists with identity development for White students (King & Baxter Magolda, 2005; Reason, 2015). Scholars focusing on the interactions of students of color and White students in educational environments have found that structured diversity interventions, such as cross-cultural intergroup dialogue and racial identity development activities in multicultural education classes are beneficial in cultivating engaged thinking and understanding of difference for White students (King & Baxter Magolda, 2005). More recently, research has been conducted to demonstrate that interactions across many different social, cultural, racial and ideological boundaries benefits all students, not just Whites (Bowman, 2011; Chun & Evans, 2015; Denson & Bowman, 2013). Many higher education scholars assert that the academic excellence discourse has moved the diversity rationale in a positive direction within the field of higher education (Bowman, 2011; Chang, 2013; Chun & Evans, 2015; Gurin, 1999a; Gurin, Nagda, & Lopez, 2004; Hu & Kuh, 2003). However, some scholars feel this discourse focuses too much on students of color and places White students at the main beneficiaries of increased diversity. Thus, I now turn to a critical analysis of this discourse to further investigate these limitations.

A critical analysis of the academic excellence discourse. While the academic excellence discourse addresses several shortcomings of the demographic, neoliberal, internationalization and equity discourses supporting increases in student diversity in higher education, a critical lens sheds light on some its limitations. Similar to the other discourses, a substantial weakness in this rationale is that the majority of academic excellence research is limited to a focus on the benefits of adding domestic diversity (students of color) to predominantly White campuses (Chun & Evans, 2015; Humphreys, 1999; Milem et al., 2005). Given the fact that “diversity” has come to include a broader range of identities (sexual orientation, socio-economic status, religious background, ability), and the intersections of these identities, this discourse clearly excludes a significant portion of nontraditional students who are attempting to gain equal access to and participation in higher education (Haring-Smith, 2012; Milem et al., 2005).

While “diversity” originated with race and ethnicity as a grounding focus (Michaels, 2006), one of the ways it has become more inclusive is by recognizing the intersections of identities and how they overlap with each other within the spectrum of diversity (Haring-Smith, 2012). Kumasi (2011) maintains that scholars who challenge the traditional definition of diversity “recognize the intersectionality of race and racism with other forms of subordination and recognize that people belong to more than one demographic or cultural group and are consequently affected by disenfranchisement or inequality in more than one way” (p. 210). Thus, without including all types of individuals within the umbrella of diversity, the academic excellence discourse cannot fully acknowledge the identities and lived experiences of a diverse student body. It follows that if recruiters use the academic excellence discourse during recruitment, the intermittent inclusion and implicit exclusion of certain types of diversity could actually alienate some students or stereotype those who do not fall within the traditional confines of racial, ethnic or cultural diversity (Haring-Smith, 2015; Ladson-Billings, 2009; Litowitz, 2009). Rather than following exclusive and traditional definitions of diversity, Haring-Smith stresses that this term should not be restricted to certain diverse identities because diversity benefits everyone who lives and works in a globalized world.

Similar to the internationalization discourse, a major critique of this argument is that it centers on Whites as the main beneficiaries of interaction with diversity on campus (Kennedy, 2013). Placing whites at the center is reflective of the interest convergence principle, which posits that White people will only support and promote policies and practices that benefit them (Kumasi, 2011). Scholars argue that identifying Whites as the focus of diversity efforts can invalidate and marginalize the experiences and identities of non-White students and can be damaging to efforts to increase diversity (Chun & Evans, 2015; hooks, 2000).

An example of placing Whites at the center in the academic excellence discourse is found in *Making Diversity Work on Campus: A Research- Based Perspective*, where Milem et al. (2005) assert that White students need to learn to develop skills that enhance cultural pluralism within culturally diverse societies. As with the internationalization discourse, in the academic excellence rationale, White students are framed as the main recipients of intercultural growth as well as the focus of analysis in research, while non-White students are the impetus to moving White students forward in developing multicultural and intercultural skills (Milem et al., 2005). In their report explaining the evolution of affirmative action related to higher education, Chun and Evans (2015) cite a significant amount of research demonstrating the benefits of diversity with White students as the center of the studies. The first critique of this kind of research is that it assumes that White students are from homogenous environments and need experiences with non-White students to raise their cultural awareness and academic achievement, which is not always accurate. The second critique is that a suitable rationale for increasing diversity on campus must lead to benefiting White students (Chun & Evans, 2015; Kennedy, 2013). Ultimately, the academic excellence discourse predicates the interests and development of White students at the forefront of the dialogue about the benefits of diversity in higher education. Critical of marginalizing diverse students within diversity discourse, some scholars stress that in order to truly validate and appreciate diverse student perspectives and experiences, diversity efforts must be centered around those individuals who identify as diverse in some way, not on the White student population (Denson & Bowman, 2013; hooks, 2000).

A final criticism of the academic excellence discourse is that its framing and scholarship are based on an ahistorical view of American higher education, which indirectly minimizes historical inequities in regard to racial access and inclusion (Kennedy, 2013; Kumasi, 2011). Hackman (2005) asserts, “Ahistorical information… leaves students with a limited understanding of the political, social, and economic forces and patterns that create and sustain the oppressive social dynamics students are contesting and transforming” (p. 105). Many scholars and practitioners moved away from the equity discourse because it did not take into account the benefits of diversity on college campuses (Bowman, 2011; Chang, 2002). In the process of developing a more inclusive and constructive discourse to support student diversity, scholars strategically shifted their focus from solely redressing racial inequities to researching how diversity fosters academic excellence (Chun & Evans, 2015). Rather than combining social justice with academic excellence, the shift from supporting the equity discourse to supporting the academic excellence argument bifurcated them from each other. By creating two discourses, the research separated issues of social justice, which supported the equity discourse, from institutional transformation, which supported the academic excellence discourse (Humphreys, 1999; Kennedy, 2013). Thus, the move to the academic excellence discourse refocused the diversity rationale toward a less transformative and more ahistorical lens as it let go of its focus on social justice (Chun & Evans, 2015).

An overview of the literature on diversity in higher education demonstrates the value and necessity of having a diverse student body in higher education. This discussion also reveals the benefits, challenges and tensions that frame each major diversity discourse (Chun & Evans, 2015; Moses & Chang, 2006). Scholars argue that there is potential to ameliorate some of the conflict related to increasing diversity by aligning diversity rationales and their discourses with the common values of equity and inclusion and the educational outcomes of academic excellence (Cornwell & Stoddard, 2006; Hurtado, 2007; Milem, et al., 2005). Given the constraints of the previous discourses described in this dissertation, in the 1990s many administrators, scholars and practitioners pushed for the development of a democratic, multicultural and inclusive educational model of higher education that aligned with the changing demographics of the United States (AAC&U, 1995; Chun & Evans, 2015). Thus, in the next section, I turn to a discussion of the final diversity discourse used by higher education scholars, administrators and practitioners, which I categorize as the pluralistic democratic education discourse.

The Pluralistic Democratic Education Discourse

The pluralistic democratic education discourse developed in large part due to critiques of the monocultural democratic education model of the 20th century, which supported the needs and aspirations of a highly homogeneous college student population (Cornwell & Stoddard, 2006; Gutmann, 1987; Haring-Smith, 2012; Moses & Chang, 2006). This discourse has also developed in response to some of the limitations of the other diversity rationales mentioned in this dissertation (Chun & Evans, 2015; Moses & Chang, 2006), and aligns with the evolution of what diversity means in reference to current U.S. political, cultural, societal and legal contexts (Haring-Smith, 2012). A main objective of the pluralistic democratic education framework is to utilize the constructive elements of some of the major diversity discourses as building blocks in the development of a new type of diversity discourse that is more inclusive and equitable (Haring-Smith, 2015; Hurtado, 2007).

The pluralistic democratic education discourse focuses on the achievement of equity in the broadest range of “visible and invisible diversity on campus” as well as the attainment of equal participation and inclusion (Haring-Smith, 2015, p. 13). Haring-Smith argues:

> We need to celebrate both the visible and invisible diversity of our campuses so that we can prepare future citizens to engage in productive, respectful civic discourse with those who disagree with them. Without this kind of commitment to multiple aspects of diversity, our colleges will not be able to produce the kinds of citizens who will keep our democracy vibrant. (p. 13)

The pluralistic democratic discourse evolved from a more monocultural democratic discourse of diversity (Bowman, 2011; Cornwell & Stoddard, 2006; Guarasci & Cornwell, 1997; Shugart, 2013). Hence, in the next section I explore the broader critiques of traditional democratic education as they have been applied to diversity in American higher education. I also investigate the logic and discursive elements that scholars use to describe a more inclusive and critical discourse of diversity, which the literature often refers to as pluralistic democratic education.

The logic and evolution of the pluralistic democratic discourse of diversity. Traditional democratic education discourse was an established way of framing the purposes, policies and practices of American higher education. This discourse promoted meritocracy and the education of White, middle-class, male students for the purposes of creating a citizenry and workforce to support the United States (Guarasci & Cornwell, 1997; Gutmann, 1987). Guarasci and Cornwell assert, “Insofar as liberal education was designed to prepare students to assume citizenship in the United States, it perpetuated a monocultural and androcentric model of democracy and an ethnocentric form of patriotism” (p. 159). While supportive of intellectual diversity, traditional democratic education discourse also perpetuated social hierarchies by limiting access for gender, class, racial and ethnic minorities (AAC&U, 1995; Gutmann, 1987).

Critical of traditional democratic education discourse, Steele (1994) challenges the belief that diversity is a value-added concept within the canopy of traditional tenets of American democracy. Steele opines that diversity represents a façade of educational equality within democratic education, covering up disparities, instead of addressing them in ways that would or could ever lead to educational equity. Guarasci and Cornwell (1997) concur with Steele’s critique of traditional democratic education discourse as it applies to higher education. They affirm that the new discourse of diversity ought to challenge systems of privilege and power in critical and transparent ways. Scholars supportive of pluralistic democratic education argue that a strong element of this discourse emphasizes the re-visioning of the traditional education model in higher education with a specific focus on integration of domestic and international diversity (Haring-Smith, 2012).

In her influential book *Democratic Education*, Gutmann (1987) also applies a critical lens to the traditional democratic education discourse in higher education. Critiquing the traditional college admissions paradigm, she states, “A meritocratic system cannot be based on grades and test scores, because grades and test scores cannot measure many of the qualities relevant to the academic life of a university, or the offices for which universities serve as gatekeepers” (p. 200). Gutmann goes on to argue that the broad range of student diversity enhances university social, cultural, political and academic life, but these enhancements are virtually impossible to calculate with current admissions measures. She maintains that higher education institutions have the ability to restructure their language about success and academic achievement by changing their allegedly meritocratic admissions policies to examine both quantifiable indicators and also qualitative evidence of success through student experiences, backgrounds and character. This process can take place in the context of a revised version of democratic education that addresses the broad range of diversity in the United States. Ultimately, Gutmann stresses that in a truly multicultural democracy, diversity is essential, and universities will only flourish by including diversity of many kinds.

In addition to admissions policies, critics of the traditional democratic education discourse argue that universities must question all established policies and norms in order to transform the discourses regarding the benefits of diversity to a more value-added and inclusive paradigm (AAC&U, 1995; Cornwell & Stoddard, 2006; Guarasci & Cornwell, 1997; Gutmann, 1987; Haring-Smith, 2012). Advocates for a version of democratic education that is more inclusive and pluralistic maintain that for individuals to thrive in an intercultural world, administrators, faculty, student affairs professionals and students need to dismantle the curriculum, pedagogies and university structures that enact and promote the traditional monocultural view of democracy (AAC&U, 1995; Guarasci & Cornwell; 1997; Gutierrez, 2011; Lee & Dallman, 2008). Colleges and universities can accomplish this goal by stepping beyond the outdated homogenous and traditional Eurocentric research paradigms and teaching and learning methods, which originally relied upon White scholars' perspectives (Gutmann, 1987; Kumasi, 2011). By valuing non-Western paradigms, counter-stories, qualitative ways that diversity bolsters academic excellence, intercultural development and global awareness, colleges and universities can more authentically frame diversity discourse in the context of a pluralistic democracy (Bowman, 2011; Guaracsi & Cornwell, 1997; Gutmann, 1987; Kumasi, 2011).

One way to enact a pluralistic democratic education discourse is to de-center the focus of diversity on a particular group or unit. Scholars affirm that the entire higher education system must be transformed to support multicultural views and embrace inclusion of different viewpoints, including critical inquiry, student voice, political engagement, experiential learning and equal participation (Chang, 2013; Chun & Evans, 2015; Haring-Smith, 2012). Proponents of the pluralistic democratic education narrative maintain that this new framing supports pluralistic democratic principles in a globalized and diverse world by incorporating domestically and internationally diverse viewpoints and addressing historical inequities (Guarasci & Cornwell; 1997; Gutierrez, 2011; Phillips, 2014).

For decades, scholars in higher education have recognized the integral role that colleges and universities play in developing and educating the future leaders of the nation and the world (AAC&U, 1995; Chun & Evans, 2015; Kahlenberg, 2014). Focusing on public land-grant universities, in 2006, president of the Education Trust, Katie Haycock, asserted that given their historic and democratic mandate, public institutions ought to be the forerunners in promoting and providing accessible and quality educational opportunities to all American students. From a pluralistic democratic education perspective, this argument can be extended to both public and private institutions, as Gutmann (1987) argues:

> Universities are more likely to serve society well not by adopting the quantified values of the market but by preserving a realm where the nonquantifiable values of intellectual excellence and integrity, and the supporting moral principles of nonrepression and nondiscrimination, flourish. (p. 183)

Democracy, then, as it is defined within the context of the pluralistic democratic education discourse, includes equal value of people, respect and opportunity to freely participate in all aspects of society, including education (AAC&U, 1995; Bowman, 2011; Cornwell & Stoddard, 2006).

In the traditional democratic education paradigm a focus on intellectual diversity and on developing citizens who had similar backgrounds, beliefs and values was predominant. Accordingly, well into the 1960s, higher education institutions restricted access for many racial and ethnic groups, not to mention other types of minority groups (AAC&U, 1995). In contrast, the pluralistic democratic education discourse emphasizes naming the strength, value and benefit of bringing together a diversity of opinions, ideologies and identities within a common democratic language of equality and justice in higher education (Gutierrez, 2011). A primary example of this type of pluralistic democratic language is represented in the second edition of *The Drama of Diversity and Democracy: Higher Education and American Commitments* report, where the Association for American Colleges and Universities asked its members to openly commit themselves to diversity as a response “to a vision of democracy that is deliberative, inclusive and fair, and that seeks to address the problems of our day—poverty, racism, hyper-segregation, gender inequalities, homophobia, and religious hatreds” (Gutierrez, 2011). In the report, the AAC&U put forth a notion of diversity that was not only a social or economic imperative, but also the ultimate strategy for putting into practice the principles of a pluralistic democratic education.

Advocates of the pluralistic democratic education discourse recognize that dealing with difference, redressing historical inequities and moving towards a value-added paradigm of diversity will be a difficult but necessary shift in order to live in a truly just “multicultural democracy” (Schneider, 1999, para. 4). Scholars within this discourse often cite research and language describing the value and necessity of difference and the need for diverse perspectives in higher education (Chang, 2013; Gutierrz, 2011). They maintain that linking the dominant diversity rationales with a basic desire and need to understand our common humanity could prove to be the most effective way to enhance diversity in higher education (Gutierrez, 2011; Gutmann, 1987; Hurtado, Dey, & Gurin, 2002).

Recognizing the limits of traditional democratic discourse and considering the growing diversity of the American student body, scholars have developed a more inclusive discourse that is still grounded in democracy, but focused more on equal access and participation in higher education (Gutierrez, 2011). For example, in support of diversity efforts in the seminal University of Michigan Law School case, *Gratz et al., v. Bollinger*, Gurin (1999a) states, "Education plays a foundational role in a democracy by equipping students for meaningful participation. Students educated in diverse settings are better able to participate in a pluralistic democracy" (p. 37). Basing this statement on sociological, psychological and student development theories and research, scholars note the necessity of diverse perspectives, beliefs and experiences in college in order to develop critical and engaged thinking skills that students will need to function in a diverse world (Chun & Evans, 2015).

A critical analysis of the pluralistic democratic discourse. Milem et al. (2005) emphasize that the pluralistic democratic education discourse includes the principles of participation, engagement and support by everyone on campus. These authors note that understanding diversity as a collective ought to be the goal rather focusing on individualistic notions of what it means to be one diverse person. They also argue that diversity built upon these tenets would benefit all students, faculty, administrators, student affairs professionals and the broader community (Milem et al., 2005). While the pluralistic democratic discourse has optimistic aspirations, similar to other discourses, it remains a lofty ideal that has not yet been fully accomplished.

Milem and colleagues (2005) stress that in the pluralistic democratic education discourse of diversity no single minority or majority group would be imposed with the challenge of supporting or promoting diversity; rather, acknowledgement and support of diversity would be supported by all constituents of higher education. However, not all people construct diversity discourses or rationales to increase diversity in the same ways, especially considering that this discourse is focused on dimensions of diversity from a U.S. centric perspective. Thus, even with this discourse, there are potential conflicts and tensions regarding how to talk about diversity, who ought to be responsible for it and who should be included in this term. Consequently, while the pluralistic democratic education discourse addresses many of the limitations of other discourses discussed in this paper, it may not be the panacea that scholars are hoping will create a fair and inclusively diverse college student body.

Conclusion

Discourses of diversity are informing how colleges and universities recruit and support a diverse student body, and how they structure their efforts to redress social inequalities, fulfill their democratic mission, remain economically viable and successfully prepare students for a globalized world. Administrators, researchers and practitioners in higher education base diversity discourses on demographics, neoliberalism, internationalization, equity, academic excellence and pluralistic democratic education. According to scholars who support the rationales mentioned above, it remains uncertain as to how college recruiters interpret diversity discourses and how conceptions of diversity are expressed during the college recruitment process. Moreover, there is still ambiguity regarding the specific role that diversity should play and its perceived and measured importance as a strategic goal in college recruiting.

One of the main findings from this review of literature is that scholars, administrators and student affairs professionals use several different diversity descriptions and discourses to support the goal to recruit a diverse student body. These discourses may exclude people with certain identities and stereotype particular types of students, which may negatively affect their college choice process and also lead to a stigmatization of diverse students by recruiters. Scholars stress that in order for diversity recruitment efforts to be successful, diversity language, recruitment methods and policies must be systematized into many areas of campus and supported by students, faculty, student affairs professionals and administrative leadership at the university. In addition, diversity efforts must be tailored to students with a wide range of needs, expectations and backgrounds, rather than based on an admissions model appropriate for only one type of student. I now turn to a discussion of the methodological approach, methods, data procedure, and epistemological and ontological perspectives I used to examine diversity discourses in college recruiting.

Chapter 3: Methodological Approach to Exploring Diversity Discourses in Higher Education Recruiting

In chapters one and two of this dissertation, I expounded on the rationales that guide higher education institutions as they recruit students with diverse characteristics and backgrounds. I also discussed the enduring debates and conflicts regarding the value and importance of diversity in the educational, corporate, political and legal sectors. These discussions signal a need to examine how diversity discourses are constructed in institutional policies and practices, as well as how they are translated into practice through various college mediums. Based on an extensive review of higher education literature, the discourses of *demographics*, *neoliberalism*, *internationalization*, *equity*, *academic excellence* and *pluralistic democratic education* emerged as salient ways that diversity is constructed and practiced in higher education and through recruitment processes and practices.

This chapter describes the research methods that I used to investigate recruitment practices, policies, and communication plans aimed at supporting a diverse student body in higher education. The chapter focuses on a description of how I used discourse analysis and specifically, critical discourse analysis (CDA) in my research. I discuss how discourse analysis, applied to my comparative case study, illuminates how discourses produce meanings of diversity and create meanings about this term in the ways that it is interpreted, communicated and put into action (Allan, 2010; Gee, 2011a). I follow this discussion with an explanation of my data collection procedures, rationale for inclusion, design of my study, methods, data collection timeline, validity concerns, and my researcher positionality.

Critical Discourse Analysis

Discourse analysis is a branch of discourse theory, which is derivative of postructuralism. Poststructuralists view reality as dynamic, non-static and value-laden, which means that one's view is shaped and influenced by the ever-evolving nature of language. Allan (2010) affirms, "language is socially constituted and shaped by the interplay between texts, readers, and larger cultural context rather than carrying any kind of fixed or inherent meaning that can be 'discovered'" (p. 13). Following Allan's description of the construction and fluidity of language, discourse analysis can be used as a methodological tool to better understand how power and subjectivity can influence the realities that we experience through use of words, symbols, definitions and texts.

This study grounds itself in the belief that institutional language and recruitment efforts influence how recruiters understand diversity and interact with students. Use of CDA to support this focus is evidenced by the fact that "language is used as a tool for building a social world; therefore, individuals use language to enact specific social identities through discourse" (Ropers-Huilman, Winters, & Enke, 2012). Discourse analysis is valuable because it focuses on how language, symbols and texts are used as a form of "social action", wherein individuals (the recruiters) draw from societal understandings of diversity (the dominant diversity discourses described in chapter two), and interpret them through discursive processes (Fairclough & Wodack, 1997). In the literature, administrators and student affairs professionals use specific "figured worlds" that support and craft particular understandings of diversity. For example, the terms "multicultural", "demographic" and "international" were often used to describe diversity within the student population. The way that diversity was taken up from an institutional perspective clearly exhibits the multifaceted discursive process that individuals use to frame what it means to be diverse.

Numerous student affairs professionals and scholars argue that individuals interacting with diverse students enact particular views of diversity and identity, while making other identity characteristics less meaningful (Iverson, 2007; Patton et al., 2007). Thus, a main emphasis of my study is to consider how certain beliefs and perceptions about diversity create a particular campus discourse that represents what is meant in that institutional environment by a "diverse" student body. Accordingly, CDA is a useful method because it displays how diversity is inherently value-laden and made distinctly meaningful in higher education institutions through language, words, and images.

A key component of my analysis is exploring the cultural models or "figured worlds" that the interviewees draw from and use to talk about diversity. Gee (2011a) describes a "figured world" as "a picture or simplified world" that represents certain activities, ideas, languages and values as normal or customary. These worlds are "socially and culturally constructed realm[s] of interpretation in which particular characters and actors are recognized, significance is assigned to certain acts, and particular outcomes are valued over others" (p. 42). In my research, exploring diversity discourses as "figured worlds" that support and craft understandings of diversity provides an approach to view how diversity operates as an important element in the college recruitment process, and in the development and regulation of meaning for people who identify as diverse in some way. Iverson (2012) points out that diversity is used as a specific kind of discourse that gets taken up in a variety of higher education venues, ranging from mission statements to recruitment efforts. Institutions and college recruiters take up diversity discourses in distinctive ways, depending on their individual and institutional contexts. My study adds to research on diversity in the recruitment process by specifically considering and analyzing college recruitment literature, recruitment events, and the ways in which recruiters come to understand and give meaning to "diversity" in their work as college recruiters.

In my research, I view discourse as a system of representation embodied through words, policies, and practices that create and normalize specific meanings (Gee, 2005; Hall, 2001; Iverson, 2007). Gee maintains that Discourses with a capital "D", are established notions of what it means to be or do something, whereas, little "d" discourse is the actual language-in-use, enacting the larger Discourses (Gee, 2011b, p. 36). It follows that using CDA in my research helps me investigate and analyze salient rationales used to support the discussions and representations of diversity in higher education. In this study, I draw largely from the work of Gee (2005; 2011a; 2011b), Fairclough (1993), and Iverson (2012) to highlight the ways in which diversity is embodied and made significant through systematic inquiry into particular modes of texts.

It is important to note that I diverged from Gee's decision not to use the term "critical" in his discourse analysis protocol. Gee (2011a) opines that all language is "critical" and therefore not neutral. He believes that "discourse analysis" does not need to be explicitly described as "critical" (p. 9). However, in her study on diversity discourses in strategic plans, Iverson (2013) uses *critical* discourse analysis because it allows her to concentrate on the use of power and how it demonstrates elements of agency, transformation and subjectivity within an subjects' use of discourse. Thus, I used "critical" in my discussion of discourse analysis in this research because I focused on power, bias and agency. Also, from an epistemological perspective, I ground my research in the belief that multiple ways of knowing exist and these realities are mediated and formulated by our social identities. Thus, my ontological beliefs are based on the understanding that reality is subjective and socially and culturally constructed. Accordingly, my researcher positionality is openly biased and political, which aligns well with the use of a "critical" discourse analysis approach.

According to Gee (2011b), "We use language to build things in the world and to engage in world building" (p. 20). It follows that CDA is useful in this study because this method has the ability to move to and from language, symbols, texts, words and interpretations to "build" a detailed description of the figured worlds in which we are all positioned (Gee, 2011a). Since my focus is on both individual and institutional perspectives of diversity, I am able to use CDA in such a way to understand the personal interpretations of diversity, as well as how these micro perspectives are enacted and mis / aligned with those represented in institutional language and messaging online and in-print.

CDA is a tool for deconstructing how texts connect, communicate, and express specific identities and messages about lived experiences, contexts, connections, relationships, societal norms, and identity characteristics. In my study, I conceptualized texts as ways that people engage in creating and participating in specific figured worlds and cultural models. Gee (2011b) asserts, "Just as hammers and saws can be used to build buildings, so, too, grammar can be used to build things in the world or to give meaning and value to things in the world" (p. 202). Using CDA as an analytical tool emphasizes which words and texts are made significant simply by their presence, prominence, tone, and frequency. Discourse analysis also makes note of what words are not being used, in an attempt to show what or who may be silenced or marginalized. Gee (2011a) stresses that discourse analysis is also useful because it depicts particular “big C Conversations”, which “allude or relate to themes, debates, or motifs that have been the focus of much talk and writing in some social group with which we are familiar or in our society as a whole” (p. 29). Primarily, using CDA as an analytical tool creates an opportunity to connect the discourses emerging from my literature review with the discourses represented by specific institutions on their websites and in their recruitment literature, and within the language used by college recruiters.

One focus of Gee’s (2011a) process of discourse analysis highlights identity, wherein he states, “We use language to get recognized as taking on a certain identity or role, that is, to build an identity here and now” (p.18). Thus, in my interview transcripts with college recruiters, use of CDA shows how each discourse is related to and influenced by one’s personal conceptualization of identity and diversity. In addition to a focus on individual identity, Gee’s discourse analysis process places all language, texts, and interpretations into their broader societal and institutional contexts through the lens of big “D” Discourses and figured worlds. Hence, applying CDA in my study provides an approach that allows me to interpret diversity discourses within their economic, political, and legal backdrops in real-time (Allan, 2010).

Another benefit of using the CDA method is that it encourages a deep investigation of the ways in which conceptions of language are represented and taken up as an individual and from an institutional level, as well as how language is drawn from fields of law, economics, and politics (Gee, 2011b; Iverson, 2007; Ladson-Billings, 2009;

Patton et al., 2007). CDA creates a systematic way for me to problematize how diversity is articulated as an institutional discourse while exploring how distinct discourses may impact what diversity means at specific colleges and to particular individuals (Allan, 2010; Iverson, 2007; Patton et al., 2007).

Patton et al. (2007) argue that certain perceptions of diversity and the strategies that practitioners engage in when talking with different types of students could have significant impact on the level of success of diversity efforts. Hence, the focus on how language is negotiated and communicated by practitioners in the context of larger socio-political contexts helps to illuminate how diversity discourses compete, converge and shape understandings and representations of diversity during recruitment. In sum, utilizing CDA provides a methodological way to study how institutional and personal values and systems of belief about diversity form and influence diversity language, policies and practices in higher education recruitment. I now turn to a discussion regarding my data analysis procedures and design of my study, continuing to provide a narrative for why CDA is an important tool in this comparative case study about diversity discourses in higher education.

Data Analysis Procedures

In my analysis, I used Gee’s (2011b) tools of inquiry and building tasks as my data analysis procedure. Gee’s version of discourse analysis uses a step-by-step process, wherein each line of text builds a certain kind of “figured world” that makes specific words, values and acts meaningful, while making others less so. This analytical process illustrates how certain diversity discourses may privilege one figured world or big “D” Discourse over another. It also shows combinations of multiple and converging discourses. This analysis also demonstrates how recruiters may draw from evolving big "C" Conversations and big "D" Discourses in order to create certain messages about diversity. Gee's building tasks and tools of inquiry are useful in both unpacking and reconstructing how diversity is enacted and framed in the recruitment process. Accordingly, I developed data analysis procedures and focused questions based on the following building tasks and tools of inquiry: significance, identities, practices, Conversations and Discourses. Adapted from Gee's (2011a) *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis: Theory and Method*, these specific building tasks and tools of inquiry guided the protocol for analysis of the recruiter interviews, college viewbooks and websites screenshots and are defined in Table 2: Building Tasks and Tools of Inquiry Protocol

Table 2: Building Tasks and Tools of Inquiry Protocol

1. **Significance**: We need to use language to render identities significant or to lessen their significance to signal to others how we view their significance.
   Focused Question: How are particular pieces of language, Discourses and Conversations being used to make certain diverse identities significant or not and in what ways?

2. **Identities:** We use language to get recognized as taking on a certain identify or role, that is, to build an identity here and now.
   Focused Questions: 1) How are situated identities, Discourses and figured worlds enacting and depicting diverse identities (socially significant kinds of people)? 2) How are situated identities, figured worlds and Discourses being used to make narratives and people connected or relevant to each other or irrelevant to or disconnected from each other as it relates to diversity?

3. **Practices (Activities):** Socially recognized and institutionally or culturally supported endeavor that usually involves a series of actions or combining actions in certain specified ways.
   Focused Question: How is power being used to enact practices (activities) in context?

4. **Conversations**: With a capital “C” Conversations, refer to allude, or relate to themes, debates or motifs that have been the focus of much talk and writing in some social group with which we are familiar or in our society as a whole.
   Focused Question: How are social identities, big “C” Conversations and big “D” Discourses competing, overlapping and conflicting with each other to enact specific recruitment practices, activities and identities?

5. **Discourses**: With a capital D for ways of combining and integrating language, actions, interactions, ways of thinking, believing, valuing, and using various symbols, tools, and objects to enact a particular sort of socially recognizable identity.
   Focused Question: How are Discourses being used to enact specific values, languages, social identities, and recognized social experiences when recruiters engage in their work as recruiters?

(Gee, 2011a, pp. 121-122)

Design of Study: Comparative Case Study

According to Creswell (2013), case study research “explores a real-life, contemporary bounded system (a case) or multiple bounded systems (cases) over time, through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information” (p. 97). A comparative case study methodology with an instrumental case design was useful because I explored a specific issue in an in-depth and focused way using multiple methods (Creswell, 2013). In my research I relied heavily on qualitative methods including observation, interviews and an extensive review of grey literature of websites and recruitment material. My website analysis focuses specifically on the institutional “about pages” and the “admissions pages”. As noted above, grounding my research using Gee’s analytical tools of inquiry and building tasks provides a process for the systematic exploration of how words in the discursive process are shaped, communicated and represented in two distinctive higher education institutions (Fairlough, 1998; Gee, 2011b; Kumasi, 2011).

The case study was guided by the following research questions:

1. How do higher education institutions discursively frame diversity at college recruitment fairs and in their online and in-print admissions and recruitment literature?
2. How do college recruiters shape, communicate and draw from diversity discourses in their work with prospective students?

Using these questions to direct my narrative analysis offers a broad view of how the words, symbols, and images emerging from my study indicate what diversity discourses are salient at the individual, institutional, and national levels.

Case Study Populations

This study uses contrasting cases, wherein I focus on criterion of two distinct institutions in the Midwest. In case study methods, Berg (2004) explains that a small target population is beneficial because it allows the researcher adequate time to conduct an in-depth analysis. My research is based on an instrumental case study design, in that it is focused the particular issue of how diversity is framed in the recruitment process in higher education (Merriam, 1998). This design is appropriate because I am interested in examining the big "D" discourses that are embedded in particular contexts, rather than in attempting to prove or disprove a specific hypothesis. In this study, I concentrate on two criterion cases that are distinct from each other in the Midwest for a more comparative and holistic perspective of the sites (Creswell, 2013). Creswell states that case study methodology is useful when the researcher aligns with the following criteria: he or she wants to study a bounded system; he or she gains accessibility through a gatekeeper or building trust; and he or she want to explore a single "case" or compare multiple "cases". I selected cases that met all of these criteria.

Minnesota was selected as the area for the comparative case study because this state is in the midst of significant cultural, demographic, political and legal flux, comparable to challenges confronted by higher education institutions across the United States (Minnesota Minority Education Partnership (MMEP), 2009, pp. 4-5). For example, based on the 2010 U.S. census, "the racial composition of Minnesota [in 2010] was 86.9% White (83.1% non-Hispanic), 5.4% African American, 1.1% American Indian and Alaska Native, 4% Asian, 2.4% other races and 1.8% multiracial. Hispanics and Latinos of any race account for 4.7% of the population" (World Population Review, 2013). The World Population Review (2013) maintains that while the majority of the population in Minnesota is currently White, the projected increases in the state's population over the next 20 years will come from non-White groups. This statistic poses significant challenges for the higher education system in this state because of the disproportionately low number of non-White students attending post-secondary education compared with their growing demographic rates.

In 2008, according to a study conducted by the MMEP, due to increases in birth rates, in-migration between states and international immigration, one in four students were students of color in Minnesota K- 12 schools. Combining these factors with the projection that by 2025 to 2030 nontraditional (non-White and low socio-economic status) students will comprise over 50% of the Minnesota population increase, institutions of higher learning in Minnesota are faced with attracting and serving an increasingly racially and ethnically diverse student population (MMEP, 2009, pp. 4-5; Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education, 2014). Despite these challenges, education leaders in Minnesota have made a commitment to increase diversity in equitable and inclusive ways, as the MMEP states:

> Guided by new leadership rooted in our diverse communities, Minnesota will ultimately succeed in preparing all of its students, regardless of race, ethnicity, socio- economic status, religion, or native language, for academic greatness. By doing so, [Minnesotans] will have taken a large step towards unifying a diverse population in meeting its historic charge of realizing democracy and justice. (2009, p. 3)

In addition to a significant increase in racial and ethnic student demographics, Minnesota has been a site for significant development in GLBT issues, which are included under the umbrella of diversity and inclusion in this study. From a national perspective, the Supreme Court ruled the Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA) unconstitutional in June 2013, igniting conversations about GLBT populations and increasing awareness about policies affecting these groups across the United States. In Minnesota, a law to legalize same-sex marriage was signed in May of 2013, only seven months after a failed attempt to pass a constitutional amendment banning same-sex marriage (Minnesota Legislative Reference Library, 2013).

In the education sector, GLBT and gender issues have been of growing concern for the past few decades (Dilley, 2002; Zemsky & Sanlo, 2005). For example, in *Do Policies Matter*, Zemsky and Sanlo discuss the increasing importance of including GLBT and other sexual and gender minority groups into diversity and inclusion policies in Minnesota. They argue that developing and enacting anti-discrimination policies that include GLBT students, faculty, and staff is critical for creating a safer campus climate. The University of Minnesota and Macalester College have current anti-discrimination policies that align with Zemsky and Sanlo's study, making them choice sites for my comparative case study (Macalester College Employee Handbook, 2013; Macalester College Student Handbook, 2013; Minnesota Legislative References Library, 2013; University of Minnesota Law School, 2015).

Given significant increases in Hmong, East Asian and East African immigration in the past four decades, religious diversity in Minnesota has grown exponentially in Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam and the Baha'i Faith. The Harvard University's Pluralism Project cites that there are over thirty Buddhist centers, several private Islamic schools and Islamic centers, a Hindu temple and numerous Hmong churches, among other diverse religious organizations and events taking place in Minnesota (Harvard University, 2015). Religious, ethnic, racial and sexual diversity are just some of the ways Minnesota has become more diverse, further propelling diversity to be an important Conversation within a larger diversity Discourse (MMEP, 2009; Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education Report, 2014).

Selection criteria. Due to the need to collect rich data in this research, I chose to limit the sample of cases included in the study (Askehave, 2007; Creswell, 2013; Merriam, 1998; Yin, 2003). Using data from the Carnegie Classification and U.S. News World & Report I selected two institutions. I also used the following criteria for selection of my cases:

1. The institutions are located in Minneapolis or St. Paul, Minnesota.
2. One institution has a land-grant mission.
3. One institution identifies as a private liberal arts college.
4. The two case study sites initiated a diversity committee or task force within the past 10 years or they had a specific focus on diversity in their most current institutional strategic plan.

Choosing institutions that had a targeted strategic plan that includes diversity was important in this study because it suggests that they are intentionally thinking about the significance of diversity as an integral component of their historic, current and future educational mission. Also, I was interested in focusing on institutions that did not use religious doctrine to dictate their diversity definitions or strategic plans. Thus, based on the criteria above, I chose Macalester College and the University of Minnesota, Twin Cities for my study. Profiles of these institutions are described below.

Case Site One: Macalester College

Macalester College is the first of two sites chosen for the comparative case study. Located in St. Paul, MN and founded in 1874, this four-year, highly residential, private, liberal arts college has approximately 2,039 undergraduate students and is ranked 24th in the U.S. News College Compass Best Colleges. The student body consists of individuals from all 50 states and from approximately 90 countries across the globe. Tuition for this institution in 2014 to 2015 was $47,195 per year (US News World & Report, 2015a). Macalester reports that 14 percent of its students are international students, and 24 percent of its U.S. student body falls under the category of students of color (Macalester college, 2015). The website states that it does not report “sex, race, color, national origin, age, religion, disability, marital status, membership or activity in a local commission dealing with discrimination issues, family genetics and medical history, veteran status, [or] sexual orientation statistics”; however, these populations are included in their discrimination and equal protection policies (Macalester College Employee Handbook, 2013; Macalester College Student Handbook, 2013).

According to the Carnegie Institute’s classification, Macalester College is a full-time, selective, and lower transfer-in college and has a strong commitment to internationalization processes, reporting that 60 percent of its students study abroad. The college is known for aiding international students and providing its students with the skills to participate in “world citizenship” (US News World and Report, 2015a). Of the 170 full-time faculty, 17 percent are international or identify as faculty of color

(Macalester College, 2015b). This college's commitment to diversity is clearly expressed in its mission statement which states, "Macalester is committed to being a preeminent liberal arts college with an educational program known for its high standards for scholarship and its special emphasis on internationalism, multiculturalism, and service to society" (Macalester College, 2015a).

Macalester College is a privately funded institution, which means that a significant portion of its funding is from private donors, corporate sponsors, and alumni (An, 2010; U.S. News and World Reports, 2015a). While private colleges have not experienced the same level of state budget cuts compared with many publically funded universities (Haycock, 2006), private colleges also exist amidst a tense economic climate while drawing from a growing pool of diverse prospective students. Given the anticipated shift of the student body to include more international student and students of color, both private and public institutions have needed to become more willing and flexible to increase diversity (Haring-Smith, 2012; Pope et al., 2009). In addition, because Macalester College is inclusive of the many forms of diversity in its practices and policies, this institution is a unique site for examination of the ways it represents diversity, how recruiters communicate specific words and concepts when talking about this topic, and how those recruiters draw from larger Discourses about increasing diversity at their college.

Case Site Two: University of Minnesota, Twin Cities

The second site chosen for this study is the University of Minnesota, Twin Cities, which is a large, public, primarily nonresidential undergraduate, graduate and professional school founded in 1851. Serving approximately 65,000 undergraduate,

graduate and professional students, the University of Minnesota is the largest higher education research institution in Minnesota (Carnegie Classifications 2011a; College Compass, 2013; US News and World Reports, 2015b). It was ranked 71st in the 2015 edition of Best Colleges in National Universities (US News and World Reports, 2015b). Of the total undergraduate student population of 28,638 individuals in 2015, 5,654 are students of color, which is a percentage of 19.7, and 6.1& are students of color (Office of Institutional Research, 2015). In-state tuition is $13,626, while out of state tuition is $20,876 for the academic year of 2014-2015. This institution is distinct compared with Macalester in that it is a public land-grant institution, with a mission to serve and provide access to its local constituents. Its mission statement is as follows:

> The University of Minnesota, founded in the belief that all people are enriched by understanding, is dedicated to the advancement of learning and the search for truth; to the sharing of this knowledge through education for a diverse community; and to the application of this knowledge to benefit the people of the state, the nation, and the world. The University's mission, carried out on multiple campuses and throughout the state, is threefold:
>
> - **Research and Discovery:** Generate and preserve knowledge, understanding, and creativity by conducting high-quality research, scholarship, and artistic activity that benefit students, scholars, and communities across the state, the nation, and the world.
> - **Teaching and Learning:** Share that knowledge, understanding, and creativity by providing a broad range of educational programs in a strong and diverse community of learners and teachers, and prepare graduate,

> professional, and undergraduate students, as well as non-degree-seeking students interested in continuing education and lifelong learning, for active roles in a multiracial and multicultural world.
>
> - **Outreach and Public Service:** Extend, apply, and exchange knowledge between the University and society by applying scholarly expertise to community problems, by helping organizations and individuals respond to their changing environments, and by making the knowledge and resources created and preserved at the University accessible to the citizens of the state, the nation, and the world. (University of Minnesota, 2013)

Historically, land-grant universities have been among some of the nation's most elite institutions in the United States, providing accessible and high quality education to the citizens of their respective states (Haycock, 2006). Today, higher education institutions are experiencing myriad transformations in student demographics. Coupling this shift with significant changes in the cultural, economic and political configuration of the United States reveals a need to closely examine the trends of access, participation and enrollment strategies in public institutions of higher learning (Taylor, 2005). Land-grant institutions are particularly relevant sites to study because they have represented a gateway to a better life for many first-generation, low-income, racial, and ethnic minority students seeking an affordable four-year postsecondary education (Laanan & Brown, 2002; St. John & Musoba, 2002). As the flagship institution of the state, the University of Minnesota provides significant economic support to Minnesota, as well as vast opportunities for employment, research and continuing education to its residents (University of Minnesota, 2013).

As mentioned earlier, Zemsky and Sanlo (2005) conducted a study on the importance of including GLBT groups in the broad range of diverse individuals in college. Their focus was on the implications of including GLBT students in institutional anti-discrimination policies, which traditionally focused on racial and gender minorities. Their study examined institutions, including the University of Minnesota, which had existing inclusive anti-discrimination policies. They found that inclusive policies positively influenced the campus climate for students who self-identified as diverse in some way. Thus, the University of Minnesota is an important case for my study because it specifically addresses providing equal access and protection in its discrimination and diversity policies for individuals who identify as sexual and gender minorities (Zemsky & Sanlo, 2005). Also, given the distinctive land-grant mission of the University of Minnesota, and the increasingly inclusive diversity goals, the University of Minnesota is an ideal comparison case site to Macalester College. I now turn to an overview of the methods I used in my comparative case study.

Description of Methods

According to Merriam (1998) “qualitative analysis usually results in the identification of recurring patterns and themes that “cut through the data’” (p. 11). Thus, I structured my analysis of the college viewbooks, website screenshots and my observations of the college fair with Merriam’s goal in mind, treating each method as a cultural artifact. I used a broad review of grey literature to engage in a systematic approach to unpacking the words emphasized in the in-print and online materials and in two pictures at the college recruitment. I situated my work in critical discourse analysis, wherein I focused on how representations of identity, power, privilege and place were constructed and communicated through texts, visual images and phrases in my artifacts. I grounded my analysis in the belief that recruitment fairs, college viewbooks, website screenshots and college recruiters operated as discursive fields in which certain cultural, political and social practices and identities were enacted and supported, while others were not.

Document analysis and review of grey literature. According to Gee (2011b), "Discourses are always embedded in a medley of social institutions, and often involve various 'props' like books and magazines of various sorts, laboratories, classrooms, buildings of various sorts, various technologies and myriad of other objects" (p. 35). Because Discourses are inclusive of a broad "medley" of "props", I included a review of both in-print recruitment documents and online webpages at Macalester College and the University of Minnesota. Accordingly, a major method I relied on in the beginning of my study was the collection and analysis of viewbooks and website screenshots to analyze the different discourses that surfaced based on the spaces and fields observed.

Yin (2003) argues, "for case studies, the most important use of documents is to corroborate and augment evidence from other sources" (p. 87). Analysis and coding of online and in-print texts helped to supplement and confirm my interpretations from my interviews with the recruiters and college fair observations. These methods also aided me in understanding how representations of diversity, as living and fluid discourses, were constructed based on institutional contexts and specific recruiter identities. Specifically focusing on Gee's tools of inquiry and building tasks, I critically examined the *significance, identities, practices, Conversations and Discourses* that were important to each institution based on the types of diversity that were embodied in the language, symbols and images I observed (Gee, 2011b).

College viewbooks. Although online marketing is a growing medium for college admissions units, in-print viewbooks continue to be heavily relied upon for college recruitment and marketing purposes (Osei-Kofi et al., 2012). In a content analysis of college viewbooks, Hite and Yearwood (2001) reported that 60 percent of viewbooks in their study showcased diversity of students and faculty on campus. Interestingly, Osei-Kofi and colleagues argue that beyond their study, little research exists about diversity in viewbooks today. Of the limited research focusing on diversity in college viewbooks, these authors claim, “diversity and multiculturalism is presented as racial and ethnic diversity and as add-ons to traditional Whiteness” (Osei-Kofi et al., p. 389). Thus, my discourse analysis included analysis of viewbooks and online screenshots compared with findings from interviews and field notes from the college recruitment fair I attended. I drew from Gee’s (2011b) tools of inquiry and building tasks to assist with this process, specifically centering on the focused questions from Table 2: Building Tasks and Tools of Inquiry Protocol.

Website screenshots. Even though college viewbooks are still an important component of college marketing (Pippert et al., 2013), online marketing is becoming increasingly prominent (Bennett & Ali-Choudhury, 2009; Supiano, 2012). According to an article in *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, Supiano suggests that the Internet is largely taking the place of many traditional in-print college advertising materials. Despite the increase in online college marketing trends, there is inadequate research regarding the impact of college websites on the college choice process. For example, Saichaie (2011) argues that current research and theoretical implications of the influence of college websites on admissions pages is sparse, asserting, “what is unknown is whether institutions within or outside of a certain classifications utilize language in similar or dissimilar ways to represent themselves” (p. 44). In addition to Supiano (2012) and Saichaie’s (2011) assertions regarding the limited research of online websites, the importance of including website analysis in my research is also based on a study conducted in 2000 by the EDge Interactive Youthography group. In this study, the group administered surveys to over 40,000 American and Canadian students ages 13 to 29 to identify the major factors that influence the college choice process. They found that college website content was instrumental to the majority of students’ postsecondary institutional selection in the study (EDge Interactive Youthography, 2004).

I chose the homepage of the “admissions page” and the “about page” of both institutions because they are high-traffic pages that prospective students view online when deciding whether or not to apply to the college (Saichaie, 2011). My analysis of college viewbooks and college website screenshots helped in comparing texts, images, and representations of diversity in the online and in-print discursive fields of inquiry (Fairclough, 1995). This analysis was also useful in highlighting the distinctive ways that each institution strategically defined themselves in their own contexts compared with each other.

Multimodal analysis of images. In *Reflections About Images, Visual Culture, and Educational Research*, Gustavo Fischman (2001) argues that images play a significant role in the discourses, illustrations, and interpretations of culture. He maintains that despite resistance to analysis of images in education, their importance is belied by the fact that:

> Images have become an omnipresent and overpowering means of circulating signs, symbols, and information. Many of the everyday iconic events, such as watching movies, window shopping, and television consumption, have become core cultural experiences of urban modernity in the second half of the 20th century. (p. 29)

Fischman notes that the incorporation of images in educational research can be used as a visual indicator of what is valued and made meaningful in given contexts. As a result, while it is common for discourse analysis to focus solely on written texts, my study included a multi-modal discourse analysis of photographs from the college recruitment fair I observed and images from the online webpages of the two case sites. Gee (2011b) notes, "Images, just like communication in language, do not just 'say' things (carry "messages"), but seeks to do things as well" (p. 195). Thus, drawing on these images strengthened my analysis and supported my other methods because this method highlighted not only written language but also symbolic representations of diversity that were made important by institutional messaging in visual culture.

Interviews. A significant method I used in this study was individual interviews with admissions personnel who identified as college recruiters. Through careful and deliberate conversations with admissions leaders at Macalester College and the University of Minnesota, I conducted a total of twelve in person interviews: six interviews with admissions personnel from Macalester College, and six interviews with admissions personnel from the University of Minnesota. There were a total of 14 admissions representatives at Macalester and 20 admissions representatives at the University of Minnesota during this study (see Appendix A: Diversity Discourses in College Recruiting Interview Protocol for a complete list of interview questions).

I used a "case selection" sampling strategy and followed with purposive sampling to locate additional viable interview participants (Patton, 2014). I initially interviewed the admissions leaders, obtaining their permission to conduct the study with additional recruiters that they informed about my research. All recruiters that were interested in participating in the study responded to the email sent by the admissions leaders and I followed up with each recruiter personally to conduct an interview. The interviews spanned from 30 to 90 minutes in length and were digitally recorded and transcribed. I included recruiters who worked full-time in admissions and focused on the general student body as well as those whose focus included an explicit intent to recruit a diverse student body. The majority of the recruiters were alumni from the institutions where they worked. At the University of Minnesota, the recruiters who were just beginning their full-time careers had discussed working in the admissions office as undergraduates. At Macalester, two of the recruiters who had been working in admissions for only a few years mentioned that they were alumni and were quite familiar with the institution and its understanding of diversity. The recruiters who were not alumni had at least one if not more years of experience in admissions. Thus, the quotes from the recruiters were reliable and representative of the culture of the institutions.

After initially coding the data using the salient diversity discourses noted in my chapter two, I conducted a critical discourse analysis of the interview transcripts as it offered a way to understand how recruiters engaged in different diversity discourses. I analyzed the words and concepts the recruiters used to frame and communicate diversity's significance compared with the discourses represented by the institutions where they worked. The analysis process included movement from context to language and language to context, which was helpful in understanding how recruiters situated themselves in their particular temporal and institutional contexts (Gee, 2011b, p. 9).

During my data analysis process I developed distinct systems of codes that were linked together through various texts. Through an iterative process of analysis, coding, and reorganizing, patterns of discourses and significant themes emerged. I purposely coded for participant quotes that expressed certain beliefs, assumptions, or buzz words about diversity that were noted in literature about diversity. At times these phrases were double or triple coded into my themes. The quotes were categorized into themes that addressed how recruiters drew upon larger societal big "D" Discourses and figured worlds, organized through the categories and questions in Table 2: Building Tasks and Tools of Inquiry Protocol. I found many quotes that fell outside the dominant diversity discourses I examined in my literature review. These quotes were categorized into themes that addressed how recruiters made meanings of diversity based on their own experiences and personal identity characteristics. A final component of my coding consisted of the participant quotes that exposed contradictions, tension and nuances between institutional discourses of diversity and personal interpretations of what diversity meant to recruiters.

While I recognize that discourse analysis is born out of interpretivist and poststructural paradigms (Allan, 2010; Gee, 2011b), as a qualitative researcher striving for construct validity, I performed "member-checks", meaning that I discussed my interpretations with the recruiters to help ensure that my understanding of the findings and conclusions were aligned with their interpretations (Yin, 2003). During my interviews, I used what Yin describes as “focused interviewing”, where “the interview may still remain open-ended and assume a conversational manner, but you are more likely to be following a certain set of questions derived from the case study protocol” (p. 90). Using a structured, but conversational, style in my comparative study was important so as to provide a stronger case for comparison of findings from the two case sites (Yin, 2003). My contact medium was through the secure University of Minnesota and Macalester accounts and work phone lines. In the initial conversations with participants, I clearly explained that I was identifying the institutions by name in my study, but noted that their personal information would remain confidential. I also defined the potential risks and benefits prior to the participants agreeing to participate. An application to the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at the University of Minnesota was submitted and approved (Appendix B: Diversity Discourses in College Recruiting IRB).

Observations. Observations in this study included visiting the national college recruitment fair at the Minneapolis Convention Center in the fall of 2014. Gee (2011b) asserts that individuals use language, interactions and actions to enact and support socially recognizable identities. The identity that recruiters enacted in their work at the fair was my main focal point in my observations. I was also interested in observing the interactions between recruiters and prospective students. During my observations, I took several photographs, with approval from the individuals in the images, collected recruitment materials and observed how recruiters and students interacted with one another. I recorded field notes throughout my observations to supplement my other data collection methods. Aligned with Merriam's (p. 106) field notes procedure, my notes included the following items:

1. Verbal descriptions of the setting, the people, the activities
2. Direct quotations or at least the substance of what people said
3. Observer's comments—put in margins or in the running narrative and identified by underlining, bracketing, and the initials "OC"

My field notes were used to supplement my interpretations when analyzing the recruiter interviews and recruitment materials.

I used narrative analysis as my data analysis procedure for my observations. This method centers on the how people enact and communicate stories through the discursive process (Merriam, 1998). According to Gee, "Every story shapes the listener, and the teller often uses particular discursive strategies to do so" (p. 108). Through narrative analysis, I investigated these stories and the themes that emerge from them, as well as identified absences of particular discourses of diversity in images at the booths and during interactions and communication at the fair.

Narrative analysis partnered well with CDA because it placed the texts in the larger social contexts in which the recruiters situated themselves. Combining narrative analysis with CDA highlighted both convergences of themes regarding diversity, as well as competing discourses about how diversity may have been understood and mobilized from a personal standpoint (Gee, 2011b). Finally, use of observation data combined with my other methods served to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the discourses of diversity used in the entire recruitment process (Creswell, 2013; Gee, 2011; Merriam, 1998).

Data Collection Timeline

Research Questions	**Data Collection Methods**	**Methods of Analysis**	**Timeline**
How do institutions discursively frame diversity in their online and in-print marketing materials and recruitment literature?	-Review of college website screenshots -Review of college viewbooks -Observations (College fair)	-Thick description -Critical Discourse Analysis / content analysis -Coding -Content analysis of grey literature (college diversity plans/definitions) -Narrative analysis of field notes	March – June 2014 College fair (October 2014)
How do college recruiters shape, communicate and draw from diversity discourses in their work with prospective students?	-Recruiter interviews -Observation (College fair)	-Thick description -Critical Discourse Analysis / content analysis -Coding -Content analysis of grey literature (college diversity plans/definitions) -Narrative analysis of field notes	Conducting interviews: August-October 2014 Transcription of interviews: October 2014 – January 2015 Analysis of interviews: January-April 2015

Addressing Validity Concerns

Gee (2011b) states, “A discourse analysis is itself an interpretation, an interpretation of the interpretive work people have done in specific contexts. It is, in that sense, an interpretation of an interpretation” (p. 122). In response to validity concerns with this “interpretive” method, Gee’s assessment of validity in discourse analysis studies centers on four elements: convergence, agreement, coverage and linguistic details. Essentially, through systematic use of Gee’s tools of inquiry and building tasks, my findings demonstrated the convergences, agreements, conflicts, and divergences of themes about diversity, which strengthened the validity of my findings (Gee, 2011b). It is important to note that an analysis of college website screenshots in comparison with the college viewbooks helped to triangulate my data and my interpretations.

Because my research drew from both critical and poststructural perspectives, I grounded my findings in subjective interpretations of multiple truths. As such, my interpretations of my data aligned with the belief that truth was bound by time, history, and context, and thus, reality and truth were part of a fluid process of situating oneself in different social fields, identities and discourses. In this sense, participants in my study participated and engaged in the transformation, perpetuation, and production of truths and realities about diversity. It follows that increasing validity in this study relied on my ability to use multiples sources of data to gain as much information from a variety of perspectives as possible, while acknowledging the fluidity of knowledge, and the subjective nature of reality that aligned with postructuralism (Allan, 2010).

Epistemological and Ontological Perspectives

My experience as a lesbian working in diversity efforts has challenged my assumptions of what it means to be diverse, marginalized and silenced. I have had the opportunity to critique my own identity and privilege as a White female, while also acknowledging my disenfranchised positionality as a lesbian swimming in the broad pool of diversity. To some, my sexual orientation gives me credibility in working with “diversity” issues; to others, I am labeled as part of the periphery in a watered-down version of a race and ethnicity Discourse. These competing and overlapping debates about what it means to be diverse have pushed me toward troubling the concept in and of itself, recognizing both the convergences of identities and the messiness of how “diversity” is understood. In my research, I hold a personal claim to being part of the diversity that strengthens higher education. I identify boldly as a critical researcher, which means that I am subjective and invariably close to my findings and research participants (Allan, 2010). As such, I challenge the ideology that context-free creations of knowledge and truth actually exist, and I actively question the claim that there is one “right” or “true” Discourse of diversity (Iverson, 2007; Solorzano & Yosso, 2009).

Within my study, critical theory and poststructuralism are structured around the concept of subjectivity. To this end, a concrete reality does not exist outside of the researcher or participant (Crotty, 1998). Given that CDA falls under the poststructural paradigm, recognizing this subjectivity is part and parcel to my researcher positionality, which is value-laden and openly critical of objective truth. Accordingly, in my study I was most interested in understanding the way that recruiters and institutions took up particular meanings of diversity and put them into action in their recruitment practices. Because I believe that multiple realities exist, ensuring rigor included the open articulation of value premises and use of participant voice in the methods of my research. In addition, as the researcher, I supported a clear recognition of the socio-cultural and political contexts in which the participants and I were embedded, while advocating for appreciation of intersecting realities and truths.

Through the use of qualitative methods under the methodological underpinnings of CDA, I was able to make space for understanding the subtle and complex realities that exist for a range of identities (Gee, 2011a). My epistemology was grounded in the belief that many ways of knowing exist and that my participants’ realities were mediated and formulated by their social identities (Allan, 2010). My ontological beliefs were based on the notion that reality is socially and culturally created, which aligns well with critical discourse analysis (Crotty, 1998; Fairclough, 1995a). The narratives constructed by my interview participants were subjective and personal in that they were bounded in culture, space and time. However, I connected these narratives to global and national discourses through intertextual references of diversity in the history and evolution of higher education (Fairclough, 2001). Couched within a critical paradigm, I gained a deeper recognition of the ways in which systemic use of language constructed a particular reality regarding what diversity meant, how it was understood, and how institutions and recruiters operationalized it as various big "D" Discourses (Fairclough & Wodack, 1998).

Conclusion

This chapter provided an overview of CDA as the methodological tool that was applied to my study. I began with a discussion of Gee's (2011a; 2011b) understanding of discourse analysis, and an explanation of his tools of inquiry and building tasks as ways to unpack the discourses that were made meaningful to my participants and in my findings. Interwoven throughout this chapter, I offered rationales for using CDA as my main methodological tool for data analysis. Following Gee's (2011a; 2011b) tools of inquiry and building tasks, I described how I applied a detailed critical discourse analysis of the written and multi-modal texts used to depict, encompass and communicate diversity in the contexts of my two case sites. I then moved to an explanation for choosing two distinctive institutions in the Midwest as case sites for comparing diversity discourses from an institutional and individual level with college recruiters, college websites, recruitment materials, and observations at one college recruitment fair. I also noted how I used narrative analysis as a complementary data analysis procedure for the college fair observation. I completed the chapter by addressing validity concerns and discussing my epistemological and ontological researcher positionality. I now turn to a discussion of my findings in the following two chapters.

Chapter 4: Institutional Framing(s) of Diversity Discourses

This chapter addresses research question one: How do institutions discursively frame diversity in their online, visual, and in-print marketing and admissions materials and at college recruitment fairs? I provide a description and rationale for each of my methods with an explanation of which discourses emerged from each method. I offer evidence to support these findings along with a discussion of the implications as to why the University of Minnesota and Macalester College represented themselves using certain discourses of diversity more than others. Using the outline from Table 1: Dominant Discourses of Diversity-Key Features and Critiques, I create categories for the college fair observation, college viewbook and website screenshot analysis. I also apply the following question from Gee's focused questions in my methods protocol: 1) How are particular pieces of language, Discourses and Conversations being used to make certain diverse identities significant or not and in what ways? It is important to note that within this analysis, the dominant discourses were less distinct than in my literature review. This finding is reflective of the evolving, overlapping and competing nature of big "D" discourses noted in Gee's (2011a) *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis: Theory and Method*. In addition, I used double-coding when the image or text belonged in multiple Discourses.

The National College Recruitment Fair

Fetterman (1998) stresses the importance of going into the field and asking direct and simple questions to all participants before choosing a random sample of questions and subjects to interview. He asserts, "beyond the literature search and proposal ideas", it is appropriate to first understand the context of the culture the researcher is studying

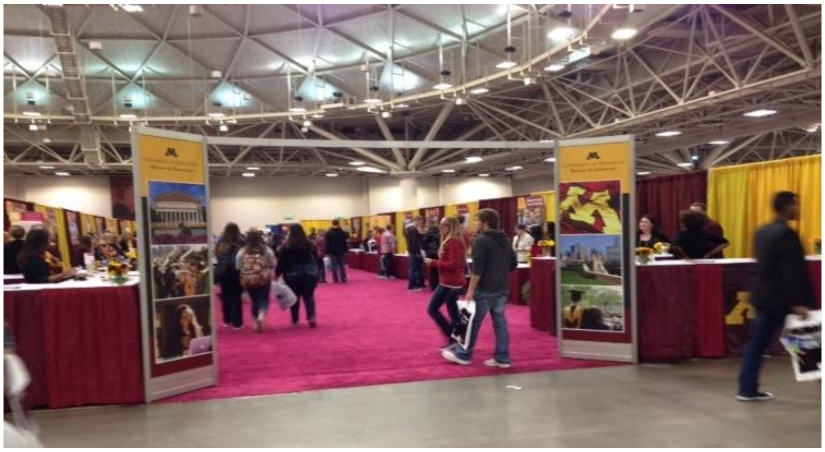
(Fetterman, p. 33). College recruitment fairs are an important component to higher education admissions, marketing and recruiting (Confer & Mamiseishvili, 2012). Because the college recruiting process is the central focus of my research, I chose to visit the National Association for College Admissions Counseling (NACAC) college recruitment fair to better understand the context and culture of my study. The NACAC fair is an annual recruiting event that is intended to inform and introduce middle and high school students and parents from the Midwest to a variety of higher education institutions that they may choose to attend in the future. The event takes place over a span of two days, with over 400 higher education institutions represented (NACAC, 2014).

During my attendance at the fair in Fall 2014, I observed that the institutions were housed in booths that ranged in size, content, color and staffing. Based on my observations and conversations with admissions representatives, the institutions were strategic in designing their space by selecting attractive brochures, images, technology and even specific recruiter attire to attract students to their booths. Each booth represented a particular visual culture that embodied the climate, values and beliefs of those institutions. In general, my interactions with the recruiters were limited, as I was interested in observing how the recruiters engaged with prospective students and how students responded to the recruiters and the admissions materials at the tables.

Visual analysis. In *Reflections About Images, Visual Culture, and Educational Research*, Fischman (2001) argues that the incorporation of images in educational research can be used as a visual indicator of what is valued and made meaningful in given contexts and what is not. He notes, “understanding visuality calls for inquiring about perception and reception of images as well as about the cultural, social, and economical conditions surrounding the producers and users of visual culture" (p. 29). My analysis below includes one picture I took at the Macalester Booth compared with one picture I took at the University of Minnesota Booth, with the goal of imagining how prospective students viewed the recruiters and the booths as discursive fields representing specific understandings, messaging and beliefs about how diversity fits into their institutions, as well as what space diverse identities are allowed to take up in these discursive fields.

Visual representations at the University of Minnesota booth. According to one of the recruiters at the fair, because The University of Minnesota is the public land-grant university in Minnesota, the fair, held at the Minneapolis Convention Center, allowed the institution to take up an entire aisle, which is represented in Figure 2: The University of Minnesota Aisle-NACAC Fair.

Figure 2: The University of Minnesota Aisle-NACAC Fair



Smaller institutions typically occupied one to two tables for their booths, while larger institutions occupied up to four tables. Each college from the University of Minnesota had one to two tables with recruitment material and admissions representatives specific to that college. There was one table that was dedicated to general undergraduate admissions in the center of the aisle. Directly adjacent to the general admissions table was the "Equity and Diversity" table, which is represented in Figure 3: The University of Minnesota Equity and Diversity Booth-NACAC Fair.

Figure 3: The University of Minnesota Equity and Diversity Booth-NACAC Fair

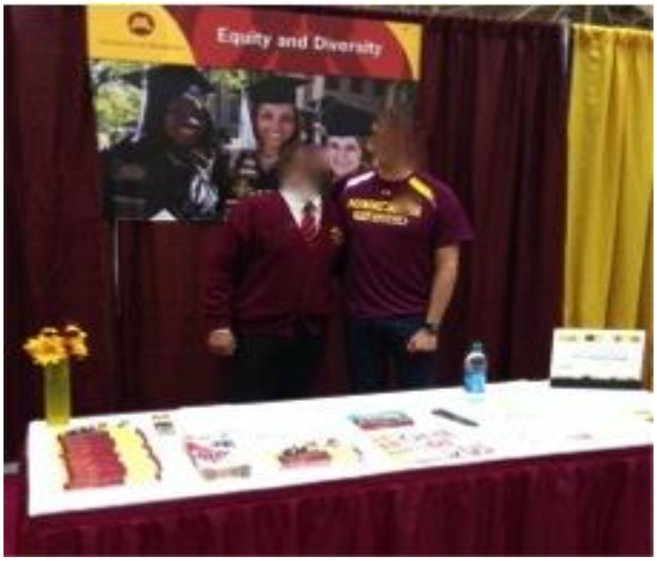


Figure 3: The University of Minnesota Equity and Diversity Booth-NACAC Fair, shows the two admissions representatives placing their arms around each other, which they did at their own discretion after I asked if I could take a picture of them. Not captured in the photo were the two staff members joking with each other about their difference in heights, creating a very inviting and fun atmosphere for prospective students, I surmised. I also made note that the image in the background of their table visually represented three students, two being people of color, along with the caption "Equity and Diversity". After taking the picture of the admissions representatives, I spoke with one of them, who emphatically explained that having the "Equity and Diversity" table right next to the general admissions table was an intentional move on

their part, as they felt that diversity and equity were core components of the University of Minnesota that needed to be visually represented at the fair.

On his own volition, the University of Minnesota admissions representative informed me that because the University of Minnesota had a land-grant mission, it was imperative to show that the institution prioritized access, equity and diversity by dedicating a booth to these topics. He expressed that his goal in being at the fair was to educate prospective students who were interested in learning more about diversity and multiculturalism and its critical role at the University of Minnesota. This staff member also emphasized how important diversity was to him personally, as a person of color and first-generation alumnus, and to his work to recruit students to attend the University.

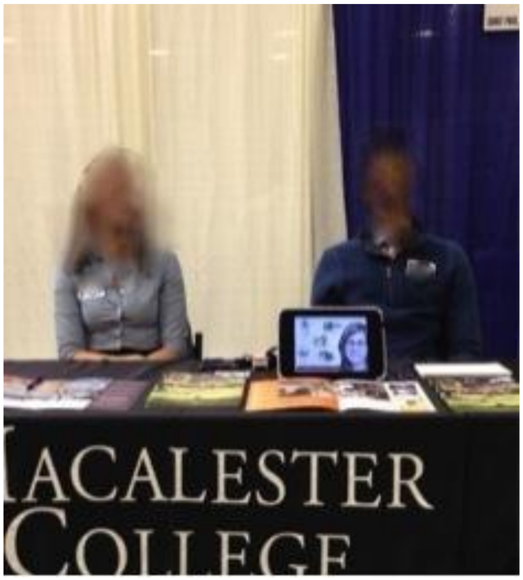
After my conversation with this admissions representative, I observed how he engaged with prospective students for the next 45 minutes. This recruiter was also a participant in the interview portion of my study. Accordingly, I was able to compare his actions at the fair with his descriptions in his interview. He typically stood in front of the table, smiling at students who walked by and offering to talk to them about any questions they had. He was very open with the students, assertively shaking their hands, introducing them to his colleague and referring them to the materials at his table. Typically the conversations lasted only a few minutes; however, two times I observed that after talking at length with some students, he would open up about his experiences at the University as a first-generation alumnus. If students expressed interest in applying to the University, he directed them to the admissions table directly to his right. In reflecting on his interview transcript, interestingly, his actions at the fair aligned well with his descriptions of how he engaged with students.

Prominent images of diversity at the University of Minnesota. The selective visual representations and strategic positioning of the “Equity and Diversity” table next to the general admissions table signified that racial, ethnic and gender diversity was an institutional priority. Both in Figure 3 and in my interaction with the University of Minnesota admissions representatives, racial, ethnic and gender diversity was represented in the recruiter identities and in the image behind table. For example, in Figure 3: The University of Minnesota Equity and Diversity Booth-NACAC Fair there was a large picture of two women students of color with the phrase “Equity and Diversity” on it. Another prominent example was that the general undergraduate admissions table and the equity and diversity table were staffed with admissions personnel who identified as people of color. In addition, on their tables, brochures about the office of equity and diversity, multicultural organizations, GLBT services, the Women’s center and more general information about the application process and financial aid were present.

Reflecting on Gee’s focused question in my protocol: How are particular pieces of language, Discourses and Conversations being used to make certain diverse identities significant or not and in what ways? The findings from the college fair support that diversity from the broader discourses of demographics and equity were embodied and discussed prominently. I also found that certain diverse identities were absent from my observations, the recruitment materials on the table and during my conversation with the admissions representatives. The identities not explicitly represented included age, socio-economic status, ability, international origin, and political and religious affiliations. A major implication of this finding is that students who see and hear their identities represented at the fair and in admissions materials may have a better sense of how they would fit into that institution (Klassen, 2000; Osei-Kofi et al., 2012). Conversely, students who do not see their identities represented may not feel that the institution would value or celebrate their unique characteristics. They may also feel less comfortable applying to a college where their identity is not discussed, especially if their group status has traditionally been oppressed, underserved or minoritized (Osei-Kofi et al., 2012).

Visual representations at the Macalester College booth. Because Macalester College is a smaller institution in comparison to the University of Minnesota, this college only occupied two tables at the fair. Students approaching this booth were greeted with modestly decorated tables and no visual pictures in the backdrop. Propped up on their table was an iPad with the image of a white woman and a half-peeled orange wrapped around the globe. There were four admissions representatives present at the Macalester booth, one of the staff identified as an international non-White male, but not a person of color, who now lived and worked in the United States, while the other three visually appeared to be White women. One of the four recruiters was also a participant in the interview portion of my study. In addition to the college viewbook, there were several other brochures on their table that discussed financial aid, majors, student organizations, application procedures and study abroad experiences. Figure 4: Macalester College Booth-NACAC Fair depicts the Macalester Booth at the fair.

Figure 4: Macalester College Booth-NACAC Fair



I conducted my analysis of the Macalester Booth using the following focused question: How are particular pieces of language, Discourses and Conversations being used to make certain diverse identities significant or not and in what ways? Based on this analysis, international diversity was displayed as a significant diverse identity for the college. It was represented in the literature they placed on the table, in one of the quotes on the iPad that stated the number of countries where Macalester students were from, in the picture of the globe with an orange peel around it, and in the identity of one of the admissions staff. I doubled-coded these images in both the internationalization and the neoliberalism discourses. There were limited racial and ethnic representations of diversity in the language, text and images at the Macalester booth. There were also no representations of other major categories of diversity such as socio-economic status, sexual orientation, age, ability, religion or political affiliation. When I asked one admissions representative how important she thought racial and ethnic diversity was in the college recruitment process, she responded that from her perspective, it was “not relevant”.

Engagement with students differed greatly when comparing my observations of the two institutions. The Macalester admission representatives did not actively seek out students, but instead sat behind their tables waiting for students to approach them. During my observations, I did not see many students approach the booth, and the majority that I counted in the hour of time I was there appeared to be White students and their parents. I inquired about the typical student profile to one of the admissions representatives, who replied that Macalester College appeals to a specific “niche market”, and most of those students already know about Macalester College and are interested in learning more specifics about financial aid, study abroad and what majors the college has to offer. In contrast, when I spoke with the University of Minnesota representative at the Equity and Diversity booth, he stated that many students asked more general questions about the college application process and how they may fit in at a large institution like the University of Minnesota.

Summary of College Fair Analysis

The University of Minnesota discursively emphasized primarily racial, ethnic, gender and sexual orientation types of diversity in my observations of the booths and in the conversations with the admissions staff. These findings suggest that visual and textual representations of diversity for the University of Minnesota drew from discourses of demographics and equity. This finding is not surprising given the University’s mission as a land-grant university, focused on equity, access and inclusiveness. The Macalester College booth and admissions staff specifically highlighted the internationalization discourse of diversity and also notably the neoliberalism discourse. Given the limited visual and textual representations of race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, and ability, the underlying message for prospective students that fall into those categories may be that they are not welcome or that they would not fit in. To be more inclusive, recruiters could have conveyed the importance of other types of diversity in their conversations to prospective students about the services, centers, student groups and activities their institutions offered that pertain to identity and inclusion.

Based on my observations and conversations with University of Minnesota and Macalester admissions staff, prospective students were generally attracted to these institutions according to their personal backgrounds, perspectives, career aspirations and academic and co-curricular interests. This finding is supported by extensive research on the college choice process (Chapman, 1981; Confer & Mamiseishvili, 2012; Hossler & Gallagher, 1987; Pippert et al., 2013). In their study on minority students' college choice process, Confer and Mamiseishvili extend Hossler and Gallagher's widely cited three phase college choice model, arguing that for minority students "factors that played a role in the final choice phase were students' individual preferences, key attributes of the institution and the courtship procedures between the student and the institution" (p. 6). Accordingly, how the University of Minnesota and Macalester represent diversity at college fairs most likely influences prospective students' impressions and decisions about their fit at those institutions. Thus, these representations, and lack there of, matter in the college choice process, particularly for nontraditional students. I now move into an analysis of the depictions, textual descriptions and implications of how diversity is communicated in the viewbooks of the University of Minnesota and Macalester College.

The College Viewbook Analysis

Despite the increase in online access and Internet marketing tools (Gordona & Berhow, 2009), one of the primary mediums for communication and marketing is still through the in-print college viewbook. Based on estimates from a CASE report in 2010, "print publications continue to be the largest category of marketing budgets at 26%, compared to 4% of the budget allocated to social media marketing and 11% to interactive/web marketing" (Lipman Hearne, 2010, p. 7). In addition, in an article in *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, Ashburn (2007) references a national report that shows that even with the advent of the Internet, prospective students continue to rely on traditional college viewbooks to help with their college choice decisions. Viewbooks serve as an important and relevant site of study in the college recruiting process as it relates to visual and textual representations of campus climate and college fit for diverse prospective students (Klassen, 2000; Pippert et al., 2013). It is also important to note that an analysis of college website screenshots in comparison with viewbooks would serve to strengthen, supplement and triangulate my data.

According to Hartley and Morphew (2008), viewbooks are key instruments for college admissions because they convey what the college experience, campus climate and institutional values may be at specific institutions. These authors cite, "one of the most common means of communicating institutional information to students in the pre-admission process is the college viewbook" (p. 673). Delivering attractive pictures of active and good-looking students, faculty and campus activities, viewbooks create specific impressions of what college will be like, which strategically allures certain types of students while deterring others (Klassen, 2000; Pippert et al., 2013). Ultimately, scholars argue that viewbooks have the potential to significantly impact the college choice process for prospective students (Klassen, 2000; Osei-Kofi et al., 2012). Supported by my observations at the recruitment fair, the college viewbook was one of the most commonly used tools by the admissions representatives to communicate and connect with prospective students about their institutions.

Visual representations of diversity in the college narratives. The first step of my analysis was to summarize the number of visual representations of diversity within the pictures on the pages of the viewbook. I counted individuals who looked racially or ethnically diverse, meaning that they did not appear to be White. While there is a possibility for inaccurate visual categorizations of racial and ethnic diversity, Pippert et al. (2013), employed the same method of analysis in their study and stated:

> Such an approach is not only merited but also essential if scholars wish to address such questions [about race]. Furthermore, the use of visual cues to classify the assumed race of individuals is not a research practice used exclusively in academic set- tings, but a common occurrence used in all facets of daily life, including the review of a campus brochure by a potential student. By employing such an analytical lens, this research provides an illustration of how US colleges and universities visually represent diversity, and how valid those representations really are. (p. 269)

To increase accuracy, I included only visual representations of students when I was able to see at least half of the individual’s face in the picture. I did not include individuals who I could not decipher clearly. I counted all individuals who looked non-White as “racially and ethnically diverse”. Because I was unable to interpret domestic and international types of diversity in the pictures, I chose not to describe these individuals as students of color or international students and instead chose to refer to all individuals as “racially and ethnically diverse”.

In general, the college viewbooks at Macalester and the University of Minnesota illustrated an ideal portrayal of college, depicting scenes of nice weather, fun extra-curricular activities, students enthusiastically conversing with each other, outdoor activities and engaging classroom discussions. Supporting Hartley and Morphew’s (2008) study of 48 viewbooks from a range of institutions in the U.S., both Macalester and the University of Minnesota conveyed a narrative that going to their institution would “make you happy, meet your every need, help you succeed – even make you rich” (p. 687). Drawing from big “D” Discourses of demographics and internationalization, these institutions used a variety of visual representations of racial and ethnic diversity and global diversity to illustrate their narratives, which I discuss in further detail below.

University of Minnesota visual depictions. In total, the University of Minnesota viewbook had six racially and ethnically diverse students represented, out of a total of 30 decipherable faces, which translated to 20 percent. The first racially and ethnically diverse student I visually identified was on page ten of the University of Minnesota’s viewbook, out of a total of 16 pages, including the front and back covers. Out of the total undergraduate population of 39,553 individuals, 8,257 were students of color in 2015, which was a percentage of 17.3 (Office of Institutional Research, 2015), and 6.1 percent were international students according to the statistics in the 2014 viewbook. Racially and ethnically diverse students were pictured doing a variety of activities, including cheerleading, attending sporting events, winning an award and playing in a band. All of the students appeared to be having a great time with smiles on their faces. The racially and ethnically diverse students were neatly incorporated with White students in many of the images in the viewbook, providing an integrated and clean narrative of college life for both White and non-White students.

Macalester College visual depictions. In total, Macalester College had eight pages in its viewbook, including the front and back covers. The first racially and ethnically diverse student that I identified was on page two, where a group of racially and ethnically diverse students were seen smiling in the foreground carrying a U.S. flag and a United Nations flag. In the background, a group of interracial students were carrying a variety of other nation-state flags. There were a total of 43 students in the viewbook. Out of the 43 students, ten were racially and ethnically diverse students, which translated to 23.8 percent. In 2015, of the 2,073 students at Macalester, 24 percent were U.S. students of color, according to their website (Macalester College, 2014), and 12 percent were international students according to their 2014 viewbook. Similar to the University of Minnesota's viewbook, Macalester's representation of racial / ethnic diversity was fairly proportionate to its actual undergraduate student population percentages, excluding international students.

The racially and ethnically diverse students in Macalester's viewbook were engaged in both active and passive activities. For example, one student was pictured smiling in a classroom discussion, three students were excitedly observing something on a computer and two were actresses in a play. Comparable to the University of Minnesota, every student appeared to be engaged in his or her activities. Along with images of diverse students, the Macalester viewbook had several visual illustrations of international diversity such as nation-state flags and two images of the world, supporting the international focus in which the college prides itself. Besides racial, ethnic and international diversity, no other visual representations of diversity were noted in the Macalester viewbook analysis.

Implications of racial and ethnic representations of diversity. My findings demonstrate that both the University of Minnesota and Macalester drew largely from the demographics discourse to inform their representations of diversity from a visual perspective in their marketing materials. This discourse is one of the dominant discourses that emerged in my literature review, which supports the need to increase diversity in higher education in order to mirror the growing population of ethnically and racially diverse students in the United States (Banjeri, 2006; Gerald & Haycock, 2006; Kuh, 2015). Discussions of diversity from a demographics standpoint quantify and prioritize “diversity” primarily through a racial and ethnic lens, excluding other major types of diversity such as gender, socio-economic status, sexual orientation, age and ability, among others. Institutions could have conveyed the value of diversity beyond race and ethnicity by placing images or adding text addressing the broad range of identities students may possess and putting information about services for nontraditional students in the viewbook.

According to existing research, discourses focusing solely on specific diverse identities have the potential to reject or deter other types of diverse students in the college choice process (Pippert et al., 2013). In an analysis of marketing images of higher education, Klassen (2000) notes, “[viewbooks] match product and organizational image with the needs of particular students thereby communicating who will and will not feel comfortable attending the schools they represent." (p. 20). It follows that students would have a difficult time placing themselves in a college setting that fails to visually acknowledge their diverse identities, which could affect their decision to attend particular institutions if there is a lack of college fit or less of a sense of belonging.

Text representations of diversity in the college narratives. After conducting a content analysis of the words and phrases that described diversity in the viewbooks, I discovered that both institutions drew largely from the internationalization discourse of diversity, while also incorporating elements of the neoliberal, academic excellence and equity discourses. Harkening back to the dominant discourses in my literature review, the internationalization discourse uses language that represents global engagement, international experiences and foreign languages (Blackmore, 2006; Chickering & Braskamp, 2009). The neoliberal discourse emphasizes economic competition and the benefits of diversity from an international sustainability perspective (Haring-Smith, 2012). The academic excellence discourse depicts diversity as a way to increase (White) student achievement, success and educational quality (Gurin et al., 2004), while the equity discourse recognizes historical inequities, and argues that increasing diversity equitably is a necessary way to redress social inequalities (Chang, 2002). Below, I provide a summary of my content analysis of the texts and phrases in the viewbooks, separated by institution.

Emerging discourses in the Macalester College content analysis. Within the eight-page viewbook, Macalester College mentioned an international phrase or illustration 26 times. While the cover and first page of the book were pictures of mostly White students on campus, the third page was rife with global references (14 to be exact), stating, “education for a world stage”, “educating students in an international tradition”, and “across the nation and around the world come to learn”, among other phrases. The viewbook also cited the number of international faculty who teach at Macalester, how many students are citizens of other countries and how often students studied abroad. In addition, I learned that one of the college’s logos is a picture of a world wrapped in an orange-peel, which was located on the back cover. At the recruitment fair, I asked a Macalester admissions representative what that symbolized, and his response was that it referred to the “quirky nature of Macalester students” combined with the “international focus” and tradition of the college. Based on the content analysis of these texts and phrases, it was evident that above all other discourses, Macalester represented and interpreted diversity using the internationalization discourse.

Macalester College connected the theme of internationalization with the diversity discourse of academic excellence, that is, the texts emphasized how an internationally focused and globally rigorous education from “Mac” would prepare students to be successful in their careers. The college used phrases such as, “With classmates from around the world, Mac students consider the issues, explore the possibilities and imagine the future”, and “Mac attracts the best and the brightest. The school provides an atmosphere of high-powered scholarship and success, pairing academic rigor with global perspective.” These quotes are reinforced by rhetoric from the internationalization and the academic excellence discourses that assert that international experiences and increased diversity strengthens students’ intercultural skills and global preparedness (Chickering & Braskamp, 2009; Denson & Bowman, 2011; Knight, 2004; Pusch, 2004).

In addition to drawing from the international and academic excellence discourses, texts from Macalester's viewbook also drew from an equity discourse. However, in this discursive field, rather than focusing on redressing historical inequalities in the U.S., Macalester's equity orientation drew form neocolonialism, which created a "White/Other" dichotomy of diverse individuals (Osei-Kofi, et al., 2013, p. 397). For example, when explaining why students ought to come to Macalester, the viewbook expressed that Macalester students "build schools in South Africa, conduct genetic research at the National Institutes of Health, practice medicine around the world, lead international businesses and environmental foundations, [and] establish newspapers in emerging nations". All of the activities mentioned in this quote emphasized the good work that Macalester students and alumni could do as privileged participants and recipients of a selective liberal arts American higher education degree. Echoed throughout the viewbook, this quote embodied the ideal type of student that Macalester prized, that is, a civically engaged, socially responsible and interculturally competent citizen of the world.

Emerging discourses in the University of Minnesota content analysis. Within the 16-page viewbook, the University of Minnesota mentioned international phrases and global illustrations 14 times, about half as many as Macalester College's eight-page viewbook. The University of Minnesota cited examples such as, "Explore the world", "The world needs to be fed", and "A multicultural campus ensures you'll be ready to explore and inspire a globally inclusive society". Similar to Macalester, drawing both from the internationalization and academic excellence discourses, the University of Minnesota promised to provide a "global", "inspirational", and "multicultural" experience to its students. It is interesting to note that while both institutions drew from the internationalization discourse to represent diversity, at Macalester, the written texts and phrases regarding diversity were much more focused on internationalism, intercultural development and academic rigor than the University of Minnesota. Focusing less on an internationally focused narrative and more on local and domestic diversity, the University of Minnesota cited more statistics, facts and figures about majors, rankings, class size, and a description of the Twin Cities. The University of Minnesota also highlighted demographic diversity more often, including statistics about the disaggregated student of color population at the institution.

Implications of drawing from certain discourses and not others. While the University of Minnesota and Macalester drew from several different discourses in their viewbooks, they distinctly privileged the internationalization discourse over all others based purely on the number of times this discourse was referenced in the texts. Representations of diversity within the internationalization discourse highlighted international identities and experiences through a global education. For Macalester, its “opportunities span the globe”. Not surprisingly, due to Macalester College’s “international tradition”, the text focused even more than the University of Minnesota on providing an international education to prepare its students in “being a participant in the world”. The most significant implication of privileging this discourse over others is the minimization of other important categories of diversity. As mentioned before, showcasing only certain types of diversity may impede upon some students’ college choice process, especially if they cannot see how they would fit at a particular institution. The neoliberal elements of the internationalization discourse may also alienate domestically diverse students, as they may be grouped into the White/Other category of diversity within the neocolonial rhetoric of this discourse, making them feel inferior to White students (Osei-Kofi et al., 2012).

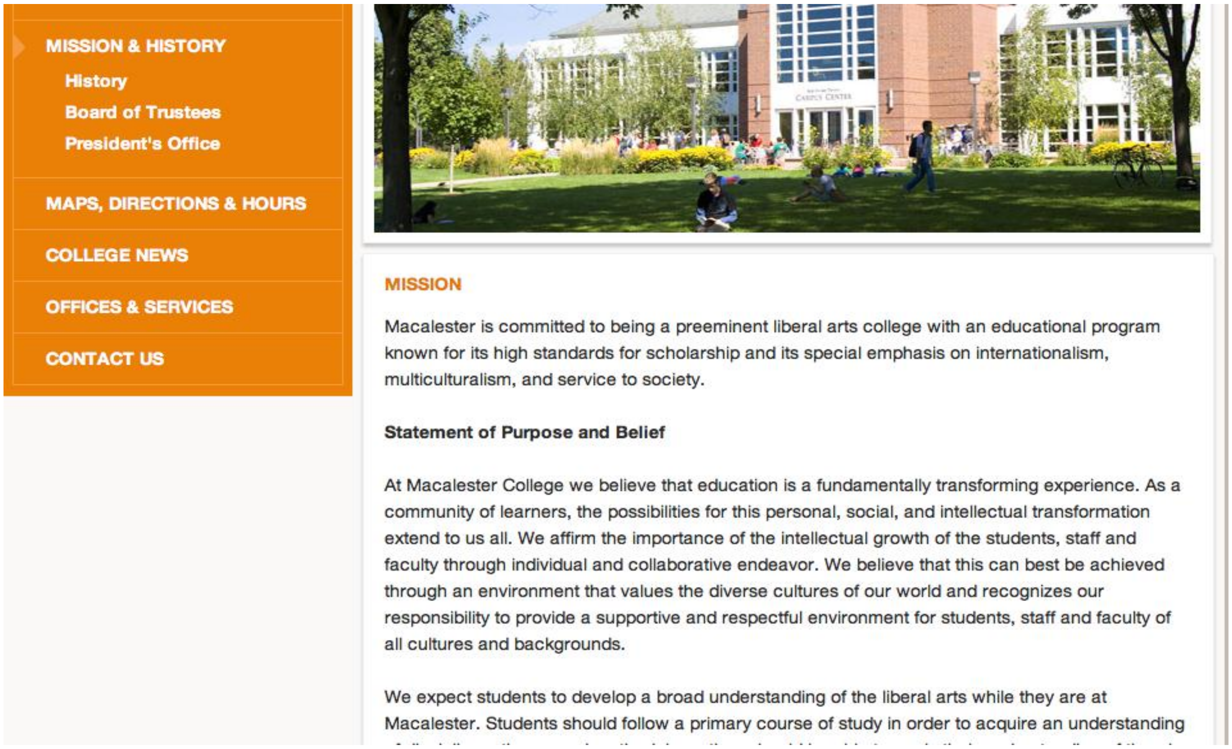
According to my analysis, Macalester and the University of Minnesota used college viewbooks as primary vehicles for providing messaging about diversity in their images, texts and messaging about how they could deliver a quality education. Based on existing literature, viewbooks serve an important function in the college choice process, especially for diverse students (Klassen, 2000; Osei-Kofi et al., 2012). Research also suggests that online college websites also play a role in the admissions process for prospective students (Daun-Barnett & Das, 2013; Pippert et al., 2013). Thus, I extended my analysis one step further by exploring each institutions online admissions pages and their “about pages”, to glean a deeper understanding of the messaging about diversity to prospective students in their online discursive fields.

The Website Screenshot Analysis

Daun-Barnett and Das (2013) argue that even though more students and parents are using the Internet in the college search process, little research exists as to how and to what extend it influences the college choice process. Thus, I treated my website screenshots as discursive fields in which languages, texts and images were used to construct and communicate certain understandings about the value, belief and definition of diversity. I structured my analysis using the following focused question from Table 2: Building Tasks and Tools of Inquiry Protocol: How are particular pieces of language, Discourses and Conversations being used to make certain diverse identities significant or not and in what ways?

Figures 5 and 6 are screenshots from Macalester College's "about page" and the first page of the admissions website, taken in Spring of 2014. Figures 7 and 8 are screenshots from the University of Minnesota's "about page" and the first page of the admissions website, taken in Spring of 2014. Figures 5 through 8 are located below:

Figure 5: Macalester College About Page Screenshot


MISSION & HISTORY
History
Board of Trustees
President's Office
MAPS, DIRECTIONS & HOURS
COLLEGE NEWS
OFFICES & SERVICES
CONTACT US

MISSION

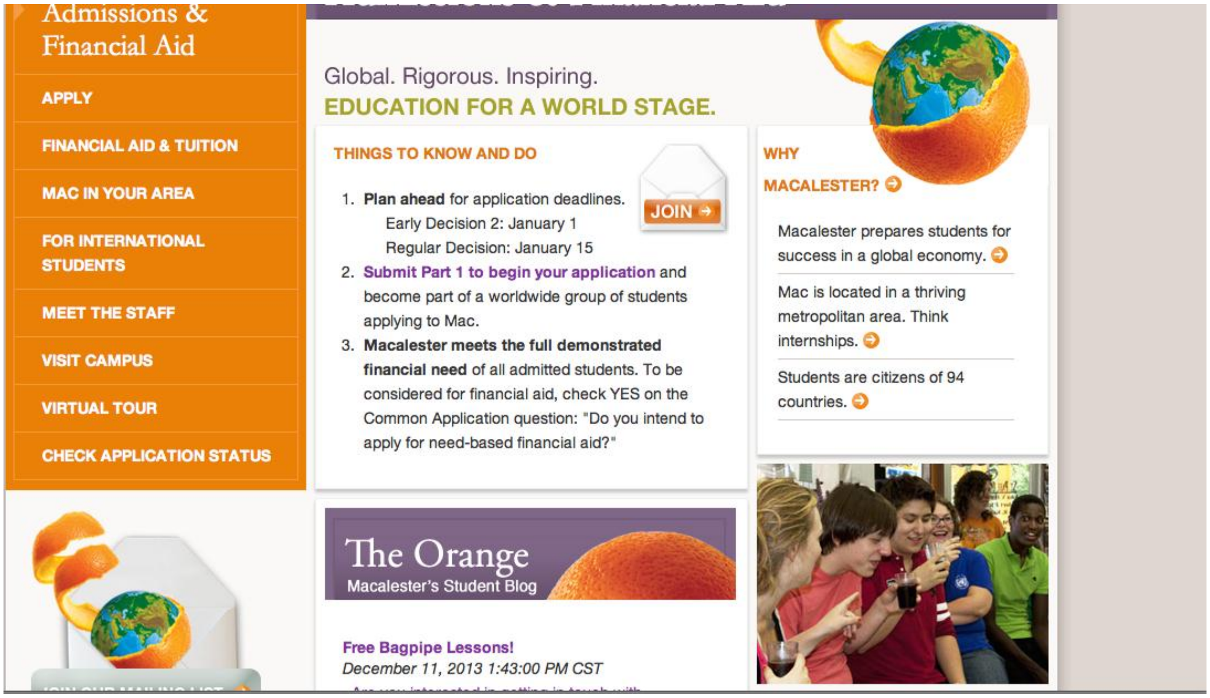
Macalester is committed to being a preeminent liberal arts college with an educational program known for its high standards for scholarship and its special emphasis on internationalism, multiculturalism, and service to society.

Statement of Purpose and Belief

At Macalester College we believe that education is a fundamentally transforming experience. As a community of learners, the possibilities for this personal, social, and intellectual transformation extend to us all. We affirm the importance of the intellectual growth of the students, staff and faculty through individual and collaborative endeavor. We believe that this can best be achieved through an environment that values the diverse cultures of our world and recognizes our responsibility to provide a supportive and respectful environment for students, staff and faculty of all cultures and backgrounds.

We expect students to develop a broad understanding of the liberal arts while they are at Macalester. Students should follow a primary course of study in order to acquire an understanding

Figure 6: Macalester College Admissions Page Screenshot


Admissions & Financial Aid
APPLY
FINANCIAL AID & TUITION
MAC IN YOUR AREA
FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS
MEET THE STAFF
VISIT CAMPUS
VIRTUAL TOUR
CHECK APPLICATION STATUS
JOIN
The Orange
Macalester's Student Blog

Global. Rigorous. Inspiring.
EDUCATION FOR A WORLD STAGE.

THINGS TO KNOW AND DO

1. **Plan ahead** for application deadlines.
   Early Decision 2: January 1
   Regular Decision: January 15
2. **Submit Part 1 to begin your application** and become part of a worldwide group of students applying to Mac.
3. **Macalester meets the full demonstrated financial need** of all admitted students. To be considered for financial aid, check YES on the Common Application question: "Do you intend to apply for need-based financial aid?"

WHY MACALESTER?

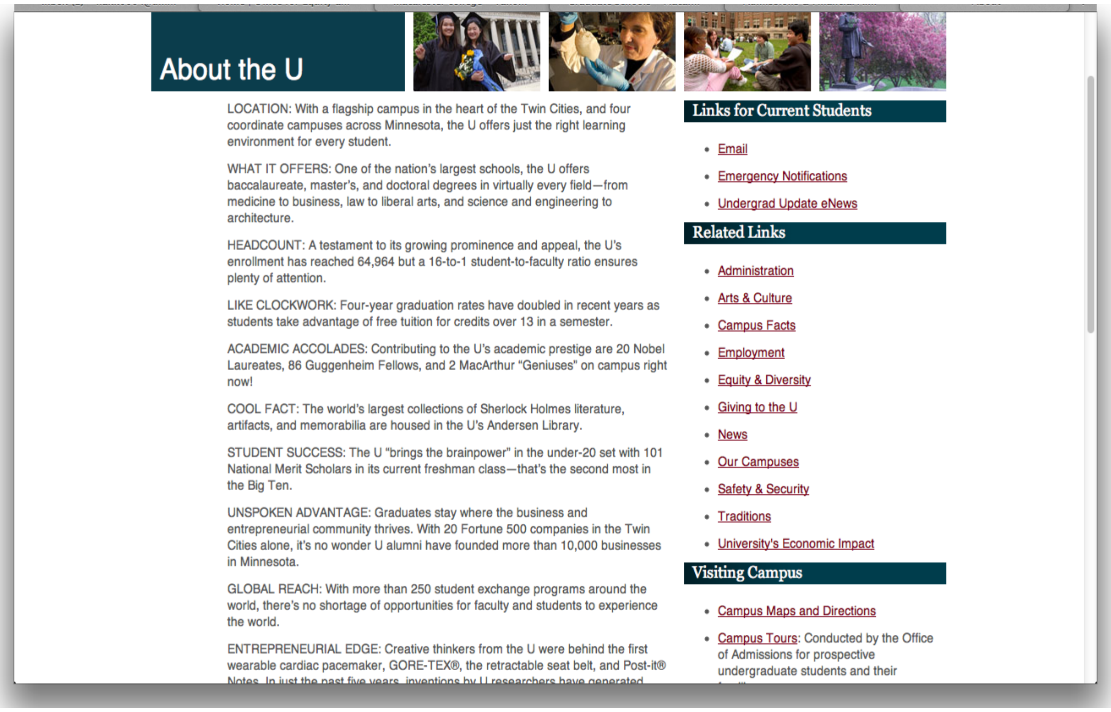
Macalester prepares students for success in a global economy.

Mac is located in a thriving metropolitan area. Think internships.

Students are citizens of 94 countries.

Free Bagpipe Lessons!
December 11, 2013 1:43:00 PM CST

Figure 7: The University of Minnesota About Page Screenshot



LOCATION: With a flagship campus in the heart of the Twin Cities, and four coordinate campuses across Minnesota, the U offers just the right learning environment for every student.

WHAT IT OFFERS: One of the nation's largest schools, the U offers baccalaureate, master's, and doctoral degrees in virtually every field—from medicine to business, law to liberal arts, and science and engineering to architecture.

HEADCOUNT: A testament to its growing prominence and appeal, the U's enrollment has reached 64,964 but a 16-to-1 student-to-faculty ratio ensures plenty of attention.

LIKE CLOCKWORK: Four-year graduation rates have doubled in recent years as students take advantage of free tuition for credits over 13 in a semester.

ACADEMIC ACCOLADES: Contributing to the U's academic prestige are 20 Nobel Laureates, 86 Guggenheim Fellows, and 2 MacArthur "Geniuses" on campus right now!

COOL FACT: The world's largest collections of Sherlock Holmes literature, artifacts, and memorabilia are housed in the U's Andersen Library.

STUDENT SUCCESS: The U "brings the brainpower" in the under-20 set with 101 National Merit Scholars in its current freshman class—that's the second most in the Big Ten.

UNSPOKEN ADVANTAGE: Graduates stay where the business and entrepreneurial community thrives. With 20 Fortune 500 companies in the Twin Cities alone, it's no wonder U alumni have founded more than 10,000 businesses in Minnesota.

GLOBAL REACH: With more than 250 student exchange programs around the world, there's no shortage of opportunities for faculty and students to experience the world.

ENTREPRENEURIAL EDGE: Creative thinkers from the U were behind the first wearable cardiac pacemaker, GORE-TEX®, the retractable seat belt, and Post-it® Notes. In just the past five years, inventions by U researchers have generated

Links for Current Students

- Email
- Emergency Notifications
- Undergrad Update eNews

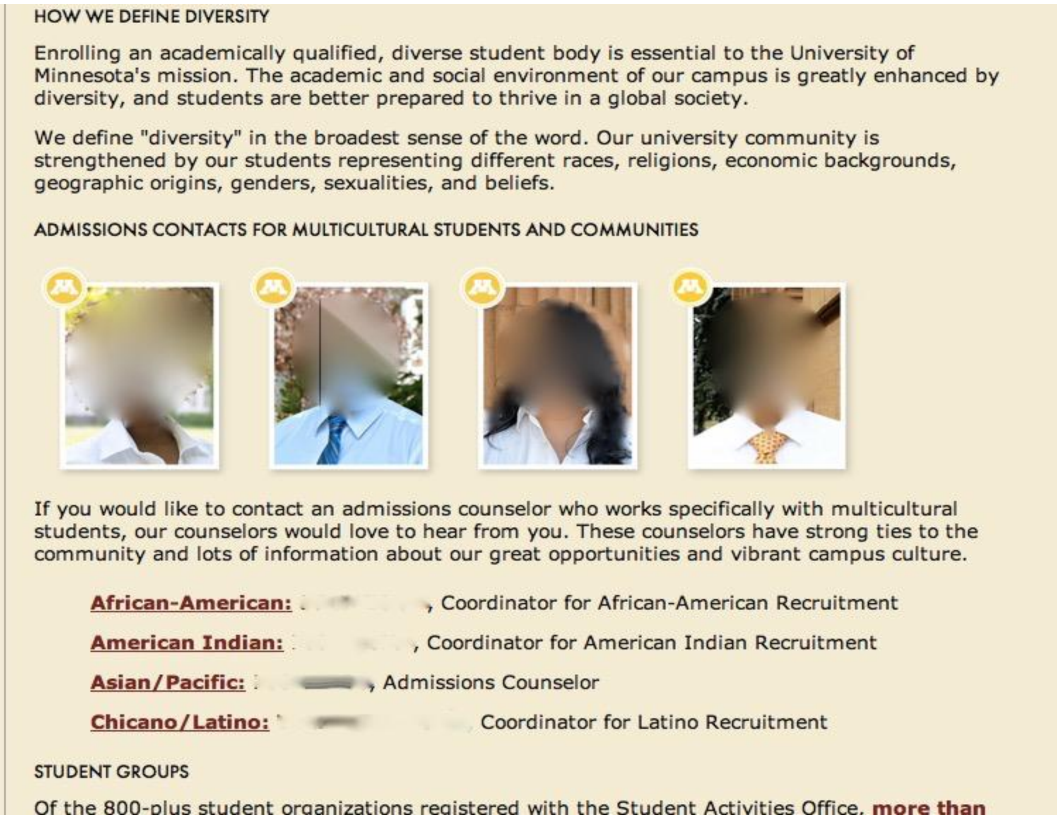
Related Links

- Administration
- Arts & Culture
- Campus Facts
- Employment
- Equity & Diversity
- Giving to the U
- News
- Our Campuses
- Safety & Security
- Traditions
- University's Economic Impact

Visiting Campus

- Campus Maps and Directions
- Campus Tours: Conducted by the Office of Admissions for prospective undergraduate students and their

Figure 8: The University of Minnesota Admissions Page Screenshot



HOW WE DEFINE DIVERSITY

Enrolling an academically qualified, diverse student body is essential to the University of Minnesota's mission. The academic and social environment of our campus is greatly enhanced by diversity, and students are better prepared to thrive in a global society.

We define "diversity" in the broadest sense of the word. Our university community is strengthened by our students representing different races, religions, economic backgrounds, geographic origins, genders, sexualities, and beliefs.

ADMISSIONS CONTACTS FOR MULTICULTURAL STUDENTS AND COMMUNITIES

If you would like to contact an admissions counselor who works specifically with multicultural students, our counselors would love to hear from you. These counselors have strong ties to the community and lots of information about our great opportunities and vibrant campus culture.

- **African-American:** [redacted], Coordinator for African-American Recruitment
- **American Indian:** [redacted], Coordinator for American Indian Recruitment
- **Asian/Pacific:** [redacted], Admissions Counselor
- **Chicano/Latino:** [redacted] Coordinator for Latino Recruitment

STUDENT GROUPS

Of the 800-plus student organizations registered with the Student Activities Office, **more than**

Website screenshot findings. Generally, my findings reflected that of my viewbook analysis in that Macalester College and the University of Minnesota used the internationalization and academic excellence discourses. Macalester College cited their "special emphasis on internationalism and multiculturalism", supporting my findings from the college fair and my analysis of the Macalester viewbook. The screenshot also mirrored the viewbook in its prominent representation of the globe wrapped in an orange-peel, which was featured twice on the admissions homepage. One other representation of diversity was in a picture of students in the right bottom corner of the page, with one racially and ethnically diverse individual out of six present. Similar to my earlier findings, it was evident that Macalester used the internationalization and academic excellence discourses to shape its representations of diversity, specifically highlighting the international focus and clear benefits of having a globally engaged campus that provides "education for a world stage" and citing, "students are citizens of 94 countries".

Texts and images representative of the equity and pluralistic democratic discourse were present, but less prominent for Macalester. For example, in the about page, Macalester cited that it has a "special emphasis on service to society" and "values diverse cultures of our world and recognizes our responsibility to provide a supportive and respectful environment for students, staff and faculty of all cultures and backgrounds". These quotes were reminiscent of the goals of the pluralistic democratic education and equity discourses in my literature review. The neoliberal discourse was represented in a phrase that affirmed that Macalester "prepares students for success in a global economy" and referencing its location as a thriving metropolitan area that can provide internship opportunities for students.

The University of Minnesota’s about page emphasized brief institutional facts and figures, highlighting the multiple ways that this university compared to others in the nation. The two clear references to internationalization and demographic discourses of diversity on this page were of the university’s “global reach” and an image of a student who appeared to be racially and ethnically diverse sitting outside with other students. The University drew significantly from the diversity of academics it had to offer and research that has been conducted at the institution. The neoliberal, pluralistic democratic education, and academic excellence discourse were not represented in the about page screenshot. However, a references to the equity discourse via an “Equity and Diversity” link, was present on this page.

The University of Minnesota’s admissions page prominently drew from the discourses of equity, demographics and internationalization, showcasing specific staff who worked with underrepresented populations. This page referenced the University’s definition of diversity, providing a very inclusive perspective of the term and citing that “the campus is greatly enhanced by diversity, and students are better prepared to thrive in a global society”, implying that as a result of a broad range of diversity on campus, students are more interculturally prepared. The language referencing intercultural preparation significantly relies on the internationalization and academic excellence discourses. Interestingly, the University of Minnesota diverged from Macalester in that it intentionally stated its inclusive definition of diversity directly on the admissions page, reflecting the University’s commitment to inclusion and equity. Unlike Macalester, the University’s admissions page provided a space for a variety of students to visually gain a sense for how their specific identities were significant to the University of Minnesota simply by the presence of pictures of recruiters who were hired to recruit specific underserved prospective student populations.

Conclusion

Undoubtedly, both Macalester and the University of Minnesota valued and prioritized diversity in unique ways in their admissions practices and in their online and in-print recruitment materials. Focusing on a narrative and textual analysis of how these institutions discursively framed diversity in college recruiting, I began this chapter with a description of the NACAC college recruitment fair I attended, along with an analysis of the pictures I took at the fair. I then followed with a visual and content analysis of the University of Minnesota and Macalester College viewbooks, using the discourses from my literature review to structure my analysis. I completed my discussion examining representations of diversity in the institutions' about pages and admissions homepages. I incorporated an explanation of the rationales for use of the discourses that emerged, along with a description of implications for using certain discourses. I now turn to a discussion of my analysis of my interviews with twelve college recruiter at the University of Minnesota and Macalester College.

Chapter 5: College Recruiters and Diversity Discourses

This chapter addresses research question two: How do college recruiters shape, communicate and draw from diversity discourses in their work with prospective students? In chapter four, I presented my analysis of the national college recruitment fair, college viewbooks and online screenshots using the dominant diversity discourses established in my literature review. During my initial coding of my college recruiter interviews, I discovered that the transcripts did not naturally fall into the existing diversity discourses that I used to code my data from chapter four. One of the main reasons the transcript data did not align with these categories is because recruiters drew from their personal definitions in addition to the institutional discourses to interpret and communicate their understandings of diversity in their work. In addition, recruiters' interpretations of diversity were more nuanced and complicated than the themes that arose in my college fair, viewbook and online screenshot analysis. Thus, I chose to primarily use my prescribed method explained in Table 2: Building Tasks and Tools of Inquiry Protocol to structure the themes that emerged in this section of my analysis.

For the recruiter interviews, my data analysis process included transcribing and coding twelve recruiter interviews. I organized and analyzed the data by noting major themes that emerged from my findings and applying CDA to each major theme. I selected the theoretical frames of "Significance", "Identities", "Practices", "Conversations" and "Discourses" associated with Gee's (2011a) building tasks and tools of inquiry, as a way to generate insights about the kinds of situated identities, figured worlds, practices, big "C" Conversations and big "D" Discourses recruiters used to develop and communicate their understandings of diversity and engage in their work with diverse prospective students. Gee (1999) notes:

> A discourse analysis involves asking questions about how language, at a given time and place, is used to construe the aspects of the situation network as realized at that time and place and how the aspects of the situation network simultaneously give meaning to that language. A discourse analysis involves, then, asking questions about the six building tasks. (pp. 85-86)

I developed focused questions based on Gee’s (2011a) specific tools of inquiry and building tasks noted above, which structured the discourse analysis of my transcripts. The recruiter interview analysis was guided by the focused questions located in Table 2: Building Tasks and Tools of Inquiry Protocol.

Participant Descriptions

My interviews were conducted with individuals who identified as full-time employees whose primary responsibilities included working in admissions at their institutions. There were a total of seven women and five men. Ten of the recruiters identified as culturally, racially or ethnically diverse, while two identified as being non-racially diverse (White). One of the recruiters who identified as being White also identified as being “politically diverse”, meaning that he considered himself a conservative, which he interpreted as an important diversity identity characteristic. One recruiter self-identified as a sexual minority. Eight of the twelve interviewees were alumni from their respective institutions. The level of experience in admissions and recruiting ranged from four months to 15 years, and my participants’ job descriptions ranged from entry level to director level. According to my interviewees, main job responsibilities in admissions included recruiting students, ensuring that the college maintained and supported a diverse student body and participating in admissions events and activities on and off campus as specified by their units.

The discourses, themes and practices that I discuss in this chapter are based on specific narratives shared by the participants in my study. Thus, my findings illustrate possible ways to understand how diversity discourses are constructed, how they shape the recruitment process and how they are informed by larger institutional, historical and societal contexts (Iverson, 2012). Couched within CDA, below I describe, analyze and discuss the major themes, Discourses, Conversations and practices that emerged from my transcripts, highlighting quotes that support each theme and focused question.

Theme One: Diversity can be Anything (or Everything)

For the purposes of this study, my analysis focuses on big "D" Discourses, which can be analyzed by exploring the patterns of language, activities and ways of thinking that are used to enact certain socially acceptable practices and identities (Gee, 2011a). The first building task associated with Gee's analysis of Discourse is "Significance", which centers on how language is used "to render [practices and identities] significant or to lessen their significance, [and] to signal to others how we view their significance" (pp. 121-122). To begin my analysis of my recruiter interviews, I used the following focused question from my data analysis protocol to unpack this building task as it related to the construction of diversity as an element of student identity: How are particular pieces of language, Discourses and Conversations being used to make certain diverse identities significant or not and in what ways?

Recruiters' descriptions of diversity were largely reflective of the spectrum of definitions for this term from my literature review. It did not appear that the recruiters strategically supported one discourse over another; rather, their definitions depended on what they felt was relevant to a diverse student body according to the political, legal, social and cultural Discourses and Conversations they were situated within at their institutions and from a national perspective. In the United States, the historical context of the civil rights movement played a significant role in the development of diversity, particularly related to using the term as an indicator for race and ethnicity (Beckman, 2008; Chun & Evans, 2015). In the past decade, issues surrounding gay marriage and GLBT equality have come to the forefront of many American political and legal Conversations and legislation, influencing Discourses about equity and access (Zemsky & Sanlo, 2005). In addition, in the past several decades, scholars have discussed the need to better educate student affairs professionals to work with the wide variety of students who will be entering higher education in the future (Karkouti, 2015; Pope et al. 2009).

In a study about how leadership is discursively framed by journalists in *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, Allan, Gordon and Iverson (2006) note, "Discourses, thus, are larger than one periodical or its writers. Discourses do not simply reflect the writing style of journalists; rather, journalists are (often unwittingly) drawing upon discourses circulating in broader society" (p. 42). Similar to journalists, recruiters both constructed and drew from larger cultural and societal Discourses of diversity when developing and communicating their understandings of this term to students in their work. The multidimensional descriptions of diversity found in my transcripts highlighted the evolving, overlapping and at times competing Discourses that recruiters used to frame diversity in the context of higher education, rendering certain diverse identities more significant than others.

Recruiters drew from the societal Discourses mentioned in my literature review to guide them as they discussed their work with me during the interviews. Accordingly, a major theme that emerged was that “diversity can be anything and everything”, as one recruiter claimed. In general, diversity definitions were quite broad, including terms such as cultural, social, political, gender, sexual orientation, religious, physical, economic and philosophical characteristics. Every one of the recruiters claimed that a variety of unique characteristic would add to the diversity of their campuses. Recruiters’ definitions became so general, that one recruiter even noted, “broadly speaking and generally speaking, diversity is about not necessarily defining difference, but recognizing that it's there and striving to have some sort of heterogeneous group of people.” This type of all-encompassing language reflects the range of discourses in my literature review that were used to understand and operationalize diversity in U.S. higher education.

Although all of the recruiters expressed consistent support for some kind of broadly defined diversity definition, interpretations of how it was mobilized in different contexts varied. For example, three of the four Macalester recruiters of color, and five of the six University of Minnesota recruiters of color mentioned that how they talked about diversity to students depended upon the students’ social context and identity characteristics. Several of them noted that if the prospective student was diverse in some way (usually meaning non-White), they would typically have a deeper conversation about diversity. One Macalester recruiter stated:

> If I'm talking to someone who doesn't necessarily have a nuanced view of what diversity is, that's usually code for racial and ethnic diversity. If I'm talking to someone who knows that nuance, then maybe I'm talking about other dimensions of diversity, and there are so many different ones. Usually in a higher ed. context, it's diversity of place, so, whether a student is coming from the city or the country, what state their coming from, whether they're coming from a particularly religious background or not. It varies pretty greatly on the context that I'm talking to someone in.

The quote above is representative of several quotes from the recruiters of color in my study and indicates that understandings of diversity depend upon the recruiters' and student's contexts. This finding also demonstrates how recruiters operated from both evolving societal diversity Discourses and their own personal understandings of diversity when deciding how to talk about diversity to students.

Every recruiter at some point in their interview stressed that diversity was more than just race and ethnicity. However, many of them noted that public definitions and students' interpretations were still focused on race and ethnicity and affirmative action. They recognized how legal and political Discourses continued to inform many people's limited understanding of diversity in higher education. For example, one recruiter discussed the broad scope of her personal definition, compared with the narrower general public understanding of diversity stating:

> I think that diversity is a very broad term, but for me, [diversity means] varied perspectives, beliefs, ideas, represented in one group or in one audience. That could encompass not only when you think diversity, a lot of times it comes to race

> and ethnicity as the main concept, but it's so much broader than that. It could be geographic diversity, it could be academic diversity, in terms of not only academic areas of interest but also ability levels. Socio-economic status, first generation vs. not, personal beliefs such as religion, sexual orientation or preference. All of those encompass diversity, but I think, again, most people have a very limited scope or perspective as to what that means, especially as it relates to educational opportunities.

Another recruiter expressed:

> It would be negative if diversity was only defined as race and ethnicity based, because there's so many other ways that a person can be diverse, classified as being diverse, and I think that everybody has culture. Everybody has something that makes them unique and that adds to the diversity of the campus.

The opinion underscored by recruiters from both institutions and reflected in the quotes above was that diversity should not be categorically about race and ethnicity anymore. Interestingly, diversity seemed to include all types of difference according to the majority of my interviewees. Furthermore, five of the recruiters noted that using an exclusive definition about race and ethnicity would be negative, because it would exclude certain students who may identify under the canopy of diversity in some way. Clearly, the characteristics considered as significant within the spectrum of diversity continue to evolve, which supports existing research on the changing purposes, rationales and descriptors of diversity in higher education (Beckman, 2008; Haring-Smith, 2012; Hurtado, 2007; Powell, 2008).

Theme Two: Situated Identities Relate to Interpretations of Diversity

Fairclough (2003) asserts that individuals operate with multiple identities that are contingent upon personal, cultural and societal contexts. Thus, one's performance of his or her identity is based upon a dialectic process of social action and discussions with others. In this way, identity formation plays a significant role in the discursive representations and understandings of diverse identities. Recruiters' understandings of diversity echoed societal and institutional discourses of diversity. The societal Discourses informed and shaped their own understandings of who they were (as diverse or not diverse individuals) and how they fit into the societal Discourses. A recruiter's situated identity, then, was important in the recruitment process because it informed, challenged, produced and supported particular notions of what it meant to be diverse or not on campus. To further unpack the role and significance of identity in the recruitment process for recruiters and students, I selected the theoretical frame of "Identity", associated with Gee's building tasks and tools of inquiry. I used the following focused question to guide this component of my analysis: How are situated identities, Discourses and figured worlds enacting and depicting diverse identities (socially significant kinds of people)?

Scholars who research diversity from a critical perspective note how the overlap and interplay of identities serve as a central function in creating one's lived experience, which influences how they connect and communicate with others (Patton et al., 2007). Moreover, Aguirre and Martinez (2006) argue that definitions and interpretations of diversity are dependent upon one's socio-political context and personal identity characteristics. In my findings, recruiters' understandings of diversity were based largely on the intersections of their identity characteristics converging and colluding with evolving social, cultural, political and institutional milieus. For example, one recruiter described that his identity as a person of color and an alumnus was integral to building connections with prospective students who also identified as diverse in some way. He noted, “I use diversity in a way where I understand their experiences and I can see how it relates to my own self personally.” In this quote, the recruiter was referring specifically to racial, ethnic and gender diversity. Later in the interview, he also cited his experience as a first-generation student as an identity characteristic that he used to connect with prospective students as well.

Another recruiter cited how he used both his gender identity and his identity as a person of color as a strategy to communicate with the parents of prospective students. He stated:

> A lot of it is answering the questions and the aspect where it will help the parent understand and have similar grounds, whereas, if they talked to their child they won't believe their child. So, that's really funny in itself. And parents [from this particular cultural group] in particular are very very traditional and so I'll have to speak their language for example. Your language, your vernacular has to be a particular way, it can't be literal. It has to be more of the traditional style speaking. And also, helping them understand the responsibilities [of going to college], because it's very gender-roled in our community, and so helping them understand that too.

All of the recruiters of color noted that they used their personal identity characteristics to engage with students who also identified as their own racial or cultural background. In this type of recruiter scenario, the recruiters also said that they used visual markers of race, ethnicity and gender as an entry into a potential connection with a student. One recruiter focused both on her cultural heritage, and background coming from a first-generation immigrant family. She stated:

> Well, for [this cultural group] specifically, we are the fastest growing population in the United States, and with that, a lot of parents that are the incoming teens that are going into higher ed. are immigrant parents. So, we're going to be looking at a very young, quick growing population of parents that may not have a college-going base, or that don't come from a college-going culture. There are so many institutionalized barriers to students that are in underrepresented populations, whether or not we like it, they are there. Some of them, living in low income areas, where obviously some schools are funded by property taxes, there's a low income area, property taxes aren't going to be going into those schools. They're poorly funded or over-crowded. They're not getting the education they need, and unfortunately, a lot of these [cultural] populations live in those areas, in some cases, including myself. When I was growing up, that’s the kind of environment I was in, so it's kind of like you're swimming against the current. So, I understand that that's something that needs to be addressed and needs more care, more efforts to put in those areas.

Drawing from historical experiences and personal identity characteristics, this recruiter recognized her critical role as a recruiter for prospective students who identified similarly to her.

Ultimately, how recruiters talked about diversity was contingent upon their specific cultural, gendered and economic characteristics, which suggests that recruiters construct their understandings of diversity from their situated identities and use these identities to more effectively connect with prospective students. Discovering that recruiter and student identities do matter in college recruiting helps to convey the specific discourses, texts and images recruiters can use to authentically engage with a diverse student body in their work.

How figured worlds played a role in understandings of diversity. According to Gee (2003), individuals draw from particular narratives, stories, scripts, theories and "simplified pictures of the world" to normalize what is typical in peoples' lived experiences. He argues that these normalized stories differ within distinct social and cultural groups, which means that what is deemed normal to one economic, religious, political, cultural, racial or gendered group will be different than what is regarded as normal to another. To investigate the relevance and influence of figured worlds in the lives of recruiters and their work with a diverse prospective student population, I used the following focused question: How are situated identities, figured worlds and Discourses being used to make narratives and people connected or relevant to each other or irrelevant to or disconnected from each other as it relates to diversity?

Drawing from similar figured worlds. Gee's theory on figured worlds applies to the recruiters because their identity characteristics influenced how they constructed and communicated the importance of diversity to prospective students, and the extent to which the recruiters were able to build a relationship with them. When asked how they related to prospective students, often the recruiters cited their own identity characteristics and personal experiences as a method to build relationships with students or their parents. In particular, nine of the ten recruiters who identified as diverse in ways other than being from White American culture, stated that they drew from specific languages, cultural heritages, geographical locations, distinct music or food from their culture as entry points to talk with students. Once recruiters made a racial or cultural connection with a prospective student, they were more apt to discuss the complexity of their diverse identity and how it helped them navigate the college experience. Below is an example of a recruiter who connected with her students via her cultural roots:

> A person's lived experience is very different based on identifiers like being [from that particular cultural group]. Especially being in a predominantly White campus. I find it easier for me to talk about race, and ethnicity, and culture and all those things with a student being the fact that we both identify as that same thing. It does make it more personal, you know, a closer relationship I would say than normal, or not normal, someone that's not [from the same cultural group].

Drawing from her cultural identity and the larger Discourse of what it means to be from that culture in the United States, this recruiter more easily related to the prospective students who were culturally and racially similar to her. This cultural connection provided a way for the recruiter to relate to the student, which helped the recruiter explain how college could be, based on the broader understanding of the lived experience and figured world that is common for that cultural group.

Drawing from different figured worlds. The majority of the recruiters expressed that it was easier to make a connection with prospective student who shared similar identity characteristics, which meant they were more likely to be operating within the same figured world. Three of the White recruiters said it was more challenging to work with students who identified as racially or ethnically diverse (non-White), and all of the recruiters of color expressed that it was more difficult to connect with students who did not possess the same ethnic, racial, or cultural background as them. For example, one recruiter indicated:

> I think one where language is a barrier is always the hardest one. I went to a fair this summer, where I don't speak Spanish. It was a large Hispanic-Chicano population there. I think they were looking for someone who spoke Spanish, so it was hard to communicate with them in terms of what they wanted to know and what they wanted to hear, so that was difficult in itself. It all goes back to the point where they're very community based, so they were looking for someone who has a tie or similar background, so that was probably the hardest one for me.

While this recruiter affirmed that he always tried to find a way to relate to prospective students, in this situation, it was nearly impossible due to the language barrier. Based on these findings it was clear that both the identities (and figured worlds) of the students and the recruiters made a difference in how well the recruitment process went, and whether a connection was established or not. I now turn to a discussion of the importance of personal and institutional alignment of diversity definitions, paying close attention to the role of situated identity, figured worlds and Discourses.

Theme Three: Institutional Definitions and Personal Definitions of Diversity

My findings revealed that each recruiter engaged in his or her work using a unique view of diversity, based on societal Discourses, their situated identities, normalized figured worlds and the institutional contexts in which they worked.

Accordingly, recruiters' specific beliefs, values and understandings of identity influenced the recruiting process, meaning that these elements actively shaped how recruiters engaged with prospective students. Recruiters also recognized their institutions' representations of diversity from their websites and viewbooks and, at times, felt compelled to address them when talking about diversity to prospective students. Because recruiters largely drew from their own experiences and characteristics to form their understandings of diversity, some of them faced contradictions and misalignment when comparing their definition with the institutional rhetoric of diversity. Others expressed satisfaction and complete alignment with their personal definition and their institution's description.

Distinct institutional discourses of diversity. Every recruiter mentioned a spectrum of identities and characteristics that fell under the canopy of diversity at their institution; however, recruiters stated that each institution emphasized certain elements (and discourses) of diversity more than others in their institutional messaging online and in recruitment literature. The historical contexts of each institution played a role in which diverse identities were made significant, and which were less so. For example, Macalester recruiters discussed their college as an institution that emphasized internationalization and global diversity as core components that made this college unique compared with other private liberal arts colleges in the Midwest. One Macalester recruiter expressed:

> I think for us a huge focus is international diversity. I think that's part of the brand of the college in a sense, so often when we are marketing ourselves to

> prospective students, that's kind of the first thing we highlight when we're talking about diversity on campus.

This finding was also present in my analysis of the Macalester viewbook and website screenshots. The abundance of recruiter quotes emphasizing international identity as a way to talk about how diversity was important at Macalester demonstrates how this type of diverse identity was more meaningful than others in this institutional context.

Conversely, at the University of Minnesota, recruiters noted that institutional definitions of diversity generally focused on equity, inclusivity and access. For example, when asked why he stated that the University of Minnesota showed a "commitment to diversity", one recruiter explained:

> I think a lot of it is more intentional in terms of diversity in general. And, so commitment to diversity. [Leaders at the University of Minnesota] want to make [a commitment to diversity] something that they recognize, that may have been ignored, or something that is just not brought up. [The leaders] may have conversations about it all the time, which is great; it continues to push the status quo. I find that most interesting…intentional action to create a more equitable place for all of our students.

Another University of Minnesota recruiter said:

> I think the University of Minnesota also says it's broadly defined, they don't give specific parameters. There's no black or white, it's very gray. It's similar to what my definition is, but at the same time, it's not, too, because diversity could be defined in multiple ways, it could be the majority group, or the minority group. It could be someone who identifies as diverse, someone who is not. Someone who

> identifies as multicultural, and someone who's not. There's that huge spectrum and so there's never a correct answer for this, honestly, but in terms of the University, it's very broadly defined, class, race, socio-economic, the whole list.

The University of Minnesota recruiters generally emphasized that their institution drew from an equity discourse that promoted social justice, inclusiveness and access, which was due to the University’s land-grant mission and desired student niche market. In sum, recruiters from both Macalester and the University of Minnesota noted that their institutions privileged different discourses to frame, advertise and talk about diversity at their institutions.

Misalignment of diversity definitions. Macalester College and the University of Minnesota used distinctive language and images to discuss and represent diversity on their campuses, in their viewbooks and on their websites. When the recruiters’ personal definitions of diversity did not align well with the institutional ones, recruiters felt an internal struggle with how to handle recruiting students of color and nontraditional students in an authentic way, while staying true to their personal beliefs. Four examples emerged in my study based on quotes from Macalester College. One recruiter stated, “I think one thing that bothers me is we apply different bars for diversity to different ethnic groups. So, members of one ethnic group will be considered diverse, regardless of what kind of connection they have to their culture.” Another Macalester recruiter discussed her discomfort with how particular immigrant students, who may self-identify as people of color and minorities, would be categorized as White students on the application. She described:

> I do feel tensions [with my definition of diversity and the intuition’s definition] because going by what we follow, we use national indicators. I think that if you are a student who is Lebanese, you are having a very different experience than a student who is a White student passing as White, but they are considered White on the common application. They are virtually erased.

This recruiter’s quote hints at the different social, cultural, and even racial experience that a White student, identifying as White, would have compared to a Lebanese student, identifying as a person of color. A third recruiter identified her misalignment with Macalester’s definition stating:

> I felt tension between the institution as a whole and the admissions office more specifically. Especially as the conversation flipped from talking about diversity just in terms of racial and ethnic diversity to talking about multiculturalism as maybe talking about race and ethnicity as part of that too….We shouldn't use it as a code for race and ethnicity, but feeling as though the admissions office was sort of holding on to multiculturalism as a code for race and ethnicity, and diversity as also code for non-white students in some ways.

The quote above is representative of several participant quotes referencing the personal conflict they felt when their institution defined diversity using only national parameters of race and ethnicity in the admissions process.

A final example of the misalignment of personal and institutional definitions was represented as a Macalester recruiter explained her concern below:

> What I really struggled with at Mac was how perfect it all was. The institutional definition of diversity makes it sound really easy… That through conscious and

> civil conversation through dialogue and further education, we can all agree about what diversity is and have a respect for our disagreements. My understanding of diversity from childhood is fraught with very different kinds of things and my understanding of diversity is seen through the crucible of my lens.

This misalignment led the recruiter to a point of contention in how to talk to diverse students about diversity at her institution. She expressed that diversity was an “easy” concept at Macalester largely because they used a more “liberal lens” to describe what it meant to be diverse rather than grappling with a discourse focused on “equity” or “privilege”. The recruiter expressed that because Macalester is, by institutional mission, a selective college, “we have the privilege to navigate a world that is very clean and very liberal and very simple, while still congratulating ourselves that we figured out the world.”

Three of the Macalester recruiters mentioned that by privileging an international discourse of diversity, Macalester unintentionally marginalized issues of power, oppression, and social justice, which did not align with their personal narratives of what diversity meant to them. These recruiters openly talked about their discomfort with Macalester’s lack of acknowledgement and response to historical inequities for people of color in the United States, citing that when Macalester representatives talked about diversity, they often referred to international experiences, languages, faculty, students and study abroad opportunities. While still important, recruiting domestic populations of color or providing an accessible education for underprivileged minority students was not the central focus of admissions for Macalester according to my interviewees.

A misalignment of personal definitions with institutional Discourses of diversity sheds light on the fact that most colleges in the United States have historically defined diversity based on a Big “D” Discourse of equity, using race and ethnicity as the primary identity markers for diversity in the college application process (Beckman, 2008; Chun & Evans, 2015). While using race and ethnicity in the admission process is rife with controversy, it is currently supported in the U.S. legal system, as Justice Sandra Day O’Conner’s 2003 opinion in the Supreme Court upheld that race can be considered in the admissions process as a “plus factor” in a holistic review (Cornell University Law School, 2003). The most recent major affirmative action court case was *Fisher v. University of Texas*, where in 2013 the Supreme Court of the United States remanded the appellate court’s ruling that had been in favor of the university. Since then, the appellate court ruled in favor of the University of Texas again, which means that the Supreme Court will consider the case once more. This ruling has placed affirmative action at a standstill for the moment, with colleges and universities hesitant about using race in the admissions process at all for fear of legal consequences (Chun & Evans, 2015; Jacobs, 2015).

Despite the backlash and hesitation from higher education leaders regarding affirmative action admissions policies, according to my participants, admissions at Macalester College and the University of Minnesota are based on a “holistic review”, which allows recruiters to take into account secondary factors such as race and ethnicity. On one hand, allowing a student to identify his or her race and ethnicity provides a way for traditionally underrepresented students to gain prominence in their application. However, because certain nontraditional identities are not factored into the admissions application as a standard process, or given any additional value in favor of the applicant, some recruiters expressed feeling conflicted about valuing certain diverse identities more than others. One University of Minnesota recruiter explained this issue stating:

> Race is a huge factor [in the admissions process], and as I was stating, getting lumped into a bigger category [is part of that process]. So, when you lump Hmong students with Asian Pacific Islander students you get incorrect data. It hurts every population in one way or another when we do recruit through diversity, but at the same time, it's also nice to have that community base too.

In general, recruiters at Macalester and the University of Minnesota voiced that the holistic review process in higher education admissions does benefit African American, Latino, Native American and some Asian American prospective students. The majority of the recruiters viewed the consideration of race and ethnicity in admissions as an overall positive practice for students of color. However, they also recognized that the process had limitations as well. Specifically, one recruiter noted how Hmong and Asian Pacific Islander students do not all have the same lived experience, and yet, within the holistic review process, they are considered the same, which could unintentionally marginalize students who do not self-identify as how they are categorized in admissions. In addition, the holistic review process may not always benefit underrepresented or underserved students in the way it was intended. This problem is especially true for multiracial and multicultural students who may have grown up with societal, economic or cultural privileges, but who may technically be in the student of color category and reap the benefits of race-based admissions policies.

Alignment of diversity definitions. An area of focus in my interviews was the alignment or misalignment of recruiter definitions compared with the institutions where they worked. Five of the six recruiters from Macalester, the private liberal arts college, noted a tension between their personal definition and the institutional one. Conversely, no recruiter from the University of Minnesota, the public land-grant expressed tension between their personal definition and the institutional one. As one Macalester recruiter pointed out, her tension arose because, as a selective private college, Macalester followed a more stringent application process, which meant that recruiters aimed to admit students with higher academic preparation, which traditionally excluded many historically underrepresented students. On the other hand, as a public land-grant institution, the University of Minnesota publically recognizes its charge to provide access to and support for its increasingly diverse Minnesota high school graduates, including underprepared, underrepresented and minority students (The University of Minnesota, 2012). According to one of the recruiters, because of its mission and admissions goals, the University of Minnesota admits a more diverse and inclusive class of students. In effect, the less selective and equity-oriented mission of the University appealed to its recruiters as it aligned with their personal understandings and goals of diversity.

There were several occasions when the recruiters recounted that their personal definitions aligned well with the institutional Discourses of diversity. Interestingly, more University of Minnesota recruiters expressed an alignment than Macalester recruiters. For example, when asked whether his definition aligned with the institution in which he was employed, one recruiter from the University of Minnesota stated:

> I think [my definition] does. With the [University] president, he's made a big commitment to diversity in the past couple years. I've definitely seen a shift in terms of the commitment to diversity, which is great, because it definitely aligns with the work that I do, and so it's a lot more valuable. I find more value in terms of doing something for an institution that also shares similar goals or lenses.

Another University of Minnesota recruiter expressed:

> I do believe it does [align] because it's one where we do strive for diversity here, so that's a big goal. We say that it's broadly defined, there's not one thing that we could say that this is only diversity, I guess. There's so many factors that play into it, which is why we say we are a diverse campus.

For these recruiters, working at an institution that supported their personal definitions motivated them in their work as recruiters, while also encouraging them to freely discuss their personal identity with diverse prospective students as a strategy to better connect with them.

Theme Four: Exercising Power in College Recruiting Practices

As individuals draw on certain big "C" conversations and big "D" discourses, they enact and perpetuate particular realities, which support certain practices and not others (Iverson, 2007). Accordingly, critical discourse analysis helps to uncover what types of "practices" individuals engage in as a way to understand what makes certain identities, activities and Discourses more important and supported than others. Gee (2011a) states that practices are "socially recognized and institutionally or culturally supported endeavor[s] that usually involve sequency or combining actions in certain specified ways" (pp. 121-122). Within my analysis of admissions practices, I specifically focused on how power was being exercised to communicate, support, minimize and shape understandings of diversity when recruiting diverse students. I also explored how power played a role in the creation, perpetuation and resistance of certain diverse identities versus others in recruitment practices. I used the following focused questions to guide my analysis of practices and Conversations:

1. How is power being used to enact practices (activities) in the context of college recruiting?
2. How are social identities, Conversations and Discourses competing, overlapping and conflicting with each other to enact specific recruitment practices, activities and diverse identities?

The role of power in discourse theory. Discourse theory lends itself to a unique perspective on power, which I incorporated into my analysis of recruiter and admissions practices with diverse students. Drawing from Foucault's work on productive power and power / knowledge, "power" is not viewed as a dichotomy of the powerful and the powerless. Instead, a Foucauldian perspective offers a more fluid and nuanced understanding of how power moves within discourses and among subjects (Ropers-Huilman, 1998). Allan (2010) notes, "When considered in a post-structural frame, power is not possessed as much as it is exercised" (p. 16).

In this section of my analysis, I also draw on Amy Allen's (1999) work regarding the different ways that power can be expressed. In her book, *The Politics of Ourselves,* she maintains that "power-over" is exercised through control or domination, "power-to" is conveyed through resistance of domination, and "power-with" is to act together in a shared experience of power (Allan et al., 2006; Allen, 1999). Applying these analytical perspectives to my transcripts, I considered how power could be exercised as both a “productive” and “repressive” instrument that recruiters used to shape, emancipate, control or perpetuate specific diverse identities through their language and practices (Foucault, 1980).

Valuing certain types of diversity in recruiting practices. The findings suggest that recruiters exercised power in their admissions practices through normalized and standardized ways of classifying certain individuals as diverse, valuing particular diverse identities, and engaging in knowledge sharing of the college admissions process with students who identify as nontraditional or non-White. One major example that I discovered in my findings was the process in which recruiters reviewed applications and made decisions about admittance. According to the recruiters’ responses, the process of reviewing applications included two admissions staff reviewing the same application and making a decision on whether or not the student should be admitted into the college. If the decision was unanimous, the student’s application was placed into the “yes” or “no” pile. If the decision was divergent, a third recruiter, typically the director, was given the file for a thorough review. This standard process allowed recruiters some agency in their practice, with the understanding that if there were any discrepancies in the process, additional admission representatives would review the prospective student’s file.

Using a Foucauldian lens, it was apparent that the use, application and transmission of power / knowledge permeated the admissions review process. During the review of applications, recruiters expressed that part of the review process was identifying a student as a student of color or not based on whether the student “checked a box” or wrote about his or her identity as a person of color in the application. Thus, there was great deal of power given to the admissions committee in discussions about the value of a student's application depending on whether he or she identified as a person of color or not. In these discussions, certain diversity characteristics were more powerful than others, which meant that a hierarchy of diversity emerged. Because of this diversity hierarchy, a student's or recruiter's decision to claim a particular identity on an application could change the course of the student's college opportunities.

One recruiter described the activities that went into reviewing and deciding a student's identity in the excerpt below:

> **Interviewer**: How do you provide or give the label of the "diversity bar" for students who say, identify as GLBT?
>
> **Recruiter**: So they would not receive a formal label in our review process. You know, a student of color actually would have. It would say, "student of color" next to their, you know, their tab, in the application reading program. A gay student would not have anything next to their tab. However, I think it is something that comes up when we're discussing a file, especially if they've made an issue of it in their essays, or if it comes up in their essays or teaching recommendations. Then of course it's something we talk about and it's viewed positively. It's viewed as a different type of diversity. However, again, I think there's a hierarchy as far as diversity is concerned. Where, that type of diversity in particular, or for instance, just doesn't count quite as much as some others might.
>
> **Interviewer:** Is that standardized for the admission process, the different diversity levels?

> **Recruiter:** No, no, I mean no, no, not really, it's, I mean, there's not a number system or percentage system, that sounds horrible, but, you know, just in terms of how we, basically, we have something that's called "student of color status". And the question is, do we count this person as a student of color and if we do, then the rest of the review process unfolds a bit differently. So that's kind of how it functions.
>
> **Interviewer**: Are there any labels for example for a person with disabilities?
>
> **Recruiter**: No, we have something called I guess the flagging process, so if we read an application process and we are reading an application and there are signs where, I mean, usually, if there's a physical handicap, the student will say, I need special accommodations if I end up coming.

Based on the excerpt above, particular diverse identities (i.e. students of color) were clearly incorporated into the standardized application review practice, while other diverse and minoritized identities (i.e. sexual orientation and physical ability) were not considered or recognized in the same way. In essence, there was no space dedicated to naming or claiming other types of diverse identities on the college application. Even though the recruiter noted that a GLBT student or person with a disability could mention their identity in the essay section, this diversity characteristic was clearly less meaningful or significant, as it was not a core component of the application. These students, while diverse in terms of sexual orientation or ability, would be placed into the standard process of review for admission.

Foucault (1980) asserts that power is not necessarily possessed and exerted onto another for the purposes of domination or coercion. Instead, power is ubiquitous and symbiotic and can be used to emancipate, resist, produce and construct certain types of reality as opposed to others. In my findings, some recruiters chose to exercise power in their work with non-White and nontraditional students "to produce individuals rather than repress or control them through prohibitive or coercive means" (Allan et al., 2006, p. 45). When it came to diversity classification in the reading of applications, the "production" of a student's reality resulted in either creating a diverse student, with certain procedural admissions benefits, or classifying the student as White, which put them on the traditional path towards admission.

One recruiter described that for her, it was a stressful experience to read applications and decide whether or not to give the students "the benefit of the doubt", that would give them a leg up in the application process in her opinion. She expressed that "the benefit of the doubt", in this circumstance, was identifying the student as a person of color. In her interview she stated:

> There are certainly times that I remember having that clash, it's like, do we give the student the benefit of the doubt, thinking and knowing that in a lot of cases students' self-identification will change and evolve over time…. When you have a student who doesn't necessarily engage with their self-identification on their application, one way or another you're left making a lot of assumptions. Some of the least positive, most awkward, most tense experiences are when, in the admissions committee process, you have two different readers, people who have read the file all the way through and come to very different conclusions about a particular student's potential contributions.

This recruiter recognized that classifying an applicant as a person of color would positively influence his or her acceptance into that college, as it had become a standardized process within the broader societal understandings of affirmative action and admission into higher education.

Informed by historical discourses focused on racial and ethnic equity, this recruiter said that college admissions committees regularly decide the racial identity of prospective students, tending to give the students the benefit of the doubt and assuming they were not White. This normalized practice of diversity labeling reveals how admissions practices perpetuate the equity Discourse of diversity in higher education. This practice also shows how recruiters can use productive power to help a student in the admissions process, or repressive power, to maintain certain normalized language about racial and ethnic diversity. Diversity labeling on behalf of a prospective student is also a practice of exercising "power-over", as the recruiter is controlling the admissions decision and the students' identity as a student of color or not.

Using a cultural deficiency conversation to inform recruiter practices. Gee (2011a) notes that individuals are constantly operating in multiple figured worlds, while drawing upon big "C" Conversations and big "D" discourses to guide them. According to Gee, big "C" Conversations "allude or relate to themes, debates, or motifs that have been the focus of much talk and writing in some social group with which we are familiar or in our society as a whole" (p. 29). My participants drew largely from a Conversation that framed diverse students as being culturally deficient to shape their recruitment practices. The language used in this Conversation implied that students of color lacked certain skills and knowledge compared to the typical White student profile (Garcia &

Guerra, 2004). Higher education professionals and educators operating within the cultural deficit paradigm stress that students of color have traditionally functioned outside of traditional White cultural milieu, and thus when entering college, they must be supplemented with the knowledge that they had not received in their home environments (Iverson, 2007).

Macalester and University of Minnesota recruiters who drew from cultural deficiency to communicate their understandings of diversity referred to themselves as “resources”, “gatekeepers” and “access points” for diverse prospective students. The way they framed the students they worked with was using terms such as “minority”, “underprivileged”, “inner-city”, “urban” and “at risk”. Recruiters operating within this Conversation stressed that prospective students in these underrepresented groups did not have the college-going culture or academic skills necessary to navigate the admissions process to even get to the stage of participation in college. Some of the recruiters insinuated that it was nearly impossible to recruit diverse students who fell into this description. It is important to note that others taking up this language argued that while these students lacked important information about college, their job was to act as a “resource” and share their knowledge with the students to help them work through the college choice process.

Practicing oppression. The majority of the recruiters from the University of Minnesota and Macalester College were informed, at least in part, by a cultural deficiency Conversation when discussing how they worked with diverse students. They stated that most diverse students “lacked a college-going culture” and did not have the “know-how of the admissions process”. In descriptions from my findings, recruiters performed this perspective when talking about diverse students as being “at risk” and “academically underprepared”, and perceiving the students’ lack of good questions about higher education as a disinterest in going to college.

During an interview with one recruiter, I asked my participant to describe an example of when he engaged with diverse students in his work and it did not go as well as he had hoped. He noted that part of his work included visiting “inner city” high schools and speaking with groups of “diverse” students for a half hour to an hour during the day. The response below was reflective of several examples this recruiter provided throughout our interview:

> **Interviewer**: Have you had any personal experiences where that lack of college access knowledge has been a barrier that you didn’t feel that you could overcome?
>
> **Recruiter**: Unless they’ve gone through one of these access agencies and have had some coaching in terms of how to talk to admissions counselors, they’re kind of flying blind…. it’s just that nobody has ever said that maybe there are other things that you should be thinking about when you’re thinking about college choice…. If somebody has that level of knowledge, I guess in the college admissions world, I can give them a brochure and say feel free to call me, I’d be happy to give you advice, but that’s all I can do for them. So that was a case where I had to basically give up. I knew I couldn’t do anything there, and so I moved on.

Gee (2011) affirms, “we use language to get recognized as engaging in a certain sort of practice or activity” (p. 17). In the quote above, this recruiter used language that framed him as a gatekeeper, with certain power / knowledge that he could not make accessible to the students he was talking with because he did not think it would make a difference.

Throughout the interview process, this recruiter repeatedly referred to urban and inner city schools as being difficult places to recruit or connect with diverse students. In the example above, his discursive framing of diverse students as "flying blind", closed off the potential to exercise his power / knowledge using transformative practices with those students (Gee, 2011a, p. 18). Inadvertently, this recruiter exercised "power-over" these students, which perpetuated and normalized negative societal Conversations and Discourses of diverse students as unfit and academically ill-prepared for college (Beckwith, 1999; Iverson, 2007). His logic contained major negative biases about diversity and who he considered to be diverse students. Used to talk about and engage with prospective students, this kind of negative language may alienate some students, dissuade them from attending higher education, or stigmatize certain students who are already in college (Iverson, 2007; Steele, 1997; Suzuki, 2002).

Practicing resistance. According to Foucault, "we cannot jump outside the situation, and there is no point where you are free from all power relations. But you can always change it" (As cited in Allen, 1999, p. 65). Because power is ubiquitous, one way to change power relations is to resist the dominant discourse within the specific discursive fields in which one is operating. In this study, the discursive fields were the varied, competing, and overlapping orientations of diversity that exist on the individual, institutional, and societal levels of higher education (Snow, 2014). Each field carried with it specific values and beliefs based on what counted as diverse within each institution and from societal motifs and narratives about diversity. In this section of the analysis, Discourses referred to the societally recognized types of diversity that were represented by socially recognized language, images and activities (Gee, 2011a). Recruiters were largely informed by Big “D” Discourses of equity and academic excellence. Big “C” Conversations consisted of socially specific and recognizable “public debates, arguments, motifs, issues, or themes” (Gee, p. 55), which recruiters drew from to inform their understanding of diverse (non-White and nontraditional) prospective students. In my study, recruiters some recruiters resisted the cultural deficiency Conversation about diverse (non-White and nontraditional) students, and instead replaced it with an alternative Conversation of cultural responsiveness.

While every recruiter mentioned that most non-White and nontraditional students lacked certain college-going knowledge or did not have an adequate level of academic skills needed to access and succeed in college, some recruiters recognized their agency in engaging with diverse students in transformative ways that challenged the cultural deficiency framing. Gee (2011a) asserts, “encouraging a student is an action, mentoring the student as his or her advisor in a graduate program is a practice” (p. 17). In my findings, recruiters of color more often viewed recruiting diverse students as an opportunity to share knowledge and teach prospective students, rather than a lost opportunity to recruit them. These recruiters exercised “power-to” and “power-with”, rather than a power-over approach (Allen, 1999). In particular, the recruiters of color stressed the importance of teaching diverse students the necessary knowledge and skills about the college-going process in order to help them through admissions and into higher education.

One Macalester recruiter of color stated, “Students don’t know what they don’t know in the admissions process. Unfortunately, most of the students I worked with didn’t know what to ask…they didn’t know the secret knock, and that’s where I came in”. She recognized her role as cultural informant in the admissions office and used her position and knowledge to empower prospective students who did not know “the secret knock” prior to meeting her. While still initially operating within the cultural deficit Conversation, this recruiter also drew from the equity Discourse and her personal experience as a student of color to challenge the discursive framing of non-White and nontraditional students as unfit for college. As a result, through transformative language and practice, she produced and supported a more positive reality for the prospective students she worked with and relied on a Conversation of cultural responsiveness instead of deficit-orientation.

Similarly, a University of Minnesota recruiter of color exercised the “power-with” perspective by engaging in a shared process of teaching and learning, stating:

> Typically the suburban students are a lot more high-achieving students, whereas inner-city students are not, and reservation students are not academically prepared enough, so I work with them to get academically prepared, so there’s a difference between a student coming from inner-city and a student coming from a reservation.

Rather than “giving up” on these non-White and nontraditional students because they were “not academically prepared”, as a different recruiter had done, this recruiter resisted supporting the cultural deficiency Conversation, and chose to transform it by *working with* his students to prepare them for the admissions process and participation in college.

He incorporated culturally responsive practices within his work that were encouraged by his admissions unit and the University of Minnesota mission statement.

Incorporating equity and cultural responsiveness into recruitment practices. Some recruiters completely rejected the cultural deficit Conversation about diversity, openly seeing their practice as an opportunity to help diverse students in the college choice process. Rather than drawing from deficiency rhetoric, they only drew from the Discourse of equity and big "C" conversations about cultural responsiveness. In their interviews, these recruiters affirmed that diverse students did not lack anything; they simply needed a culturally sensitive approach to recruitment. For example, one University of Minnesota recruiter of color expressed:

> When I do work with parents, it's totally different from students who identify as diverse and students who are not. It's absolutely necessary to understand parents because…these are their kids. If they're turned off by the admissions counselor, they're not going to be there. They're not going to want their child to pursue higher education period. You could be the make or break between someone who will thrive in society versus someone who won't.

Similarly, when I asked a University of Minnesota recruiter of color how he connected with "diverse students", he noted:

> A lot of it is just sharing my similar story with students who relate well to me. So that's basically what I would do, a lot of it is personal experience. A lot of it is wearing different hats, so I know what it's like to be a high achieving student, and I know what it's like to not be a high achieving student. Because of that intersectionality, there's a lot of juggling between both roles.

Acknowledging that “diverse” did not necessary mean problematic, worse than, or lacking, these recruiters shaped their recruitment practices through reflections of their past experiences, understandings of personal identity and by building personal connections with students and their parents. Drawing from a culturally responsive understanding of diversity, they chose to tailor their recruitment practices to fit the specific needs of the students with whom they were working.

Recruiters who challenged the cultural deficit Conversation about diversity emphasized practices they used to reach diverse students by connecting with parents, speaking the student’s language, respecting cultural customs, and building relationships through established mutual interests. One recruiter consistently mentioned talking with parents as a key component to reaching prospective students. Rather than seeing their racial or ethnic background as a negative attribute, she noted:

> The conversations usually develop from not just being on the student but also as a family and the parent. And so I connect the parent to what the student is doing because it’s really a whole family affair. And, sometimes it’s not fair when the student has to carry all that on their own, but the parents want to help but they can’t because they don’t have anyone to give them that information. So I have a huge focus in talking to the parents too. The calls take on average a lot longer, but it’s worth it to establish that connection with the parent.

Another strategy several recruiters used to resist the cultural deficiency framing of diversity was suspending judgment and not assuming anything about prospective students’ identities. For example, one University of Minnesota recruiter affirmed:

> I always never make assumptions about anybody. When I look at diversity…they could be White and low income or White, first-generation, or a student of color, but higher achieving. So I never make assumptions about anyone.

This recruiter said that his non-White racial and cultural identity would probably be a way he could build relationships with prospective students with similar backgrounds; however, he also mentioned the importance of providing the student with a choice to self-identify prior to labeling the student based on “the color of his skin”.

Whether perpetuating or resisting cultural deficiency, or enacting cultural responsiveness, recruiters were clearly using these Conversations to inform their practices and engagement with non-White and nontraditional students in their work. Many recruiters moved beyond the cultural deficit Conversation by changing the discursive framing of diversity from a negative to a positive attribute in their recruitment practices and understandings of diversity. As a result, rather than oppressing diverse prospective students for being different or lacking, recruiters were able to empower and educate them about the college-going process in their interactions.

Conclusion

In her article, “Purposes of Higher Education and Visions of the Nation in the Writings of the Department of Education”, Suspitsyna (2010) extends Foucault’s analysis of power / knowledge to explain how dominant discourses can shape the reality of social subjects. She argues, “discourse is social practice that creates both objects of knowledge (e.g. the concept of madness) and social subjects (e.g. mentally ill people)” (p. 64). In this study, the object of knowledge is the concept of diversity, and the social subjects are diverse students. Recruiters took up discourses of diversity depending on their situated identities and figured worlds, institutional contexts and the larger Discourses that informed their practices. According to their positive or negative framing of the concept of diversity within their practices, recruiters produced either transformative or oppressive realities about "diverse" prospective students.

In particular, my findings demonstrated that recruiters used language that described diversity as every kind of personal, social, cultural, psychological, racial, ethnic, sexual, gender, or political difference. The recruiters indicated that using an exclusive or limited definition of diversity, that is, focusing only on race and ethnicity, might unintentionally exclude students who identify as nontraditional or diverse in some other way. My findings also revealed that institutional alignment is important in the admissions process in that recruiters who felt an alignment with their personal definition felt less tension about their work with "diverse students" and expressed feeling more excited and supported with their work as recruiters compared to those who did not express an alignment with their personal definition and the institutional one.

Exploring recruiters' use of power in their admissions practices, my findings exhibited how recruiters primarily operated within the big "C" Conversation of cultural deficiency to inform their work with diverse prospective students, including how they labeled students diverse or not. The recruiters who structured their practices based on the belief that diverse students were academically or culturally deficient either perpetuated this perspective of diversity, or resisted it, opting to use a more positive culturally responsive Conversation to structure their work. In chapter 6, I consider the barriers and strategies that were discussed in my findings with regard to diversity and recruitment in higher education, concluding with implications for policy, practice and research.

Chapter 6: Conclusions and Implications for Policy, Practice and Research

In her book, *Diversity's Promise for Higher Education: Making it Work*, Daryl Smith (2015) articulates:

> Today, diversity is no longer a projection—it is a reality. The challenge is that while the historic issues of diversity, which have occupied many in higher education over the past fifty years, have grown in their urgency, new issues are emerging. The context for diversity is shifting, and the rhetoric about diversity is increasing. (p. vii)

Recognizing the importance of Smith's sentiment, in this dissertation I investigated the evolution of diversity as it has been conceived in rationales to increase student diversity in higher education. My research examined how diversity was constructed in college recruiting, with a focus on the institutional and individual levels of the admissions process. This study specifically explored how higher education institutions and admissions personnel took up big "D" Discourses, language, and images regarding diversity, with the goal of highlighting how these depictions may affect the college choice process for prospective students. This research also examined college recruitment literature, events and how recruiters interpreted and gave meaning to "diversity" in their engagement with students.

Smith (2015) notes that historically, the onus to increase diversity has largely been placed on admissions units. Especially for public institutions, she states, "Because selective public institutions have mandates to be inclusive, affirmative action in admissions has been the strategy used to diversify the student body" (p. 124). Consequently, admissions and college recruiting were important sites of study, as leaders and practitioners in these areas develop and implement practices and policies that enact particular meanings about diversity in higher education. My findings revealed that personal, institutional and socio-political conceptions of diversity were being produced, perpetuated and informed by discourses in society and were operationalized in a variety of ways across different contexts. Based on my research, I discovered that higher education leaders, scholars and practitioners drew from broader discourses of *demographics*, *neoliberalism*, *internationalization*, *equity*, *academic excellence* and *pluralistic democratic education*.

Myriad studies focus on diversity and student engagement in the classroom, but less scholarship exists that concentrates on the distinct role that student affairs professionals play with regard to engaging with diversity (Harper & Quaye, 2015). Moreover, Karkouti (2015) notes, “student affairs practitioners have received minimal awareness training and professional development programs that prepare them to assume their roles as socializing agents in multicultural environments” (p. 35). These professionals need to have the language and skills to work with different types of prospective students. Thus, understanding how recruiters conceptualize and communicate their understandings of difference, and examining how they engage with different kinds of students was a relevant area to explore (Karkouti, 2015; Pope et al., 2009). Accordingly, I focused my research on student affairs professionals and, more specifically, on college admissions units and recruiters, because these units, materials and individuals are key representatives in recruiting, attracting and supporting a diverse student body (Dungy, 2003; Karkouti, 2015; Shaiko, 2013).

Use of Critical Discourse Analysis highlighted how the micro interpretations of diversity were enacted and mis / aligned with those represented in institutional language and messaging in college admissions. This research demonstrates how diversity language has the potential to support or reject particular discourses of diversity and identity. The findings also illustrate why the shaping and positioning of diversity from individual and institutional levels is critical to supporting accessible and culturally responsive programming for diverse students in higher education. Finally, this study adds to literature demonstrating that diversity in higher education policies, practices and language does matter, as it influences staff perceptions and motivations to work, and the ways in which college recruiters interact with prospective students.

Summary of Findings

The University of Minnesota and Macalester College depicted diversity in unique ways, engaging with and drawing from societal discourses that were based on their distinctive historic, economic, and institutional circumstances. Both institutions expressed a commitment to diversity in their mission statement, on their admissions and about webpages, and in their college viewbooks. Each institution depicted diversity differently, which was indicative of their particular institutional profiles as a private liberal arts college and a public land-grant institution.

Macalester College’s willingness to support and increase diversity was demonstrated primarily through the discourses of internationalization, neoliberalism and academic excellence in its website screenshots and viewbook. Its messaging, texts and images emphasized international and intercultural experiences and statistics about its number of international students and faculty. The college also created a narrative for students that framed an education at Macalester as an internationally focused experience that would prepare them to be successful in a global economy. Macalester privileged a cleaned-up version of diversity, negating the narratives of historical inequality, oppression and White privilege that complicate diversity discourse (Smith, 2015).

From a critical perspective, the discourses showcased by Macalester did not adequately address racism and other educational inequities engrained in American culture. This institution's discourses also hinted at elements of neoliberalism by exoticizing the diverse others in study abroad images and texts and placing White students as the main beneficiaries of these international and cross-cultural experiences. Some scholars posit that higher education leaders ought to promote a diversity discourse that places equity and social justice at its core rather than at the periphery (Chang, 2002, Smith & Otta, 2013). They insist that representations of international diversity that principally privilege White students harm the original intent to increase domestic diversity in higher education, and will continue to perpetuate Eurocentric understandings of diversity and lead to the oppression of people of color (Haring-Smith, 2012; Otten, 2003).

In general, the University of Minnesota answered the call for social justice and equity in its depictions of diversity in its online screenshots, viewbook and at the college recruitment fair. Particularly during my observations at the fair, the emphasis was focused on the equity and demographics discourses, where the University provided pictures, brochures and information about the many services offered to nontraditional students at that institution. Similar to Macalester, the University of Minnesota used rhetoric and visual images of the internationalization and neoliberalism discourses to represent diversity in its viewbook and on its website as well. However, this institution highlighted more references to domestic diversity and referred to the importance of U.S. centric equity, access and inclusion when compared with Macalester's viewbooks and online screenshots. These findings were not surprising given Minnesota's drastic increases in non-White student demographic rates, along with the University's historic charge to provide access to local constituents (Mendoza et al., 2006).

The divergent ways that Macalester College and the University of Minnesota represented and communicated diversity demonstrate that these institutions created campus discourses of diversity based on their institutional contexts and desired student profile. Each institution privileged certain diverse identities more than others, which suggests that some discourses had more legitimacy, while others were made less powerful. For Macalester, as a selective, expensive, private liberal arts college with an international tradition, international and neoliberal notions of diversity were most prevalent. While the University of Minnesota showcased international diversity as well, its messaging also emphasized the equity and demographics discourses, as a more affordable land-grant state university. Research focusing on additional institutional types such as community colleges and minority serving institutions would be important areas to investigate, as this study indicates that the diversity discourses produced by higher education institutions tend to reflect the values, beliefs and norms of those campuses.

In the analysis of my recruiter interviews in chapter five, I explored the big "D" discourses that recruiters used to interpret diversity and communicate its relevance and value in their work. I found that recruiters supported, produced and normalized particular categorizations and realities of "diverse students" that were socially recognizable in their college admissions policies and practices. This finding suggests that recruiters drew in part from institutional representations of diversity to talk about diverse students on their campuses. In my interviews, some recruiters mentioned strategies they used to combat tensions they felt about institutional misalignment of diversity definitions that minimized certain types of diverse students. In the formal recruitment process, diversity was talked about and valued mostly in regards to domestic students of color. However, outside the formal recruitment process, recruiters emphasized the broad array of identities that diversity included to them, stating that “diversity is difference” and “anyone can bring diversity to campus”, which suggests that recruiters also drew from their own experiences and identities to talk about diversity. The divergent ways that recruiters conceptualized and talked about diversity in their work reflects the evolving Discourses and Conversations circulating society and the field of higher education.

Findings from this research demonstrate that recruiters also developed their personal interpretations of diversity largely through their own identity characteristics. Depending on those characteristics, institutional discourses of diversity may or may not have aligned with their personal diversity definitions, which had implications for how they communicated with prospective students, and whether or not they were able to build authentic relationships with them. Since my study suggests that recruiters’ identities influence how well they connect with prospective students, it follows that faculty identities may impact their relationships with students as well. This finding contributes to the justification to increase diversity in the pool of recruiters and faculty, and signifies the importance of requiring intercultural and multicultural professional development and training. In addition, further research is needed to explore how distinct identities and diversity discourses affect different types of students during the college choice process, and how these discourses influence understandings of diversity on campus. Research focusing on how faculty understand diversity and communicate its value in the classroom would be an important area of study as well.

Barriers to Recruiting a Diverse Student Body

Although the rationales to increase diversity in higher education are designed to benefit everyone, scholars argue that these rationales do not always accomplish their goals (Chang, 2013; Smith, 2015). My findings reveal several ways that the goal to create a diverse student body was hindered. These barriers included when recruiters and institutions used negative assumptions (and narrow definitions) about diversity and what a diverse student was or was not, when recruiters found it difficult to make connections with students different from themselves and when recruiters treated all students in the same way.

Student affairs professionals and scholars maintain that individuals interacting with students enact particular views of diversity and identity, while making other identity characteristics less meaningful (Iverson, 2007; Patton et al., 2007). Supporting this argument, a key finding in my study was that certain beliefs and perceptions about diversity both drew on and created particular campus discourses about current and prospective students. At times, recruiters drew upon language from a cultural deficiency orientation, referring to diverse students as lacking the skills and knowledge to succeed in college. Iverson (2012) notes that if diverse students are framed in a negative way, it could alienate them from those institutions, leading to deleterious effects on the goal to increase diversity in higher education.

Some recruiters in my study expressed tension with current affirmative action admissions policies, as they reported that these policies promoted a limited view of diversity. Several of them noted that this view was plausible, due to historical inequities in the U.S.; however, they argued that this limited view inferred that some students would not be considered diverse, even though they were still nontraditional and could benefit from a distinct admissions review process. This sentiment was reflected in critiques about the equity discourse. For example, Kahlenberg (2012) argues that centering on race in admissions deters the development of a diverse student body. He opines that admission policies need to be more open to other diverse identities such as class and geographical origin. Hence, in creating the most inclusive policies to structure higher education practices, scholars and practitioners must consider how limited notions of diversity may hamper access for nontraditionally oppressed groups that are outside the interpreted scope of current affirmative action legislation used by the courts.

In addition to tension felt with affirmative action policies, recruiters expressed anxiety with the national indicators for admissions because their definition of diversity supported only race and ethnicity as well. One recruiter affirmed that labeling certain minority students as White because they were outside the institutions' diversity definition diminished those students' value in adding to a diverse student body. Viewing this barrier from a systemic perspective, a limited definition of diversity may, at a minimum, dissuade some prospective students from attending college if their identity is not represented or valued at those institutions (Confer & Mamiseishvili, 2012; Osei-Kofi et al., 2012).

Higher education scholars assert that diversity ought to be inclusive of all types of diverse characteristics, not just race and ethnicity (Harper & Quaye, 2015; Kuh, 2015). In my study, recruiters also promoted a broadly inclusive definition of diversity from their personal perspectives. However, in my findings, institutional admissions policies generally conveyed a limited view of diversity, highlighting only one or two identity characteristics, which implicitly undervalued other important identities that shape students' lives (Iverson, 2007). Primarily, the formal admissions review process limited which diverse identities were legitimate by making space for only gender and student of color diversity on the college applications. The recruiters also noted feeling tension about the "hierarchy of diversity" in the formal admissions process, which meant that certain diverse identities were more valued than others and given unique consideration for admission, potentially contributing to different admissions decisions for those students. This finding clearly suggests that power was unequally distributed to certain discourses of diversity compared with others, making some diverse identities more privileged than others.

While Macalester and the University of Minnesota created space for racial, ethnic and gender diversity to be performed in a specific way in the standardized admissions process, they left out all other students' identities as they fell outside the institutions' formal diversity discourses (Iverson, 2007; Osei-Kofi et al., 2012; Patton & Wooden, 2009). This study, then, demonstrates the need for critical examination of the ways in which diversity is defined and represented in admissions policies and practices to ensure that there is alignment with how recruiters and higher education leaders talk about diversity and how it is operationalized in admissions. The findings also call into question how diversity is often represented and welcomed to occupy only certain spaces and allowed to be performed in only certain acceptable ways. Failure to challenge these normalized activities would result in perpetuation of inequitable and exclusive admissions practices under the façade of equality and inclusiveness.

Recruiters reported that an additional barrier was when they were not able to create connections with prospective students. Every recruiter reported that they attempted to build relationships with all prospective students. However, recruiters expressed that in general, it was easier to connect with individuals who were similar to them in terms of racial and cultural background. This finding has significant implications for recruiters, given that the pool of prospective students is becoming progressively diverse. Currently, it is common practice for institutions, including the two in my study, to hire recruiters who reflect the cultural and racial background of many of the students they are hired to recruit. With students drawing upon numerous identity characteristics to form their lived experiences, it is not feasible for colleges to rely on hiring a different recruiter for every distinct type of student. Moreover, without the proper training, the possibility of one recruiter being able to connect with every student is increasingly limited.

One recommendation that emerged from this study was that recruiters need appropriate training and skillsets to connect to the variety of students that exist in the current and prospective student populations. This recommendation is informed by previous research as well as my current study, which indicates that student affairs professionals are most successful when they have training and knowledge in student development theory and intercultural or multicultural development (Karkouti, 2015;

Talbot, 2003). This training also includes student affairs professionals' ability to openly appreciate and understand student identities, giving students the opportunity to claim the identities that are important to them without judgment (Karkouti, 2015; Patton et al., 2007).

Strategies to Recruiting a Diverse Student Body

To alleviate barriers in recruiting a diverse student body, recruiters mentioned several strategies that they used to successfully engage non-White and nontraditional prospective students. Their first recommendation was to suspend judgment and limit assumptions about students. My study revealed that college recruiters exercised power and made decisions about students' identities in both the informal recruitment process and during the formal application review. Using broader institutional and societal Discourses about diversity to inform their decisions, recruiters in my study noted that sometimes they had to decide whether to classify certain applicants as students of color or not. This was a difficult process, fraught with tension, according to my interviewees. To limit assumptions about students, they mentioned that it was best for them to avoid judgment about prospective students' identities. Instead, they recommended that recruiters allow students to claim whichever identity characteristics mattered to them in their lived experiences, which is supported in literature about student identity development (Sleeter & Grant, 2003). The caveat to this recommendation, however, is that admissions staff need a combination of training regarding how to work with diverse student populations, as well as personal experiences living, working and engaging with different types of people (Harper & Quaye, 2015; Karkouti, 2015; Patton et al., 2007). For recruiters in my study, this type of training was offered, but not a requirement.

An additional strategy for enrolling multicultural students at Macalester and the University of Minnesota was providing an activity where underrepresented students could come to campus and connect with staff, current students and faculty. This finding is supported in the literature, where Confer and Mamiseishvili (2012) found that for minority students, having a good campus visit positively correlated with those students choosing to enroll in those institutions. The recruiters in my study added that offering an opportunity for students to determine whether or not they fit into the campus was a critical part of the college choice process for the nontraditional students they worked with. They noted that this strategy was especially true for prospective students of color. This finding is also reflected in existing research, where Engberg and Wolniak (2009) affirm that it is important to identify areas of campus that mirror the values, beliefs and races of prospective students. In addition, Smith (2007) found that for Latino students, identifying a staff member who could speak their language was a key component to a successful visit. This finding also rang true for the recruiters in my study who worked with prospective students and parents whose primary language was Spanish.

Implications for Policy, Practice and Research

According to Confer and Mamiseishvili (2012), when considering race in college admissions, “Each race has its own set of unique identifying characteristics that need to be recognized and embraced by the predominant race. If one ignores these unique differences and claims that everyone is the same, then racism is only perpetuated” (p. 13). This statement about race applies to all types of difference within the canopy of diversity (Patton et al., 2007). It is important to note that while many higher education leaders and admissions staff acknowledge a broad scope of diversity in their language, the policies and practices that shape diversity initiatives cannot afford to move toward a narrow, ahistorical or colorblind ideology either, as those perspectives would neglect the structural and social inequities that still exist in higher education and oppress all types of minority groups (Evans et al., 2010; Smith, 2015).

This study has implications for policy development and implementation in several ways. Similar to many institutions in the United States, Macalester College and the University of Minnesota have already committed themselves to making diversity a priority on their campuses through institution-wide strategic plans and policies. The next step for these institutions is to integrate their diversity goals beyond these plans and their admissions policies to units across campus. One way that institutions could assist with this process is through assessment techniques that would measure how well their diversity indicators, efforts and benchmarks are achieved and how they could be improved. Research and evaluation tools exist to assist institutions in enhancing diversity in equitable and inclusive ways (Diaz & Kirmmse, 2013). One of the most prominent instruments, the Diversity Scorecard, was developed by the Center for Urban Education in the Rossier School of Education at the University of Southern California. This approach assesses an institutions' base understanding of race and ethnicity, identifies goals related to inclusion, access and equity and designates next steps and recommendations for central administration to consider (Bensimon, 2004).

Building upon the Diversity Scorecard, the Multicultural Affairs Think Tank at the New England Resource Center developed an innovative tool that incorporates assessment of equity, inclusive excellence and the institutionalization of service learning. This instrument is called the Self-Assessment Rubric for Institutionalization of Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion in Higher Education (the Diversity Rubric) (Diaz & Kirmmse, 2013). According to Diaz and Kirmmse:

> The Diversity Rubric examines an institution's relevant accomplishments through six dimensions: (1) Philosophy and Mission of Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion; (2) Faculty Support and Involvement; (3) Curriculum, Pedagogy, and Research; (4) Staff Engagement and Involvement; (5) Student Support and Involvement; and (6) Administrative Leadership and Institutional Support. (Para. 4)

The work and findings from diversity assessments can be used to uncover inequitable policies and gaps in areas where more inclusive policies that challenge problematic language may be useful in supporting diversity throughout higher education institutions.

Practice is directly tied to policy in higher education. In this study, it was clear that recruiters drew from their institutions’ admissions policies and diversity definitions to shape their practices with prospective students, which had ramifications on recruiter and student engagement. Knowing that more than half of the recruiters in my study expressed tension with some of their institutions’ standard admissions practices indicates a need for self-reflection and potential change. A major example of this tension emerged when asking recruiters about their training and preparation to work with diversity. Currently, intercultural and multicultural training is only a recommendation. Given that recruiters are working with more diversity than ever before, providing mandatory diversity training is one promising way to increase cultural responsiveness and sensitivity for recruiters so that they can more effectively engage with students different from themselves.

Confer and Mamiseishvili (2012) recommend that training include an examination of how language is used and how multicultural issues are talked about in practices, activities and curriculum at the institution. Intercultural training would specifically focus on how to suspend judgment and move beyond unconscious biases that may alienate or stereotype student identities that are different than one's own (Schaetti, Ramsey, Watanabe, 2008). An additional approach to enhance recruitment practices for a diverse student body could be to openly discuss what diversity means in admissions, and to standardize more inclusive language about diversity in the formal application process. This strategy may alleviate tension, or at least make space for discussions about misalignment of personal diversity definitions with institutional ones.

A useful example of practice cited by University of Minnesota recruiters was the diversity certificate program offered by the University's Office of Equity and Diversity (Office of Equity and Diversity, 2015). According to their website, this program is a 30-hour training that:

1. Offers participants a theoretical framework for understanding equity and diversity work.
2. Helps participants develop necessary skills for equity and diversity work.
3. Gives participants direct experience working and communicating across differences.

Other higher education institutions such as Duke University and Purdue University offer a variety of trainings that faculty and student affairs professionals can take advantage of to help them gain intercultural skills (Duke University, 2015; Purdue University, 2015). National professional associations such as Student Affairs Administrators in Higher

Education (NASPA, 2015) and the National Association for College Admission Counseling (NACAC, 2015) provide professional development opportunities in this area. Admissions leaders can optimize staff development by leveraging existing resources and collaborating across institutions. It is important to note that leaders in admissions also need to be transparent about the rationales for diversity efforts in higher education so that their staff can more clearly articulate those rationales to prospective students, parents and the public.

This dissertation has implications for future research as it solely focused on my interpretation of six prominent discourses that emerged in the literature and how these discourses were taken up and communicated in admissions and recruiting. During this study, I discovered additional discourses such as globalization, human difference and neocolonialism as ways that diversity was conceptualized and embodied in higher education and admissions. Given that diversity discourses are continuously evolving, it would be interesting to problematize these other discourses and compare them to the ones discussed in this study.

Areas of study beyond admissions would also benefit from inquiry into how diversity is understood, represented and communicated. Suggestions for additional research about this topic include the exploration of how administrators, faculty and staff outside of admissions units conceptualize and discuss diversity on their campuses. Examining the effects of particular diversity discourses on current students' identity development and sense of belonging in college would also be a valuable area of study. Supplementary studies could focus on how current and prospective students' interpret discourses of diversity during the different stages of the college choice process, on visits to college campuses and while completing their college applications. Based on these suggestions, I developed several research questions below to help guide further investigation on how diversity discourses may influence student affairs, student engagement and student identity development in higher education:

- How do affirmative action policies and institutional diversity discourses affect current students' understanding of self, identity development and sense of belonging during their college experiences?
- How do current students understand, communicate and value diversity at their institutions?
- How do leaders and student affairs professionals in college units such as the women's center, GLBT unit, study abroad office and multicultural center shape, discuss and represent diversity in their language, images, policies and practices?

Conclusion

If higher education institutions truly aim to be equitable and welcoming campuses that promote diversity, they must purposefully recognize and create spaces for *visible* and *invisible* kinds of diversity (Haring-Smith, 2015). This intentionality means that administrators, scholars and practitioners must go beyond their mission statements to talk about and support diversity in its broadest form in all of their policies, practices and language (Smith, 2015). This call to action particularly applies to college recruiters because they must be able to understand, communicate and relate to a wide variety of prospective students in order to help them move forward in the admissions process (Karkouti, 2013). Admissions units and recruiters need to be purposeful and honest in how they recruit a diverse student body by working with students, giving them the choice to claim their own identities, and sharing knowledge to help them navigate the college choice process successfully. There is still significant research needed to understand the evolving nature of diversity discourses and their influence on college choice and student engagement. However, this study prompts an important dialogue about the function of diversity discourses in attracting, recruiting and supporting an inclusively diverse college student body for the 21st century.

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Appendix A: Diversity Discourses in College Recruiting Interview Protocol

Thank you for taking the time to speak with me today about diversity and the college recruitment process. You were selected as a participant because you are a staff member whose work focuses on recruiting prospective students at either Macalester College or the University of Minnesota. Please note that I will be identifying the institution in my comparative case study, but your individual information will remain confidential. This interview will be recorded and I will have access to the recordings, which will be stored on a secure server. Once I have transcribed the interviews, I will code and de-identify the data. The interview will likely take between 30 to 45 minutes. Please feel free to ask any questions during the interview process. Do you have any questions before we begin?

Begin Recording:

1. How long have you worked at your institution in your current job?

2. Can you describe your job responsibilities? (Probe: Beyond those specific responsibilities, what is your primary purpose in recruiting at your institution?)

3. How do you define diversity?

4. How does your institution define diversity? (Probe: In what ways does your institution’s definition align or differ from your own definition?)

5. How, if at all, do you think diversity is important in the recruiting process? How do you know that it is important and/or defined in a particular way?

6. How do other recruiters talk about diversity at your institution? (Probe: In what ways is diversity framed in recruitment materials, on websites, in policies?)

7. Tell me about the different stages/steps/phases to recruiting at your institution.

8. How, if at all, does the concept of diversity influence each phase of recruiting?

9. How do you explain to prospective students what diversity means at your institution?

10. Can you describe a positive recruiting experience you had with a student you were trying to recruit to enhance the diversity of your institution?

11. Can you describe a negative recruiting experience you had with a student you were trying to recruit to enhance the diversity of your institution?

12. How do undergraduate students from your institution talk about diversity at your institution?

13. Do you think there is a “right” or “wrong” way to talk about diversity to prospective students?

14. Thank you for taking the time to talk with me today. Is there anything else that is important to know about how diversity affects recruiting at your institution?

Appendix B: Diversity Discourses in College Recruiting IRB Form

IRB Use Only
IRB Study #

SOCIAL & BEHAVIORAL SCIENCES APPLICATION FORM

Version 5.5
December 2011, check http://www.irb.umn.edu for the latest version

1. Project Identifiers

1.1 Project Title (Project title must match grant title. If different, also provide grant title):

Diversity and College Recruiting

1.2 Person preparing this document

Name: Leah Hakkola	Phone number: 763.229.9129
Email: hakk0004@umn.edu	Fax:

- Please note that if you intend to perform work on this project, then you will also need to be listed as principal investigator, co-investigator, or staff.

1.3 Principal Investigator (PI)

Name (Last name, First name MI): **Leah Hakkola**	Highest Earned Degree: **Masters**
Mailing Address: **3212 Fremont Ave. S.** **Apt. #203** **Minneapolis, MN 55408**	Phone Number: **763.229.9129** Pager or Cell Phone Number: **763.229.9129** Fax:
U of M Employee/Student ID: **2410795**	Email: **Hakk0004@umn.edu**
U of M x.500 ID (ex. smith001): **Hakk0004**	University Department (if applicable): **Organizational Leadership, Policy, & Development**
Occupational Position: ☐Faculty ☐Staff ☒Student ☐Fairview Researcher ☐Gillette Researcher ☐Other:	
Human Subjects Training ☒ CITI , ☐Investigator 101 (until 2008), ☐NIH training (EXCEPT for 5/8/06 to 2/29/08), ☐UM/RCR (between 1994-2003) ☐ Other - Indicate training received, when and from which institution:	HIPAA Training (Required if Data Contains PHI): ☐ HIPAA

As Principal Investigator of this study, I assure the IRB that the following statements are true:
The information provided in this form is correct. I have evaluated this protocol and determined that I have the resources necessary to protect participants, such as adequate funding, appropriately trained staff, and necessary facilities and equipment. I will seek and obtain prior written approval from the IRB for any substantive modifications in the proposal, including changes in procedures, co-investigators, funding agencies, etc. I will promptly report any unexpected or otherwise significant adverse events or unanticipated problems or incidents that may occur in the course of this study. I will report in writing any significant new findings which develop during the course of this study which may affect the risks and benefits to participation. I will not begin my research until I have received written notification of final IRB approval. I will comply with all IRB requests to report on the status of the study. I will maintain records of this research according to IRB guidelines. The grant that I have submitted to my funding agency which is submitted with this IRB submission accurately and completely reflects what is contained in this application. If these conditions are not met, I understand that approval of this research could be suspended or terminated.

Hakk0004	**April 10, 2012**	**Graduate Student**
x.500 of PI	Date	Title of PI

Training Links:
FIRST (Fostering Integrity in Research, Scholarship and Training): http://cflegacy.research.umn.edu/first/humansubjects.htm
HIPAA: http://www.research.umn.edu/first/AdditionalCourses.htm
- "UM/RCR" includes all human subjects protection training offered in-person or online at the University of Minnesota from 1994-2003.
- The online NIH tutorial offered during the period May 8, 2006-February 29, 2008 is NOT acceptable to meet this requirement.
- If you completed a version of this training not included on the list provided, provide details as indicated

1.4 Co-Investigator(s)

Co-Investigators responsible for, or working on this project should be listed below. Include any individual who will have responsibility for the consent process, direct data collection from subjects, or follow-up.

Name (Last name, First name MI): **Thomas-Card, Traci L**	Highest Earned Degree: **Masters**
Mailing Address: **930 Menomonie St. Apt 2** **Eau Claire, WI 54703**	Phone Number: **715-864-3122** Pager or Cell Phone Number: Fax:
U of M Employee/Student ID: 2409228	Email: **Thom3995@umn.edu**
U of M x.500 ID (ex. smith001): **Thom3995**	University Department (if applicable): **Organizational Leadership Policy & Development**
Occupational Position: ☐Faculty ☐Staff X Student ☐Fairview Researcher ☐Gillette Researcher ☐Other:	
Human Subjects Training X CITI , ☐Investigator 101 (until 2008), ☐NIH training (EXCEPT for 5/8/06 to 2/29/08), ☐UM/RCR (between 1994-2003) ☐ Other - Indicate training received, when and from which institution:	HIPAA Training (Required if Data Contains PHI): ☐ HIPAA

Thom3995	**April 10, 2012**	**Graduate Student**
x.500 of Co-PI	Date	Title of Co-PI

Research Staff

Personnel you wish to be included in correspondence related to this study e.g. study coordinators

1.5 Student Research

***If the PI of this research is a student**, include **Appendix J** filled out by the advisor with this application form and include the advisor's x500 below.*

Advisor Name (Last name, First name MI):Ropers-Huilman, Rebecca	Highest Earned Degree: **Doctorate**
Mailing Address: 330C Wulling Hall 86 Pleasant St S E Minneapolis, MN 55455	Phone Number: (612) 624-1006
	Pager or Cell Phone Number:
	Fax:
U of M Employee/Student ID: 2859648	Email: **ropers@umn.edu**
U of M x.500 ID (ex. smith001): **ropers**	University Department (if applicable): **Organizational Leadership, Policy, & Development**
Occupational Position: ☒Faculty ☐Staff ☐Student ☐Fairview Researcher ☐Gillette Researcher ☐Other:	
Human Subjects Training ☒ CITI , ☐Investigator 101 (until 2008), ☐NIH training (EXCEPT for 5/8/06 to 2/29/08), ☐UM/RCR (between 1994-2003) ☐ Other - Indicate training received, when and from which institution:	HIPAA Training (Required if Data Contains PHI): ☐ HIPAA
Ropers	**April 10, 2012**
x.500 of Advisor	Date

2. Funding

2.1 Is this research funded by an internal or external agency?

☐ **Yes.**

Type of Funding Source: ☐ Federal Funds ☐ Foundation ☐ Business and Industry

Name of Funding Source:

Include Appendix A

☒ **No.** Explain how costs of research will be covered:

The costs incurred during this research will be paid for by the students involved in the project.

3. Institutional Oversight

3.1 Is this research proposal being reviewed by any other institution or peer review committee?

☐ **Yes.** Attach copy of materials submitted for peer review.
☒ **No.**

If yes, Please select which other committee approvals are required for this research and provide documentation of their approval:

☐ Cancer Protocol Review Committee (CPRC)
☐ Cancer Protocol Review Committee/Non-Therapeutic Interventional Trials Review (CPRC/NTI)
☐ Conflict of Interest Review Committee
☐ Nursing Research Council
☐ Other IRB, please specify: ______
☐ Other, please specify: ______

Peer review Web sites:

- Cancer Protocol Review Committee (CPRC)
- Cancer Protocol Review Committee/Non-Therapeutic Interventional Trials Review (CPRC/NTI)
- University Research Opportunity Program (UROP)
- Grant-In-Aid of Research, Artistry, and Scholarship Program (GIA)

3.2 Does this research involve cancer prevention, treatment, survivorship, or supporting care?

☒ No.

☐ Yes.
If this research is cancer-related, including prevention, treatment, survivorship or supportive care, then documentation of approval from the Cancer Protocol Review Committee (CPRC) or CPRC/NTI (Non-Therapeutic Interventional) MUST be provided before final IRB approval can be granted. If this cancer-related research has been peer-reviewed by NIH, CPRC approval is still required.

4. Conflict of Interest

Federal Guidelines emphasize the importance of assuring there are no conflicts of interest in research projects that could affect the welfare of human subjects. Reporting of financial interests is required from all individuals responsible for the design, conduct or reporting of the research. If this study involves or presents a potential conflict of interest, additional information will need to be provided to the IRB. Examples of conflicts of interest may include, but are not limited to:

- A researcher participating in research on a technology, process or product owned by a business in which the researcher or family member holds a significant financial interest or a business interest
- A researcher participating in research on a technology, process or product developed by that researcher or family member
- A researcher or family member assuming an executive position in a business engaged in commercial or research activities related to the researcher's University responsibilities

- A researcher or family member serving on the Board of Directors of a business from which that member receives University-supervised Sponsored Research Support
- A researcher receiving consulting income from a business that funds his or her research
- A researcher receiving consulting income from a business that could benefit from the results of research sponsored by a federal agency (i.e. NIH)

"Family Member" means the covered individual's spouse or domestic partner, dependent children, and any other family member whom the covered individual reasonably knows may benefit personally from actions taken by the covered individual on behalf of the University.
"Business Interest" means holding any executive position in, or membership on a board of a business entity, whether or not such activities are compensated.
For additional details and definitions, please refer to the appropriate policy:
University of Minnesota Researchers, please refer to:
http://www.policy.umn.edu/Policies/Operations/Compliance/CONFLICTINTEREST.html
University of Minnesota Researchers involved in clinical health care in the Academic Health Center, also refer to:
http://www.policy.umn.edu/Policies/Operations/Compliance/CONFLICTINTEREST_APPA.html
Fairview Health System Researchers, please refer to:
http://www.fairview.org/Research/index.htm
http://www.fairview.org/prof/research
Gillette Children's Specialty Healthcare Researchers, please refer to:
http://www.gillettechildrens.org/

4.1 Do any of the Investigators or personnel listed on this research project have a business interest or a financial interest of $10,000 or more ($5,000 or more if involved in clinical health care with an appointment in the Academic Health Center, AHC) associated with this study when aggregated for themselves and their family members?

☒ No.
☐ Yes.
If yes, identify the individual(s) and complete section 4.3:

4.2 Do any of the investigators or personnel (when aggregated for themselves and their family members) listed on this research have:

Ownership interests less than $10,000 ($5,000 if in clinical health care with an appointment in the AHC) when the value of interest could be affected by the outcome of the research?
☒ No. ☐ Yes.
Ownership interests exceeding 5% interest in any one single entity?
☒ No. ☐ Yes.
Compensation less than $10,000 ($5,000 if in clinical health care in the AHC) when the value of the compensation could be affected by the outcome of the research?
☒ No. ☐ Yes.
If yes, identify the individual(s) and complete section 4.3:

4.3 Has the business or financial interest been reported?

☒ No.

If you are a University of Minnesota researcher, please report your business or financial interest online via the Report of External Professional Activities (REPA) at: http://egms.umn.edu/quickhelp/EGMS_Instructions/prepa.html
If you are a Fairview Health System researcher, please complete the Fairview Health Services Conflict of Interest Disclosure forms at: http://www.fairview.org/Research/BusinessOperations/ConflictsofInterest/index.htm and submit the completed forms to the Fairview Office of Research.
If you are a Gillette Children's Specialty Healthcare researcher, please contact the Director of Research Administration, at 651-229-1745.

☐ Yes.
If yes, have you been informed that a Conflict of Interest Review Committee is reviewing the information you reported on your REPA? ☐ No.
☐ Yes.

The IRB will verify that a management plan is in place with the Conflict of Interest (COI) Program. If the COI Program does not have an approved management plan in place for this research, they will contact the individual(s) listed in question 4.1 for additional information.

Final IRB approval cannot be granted until all potential conflict matters are settled. The IRB receives a recommendation from the Conflict of Interest Review Committee regarding disclosure to subjects and management of any identified conflict. The convened IRB determines what disclosure language should be in the consent form.

5. Compensation

5.1 Will you give subjects gifts, payments, compensation, reimbursement, services without charge or extra credit?

☐ Yes.
X No.

If yes, please explain:

6. Summary of Activities

Use lay language, do not refer to grant or abstract.

6.1 Describe the objective(s) of the proposed research including purpose, research question, hypothesis and relevant background information etc.

The United States is experiencing significant shifts in the culture, demographics, language and values of its population. In response to these changes, policymakers and higher education scholars are attempting to increase diversity through strategic planning, recruiting and programming geared toward diverse students. Diversity is a rising concern for higher education institutions as the K-12 student population increases with racial and ethnic minority students. In additional to the commonly referenced racial and ethnic diversity, many researchers argue that diversity of religion, sexual orientation, socio-economic status, and gender should be increased because these identities are integral components that contribute to a more equitable, holistic and quality education for every student.

In response to these changing demographics, this study aims to examine the ways in which college recruiters and admissions representatives consider, discuss and operationalize the diversity discourse and practices of their institutions during the recruitment process. This study is guided by the belief that higher education institutions benefit from increasing diversity across campuses, and thus, increasing diversity is an objective during the recruitment process.

For the purposes of this study, diversity discourses are to be defined through practices, initiatives, language and policies integrated into higher education institutions that support recruitment and participation of diverse students in higher education. It is the goal of this research to gain a better understanding in regards to how college recruiters mobilize their institutions’ diversity definitions as they interact with students during college recruitment activities and events. These events include college fairs, and individual discussions recruiters have with prospective students. The goal of this research is to present and publish the findings in a peer-reviewed journal concerned with increasing diversity in institutions of higher learning in the United States.

The study is guided by the following research questions:

1. How do college recruiters and admissions representatives define diversity at their institutions?
2. What types and modes of discourse do college recruiters and admissions representatives use when talking about diversity at their institutions?
3. What discourses are not included in conversations about diversity during the recruitment process?
4. How do college recruiters and admissions representatives interact with diverse students?

6.2 Which methods will this study include? (check all that apply)

☒ Descriptive
☐ Ethnographic
☐ Experimental/Control Design
☐ Field work (***If checked, please include Appendix L)***
☐ Formative
☐ Longitudinal
☐ Oral history
☐ Phenomenological
☒ Qualitative
☐ Quantitative
☐ Other, specify : _____

6.3 Describe the research study design.

The study will be based on an exploratory design framework, wherein we will be utilizing qualitative research methods. We will be conducting sixteen individual interviews with college recruiters and admissions representatives. Our focus will be on a total of eight college and universities in Minnesota and Wisconsin. These interviews will be loosely structured, lasting approximately 30 minutes. The study will also include observation of three regional college recruiting fairs. This research will serve as a pilot for a more significant study of the college recruitment process as it relates to increasing diversity, which will begin in the fall of 2012.

6.4 Describe the tasks subjects will be asked to perform. Attach surveys, instruments, interview questions, focus group questions etc. Describe the frequency and duration of procedures, psychological tests, educational tests, and experiments; including screening, intervention, follow-up etc. (If you intend to pilot a process before recruiting for the main study please explain.)

The study will include individual interviews with college recruiters and admissions representatives. These interviews will be loosely structured, lasting approximately 30 minutes. The study will also include observation at college recruiting fairs.

6.4a List here any procedures that would be performed for these subjects if there were no research involved (i.e. procedures performed for diagnostic or treatment purposes)

None

6.5 How many months do you anticipate this research study will last from the time final approval is granted?

Four months

7. Participant Population

7.1 Expected number of participants: 16

8 **of Male** 8 **of Female**

7.2 Expected Age Range

Check all that apply:

☐ **0-7** (Include parental consent form)
☐ **8-17** (Include child's assent form and parental consent form)
X 18-64
☐ **65 and older**

Exact ages to be included:______

7.3 Inclusion/Exclusion of Children in this Research

If this study proposes to ***include*** children, this inclusion must meet one of the following criterion for risk/benefit assessment according to the federal regulations (45CFR56, subpart D).
Check the one appropriate box:

☐ (404) Minimal Risk
☐ (405) Greater than minimal risk, but holds prospect of direct benefit to subjects
☐ (406) Greater than minimal risk, no prospect of direct benefit to subjects, but likely to yield generalizable knowledge about the subject's disorder or condition.

Explain how this criterion is met for this study:

No children will be involved in this research.

If this study would ***exclude*** children, NIH guidelines advise that the exclusion be justified, so that potential for benefit is not unduly denied. Indicate whether there is potential for direct benefit to subjects in this study and if so, provide justification for excluding children. Note that if inclusion of children is justified, but children are not seen in the PI's practice, the sponsor must address plans to include children in the future or at other institutions.

X No direct benefit to participation (exclusion of children permissible)
☐ Potential for direct benefit exists.

Provide justification for exclusion of children:

Due to the nature of our study, children are excluded because they are not directly involved in the college recruiting and admissions process from the perspective of college recruiters.

7.4 Other Protected Populations to be Targeted or Included in this Research. Check all that apply:

Protected by Federal Regulations
☐ Pregnant Woman/Fetuses/IVF
Refer to guidance at http://www.research.umn.edu/irb/guidance/women.html and 45CFR46 subpart B
☐ Prisoners
Include Appendix C and Refer to and 45 CFR 46 subpart C on the populations protected by Federal Regulations

Protected by Federal Guidelines
Include Appendix I
☐ Mentally/Emotionally/Developmentally Disabled/Impaired Decision Making Capacity
☐ Minority Group(s) and Non-English Speakers
☐ Gender Imbalance—all or more of one gender

7.5 Inclusion and Exclusion of Subjects in this Research Study

Describe criteria for inclusion and exclusion of subjects in this study

Inclusion Criteria:

Inclusion in this research study consists of the following criteria:

1. The colleges have been chosen if they have initiated a diversity committee or task force within the past 10 years or if they have a specific focus on diversity in their institutional strategic plan.
2. The college recruiters or admissions counselors must identify as being a paid employee with job responsibilities that include recruiting prospective students to attend the higher education institution in which they are employed.

Exclusion Criteria:

No unpaid volunteer recruiters will be included in this study.

7.6 Location of subjects during research activity or location of records to be accessed for research:

Check all that apply:

☐ University of Minnesota Medical Center, Fairview
☐ Fairview Southdale
☐ Fairview Ridges
☐ Other Fairview Facility, specify: ______
☐ Gillette Children's Hospital
☐ Other Hospitals, specify: ______
☐ Community Clinic, specify: ______

☐ Elementary/Secondary Schools (*include Appendix M*), specify: ______
☐ Community Center, specify: ______
☒ University Campus (non-clinical), specify: ______
☐ University Campus (clinical), specify: ______

☐ Prisons/Halfway houses *(include Appendix C*), specify: ______
☐ Nursing Home(s), specify: ______
☐ Subject's Home, specify: ______
☐ International Location: ______ *(include Appendix K)*
☒ Other special institutions, specify: University of Minnesota, Twin Cities Campus, Minneapolis Technical & Community College, Hennepin Community & Technical College, Hamline University, Augsburg College, St. Cloud State University, University of WI Madison, University of WI Eau Claire, Chippewa Valley Technical College, Concordia University

7.7 Describe the rationale for using each location checked above. Include IRB approvals or letters of cooperation from other agencies or sites, if applicable.

Whenever possible, we hope to interview participants either over the phone, or at their institution so as to allow for access to recruiting materials and to establish a comfortable environment for research subjects.

8. Recruitment

8.1 Describe the recruitment process to be used for each group of subjects:

Attach a copy of any and all recruitment materials to be used e.g. advertisements, bulletin board notices, e-mails, letters, phone scripts, or URLs.

We will plan to email each potential recruiter asking for permission to interview them about their recruiting practices, particularly as it relates to diversity recruiting. We will be pulling their information from each institutions' online website. The initial email invitation and phone script for the interview is attached in the appendix.

For the college fair observations, we have public access to attend. We have gathered the location information from the following website: http://www.mn-acac.org/mc/page.do?sitePageId=100729&orgId=macac

8.2 Explain who will approach potential subjects to take part in the research study and what will be done to protect individuals' privacy in this process:

Initial contact of subjects identified through records search must be made by the official holder of the record, i.e. primary physician, therapist, public school official.

The researchers involved in this study will approach potential subjects to take part in the research study. The researchers will initiate first contact via email. If the potential subjects agree to participate in the study, we will then send the consent form (attached in the appendix).

Individuals' privacy in this process will be protected because the researchers will only address the potential subjects using the secure University of Minnesota email account, or work phone line. In the initial conversation, the researchers will clearly define the study and the potential risks and benefits prior the potential subjects agreeing to participate. The researchers guarantees confidentiality of the subject's personal information.

8.3 Are subjects chosen from records?

☐ **Yes.** Who gave approval for use of the records: ______
X **No.**

If yes, are records "private" medical or student records?

☐ **Yes.** Provide the protocol, consent forms, letters, etc. for securing consent of the subjects of the records. Written documentation for the cooperation/permission from the holder or custodian of the records should be attached.
☐ **No.**

8.4 University of Minnesota policy prohibits researchers from accepting gifts for research activities. Is the study sponsor offering any incentive connected with subject enrollment or completion of the research study (i.e. finders fees, recruitment bonus, etc.) that will be paid directly to the research staff?

☐ Yes.
X No.

If yes above, please affirm that you have declined acceptance of gifts in the box below.
Code of Conduct - ***http://www1.umn.edu/regents/policies/academic/Code_of_Conduct.pdf***

9. Risks and Benefits

9.1 Does the research involve any of these possible risks or harms to subjects?

Check all that apply:

☐ Use of a deceptive technique. (*Include Appendix N*)
☐ Use of private records (educational or medical records)
☐ Manipulation of psychological or social variables such as sensory deprivation, social isolation, psychological stresses
☐ Any probing for personal or sensitive information in surveys or interviews
☐ Presentation of materials which subjects might consider sensitive, offensive, threatening or degrading
☐ Possible invasion of privacy of subject or family
☐ Social or economic risk
☐ Other risks, specify: ______

9.2 Describe the nature and degree of the risk or harm checked above. The described risks/harms must be disclosed in the consent form.

In this project, there are no known economic, legal, physical, psychological, or social risks to participants in either immediate or long-range outcomes. We understand that it is not possible to identify all potential risks in an experimental procedure, but we believe that reasonable safeguards have been taken to minimize both the known and the potential, but unknown risks.

9.3 Explain what steps will be taken to minimize risks or harms and to protect subjects' welfare. If the research will include protected populations (see question 7.4) please identify each group and answer this question for each group.

The researchers involved in this study will keep all data collected in a secure location. We will not use any identifying information in the analysis or dissemination of our results. The recorded data from interviews will be deleted in a secure manner once the study is completed.

9.4 Describe the anticipated benefits of this research for individual subjects in each subject group. If none, state "None."

(**Hint**: For instance, if the intervention proves effective, subjects in active arms will benefit but controls will not.)

None

9.5 Describe the anticipated benefits of this research for society, and explain how the benefits outweigh the risks.

The anticipated benefits of this research for society are a greater awareness of how diversity is defined by institutions of higher education, what types of diversity discourse are included in the recruiting process, as well as what types of diversity discourse are excluded. This knowledge can then be used to assist institutions of higher education in improving the recruiting process for diverse students.

10. Confidentiality of Data

See Protecting Private Data Guideline from the Office of Information Technology (OIT) for information about protecting the privacy of research data.

10.1 Will you record any direct identifiers, names, social security numbers, addresses, telephone numbers, etc?

☐ Yes.
☒ No.

If yes, explain why it is necessary to record findings using these identifiers. Describe the coding system you will use to protect against disclosure of these identifiers.

10.2 Will you retain a link between study code numbers and direct identifiers after the data collection is complete?

☐ Yes.
☒ No.

If yes, explain why this is necessary and state how long you will keep this link.

10.3 Will you provide the link or identifier to anyone outside the research team?

☐ Yes.

X No.

If yes, explain why and to whom:

10.4 Where, how long, and in what format (such as paper, digital or electronic media, video, audio, or photographic) will data be kept? In addition, describe what security provisions will be taken to protect this data (password protection, encryption, etc.).

The recorded interview data will be stored on the University of Minnesota's MediaMill server. This server is protected and inaccessible to anyone other than the researchers. The data will be deleted after the analysis has been completed. This time is projected to be in September, 2012.

10.5 Will you place a copy of the consent form or other research study information in the subjects' record such as medical, personal or educational record? (This information should be explained on the consent form.)

☐ Yes.
X No.

If yes, explain why this is necessary:

10.6 Federal Certificates of Confidentiality

If the data collected contains information about illegal behavior, visit the NIH Certificates of Confidentiality Kiosk (http://grants1.nih.gov/grants/policy/coc/) for information about obtaining a Federal Certificate of Confidentiality.

Will you obtain a Federal Certificate of Confidentiality for this research?

☐ **Yes.** Submit documentation of application (and a copy of the Certificate of Confidentiality award if granted) with this application form.
☒ **No.**

11. Use of Protected Health Information (PHI): HIPAA Requirements

11.1 As part of this study, do you:

a. **Collect protected health information (PHI)* from subjects in the course of providing treatment/experimental care; or**
b. **Have access to PHI* in the subjects' records?**

Please read the definition of PHI below before answering.

*PHI is defined under HIPAA as health information transmitted or maintained in any form or medium that:

1. identifies or could be used to identify an individual;
2. is created or received by a healthcare provider, health plan, employer or healthcare clearinghouse; and

3. relates to the past, present or future physical or mental health or condition of an individual; the provision of health care to an individual; or the past, present or future payment for the provision of healthcare to an individual.

The following records ARE EXEMPTED from the definition of PHI even though they may contain health-related information: student records maintained by an educational institution and employment records maintained by an employer related to employment status. If your study uses these kinds of records, it is not subject to HIPAA. However, existing IRB rules on informed consent and confidentiality still apply.

Health-related information is considered PHI if (any of the following are true):

1. the researcher obtains it directly from a provider, health plan, health clearinghouse or employer(other than records relating solely to employment status);
2. the records were created by any of the entities in "1" and the researcher obtains the records from an intermediate source which is NOT a school record or an employer record related solely to employment status; OR
3. the researcher obtains it directly from the study subject in the course of providing treatment to the subject.

Health-related information is not considered PHI if the researcher obtains it from:

1. student records maintained by a school;
2. employee records maintained by an employer related to employment status; OR
3. the research subject directly, if the research does NOT involve treatment.

☐ **Yes. If yes to a or b above, complete Appendix H to show how you will satisfy HIPAA requirements for authorization to use PHI in research.**

☒ **No. If no, continue to section 12.**

12. Expedited Review Eligibility

Federal criteria for risk assessment make some studies eligible for Expedited Review (see 45 CFR46.110 and 21 CFR 56.110). Expedited review categories can be found at http://www.irb.umn.edu/expedited.html Studies eligible for Expedited Review must meet the federal definition of minimal risk, which is as follows: “"the probability and magnitude of harm or discomfort anticipated in the research are not greater in and of themselves than those ordinarily encountered in daily life or during the performance of routine physical or psychological examinations or tests". Expedited Review eligibility decisions are made by the IRB following receipt of the application.

12.1 What is the level of risk to subjects in this research study?

☒ **Not greater than minimal risk.** Justify minimal risk in accord with the federal definition and indicate which expedited review category (1-9) applies to this research:

Our research activities qualify for expedited review because they present no more than minimal risk to human subjects. Our research methodologies will employ interviews and observation and will focus not on the individual, but the individual as a representative of an institution of higher education who can inform us on policies and practices in place for recruiting prospective students into the higher education institution in which they are employed.

☐ **Greater than minimal risk (full committee review)**

13. Informed Consent Process

13.1 Recognizing that consent itself is a *process* of communication, build on your responses to questions 8.1 and 8.2 and describe what will be said to the subjects to introduce the research. Do not say "see consent form". Write the explanation in lay language. If you are using telephone surveys, telephone scripts are required.

During our interviews, we will state the following:

Hello,
Thank you for taking the time to speak with me today. As you recall, you agreed to participate in a phone interview about diversity and the college and university recruitment process. This research project will focus on bringing awareness and understanding of the ways in which college and university recruiters, as representatives of higher education institutions, address diversity. You were selected as a participant because you have self-identified as a staff member whose work focuses on recruiting high school students to attend your institution. We have sent you a consent form that you have reviewed and sent back to us signed. Do you have any additional questions before we begin the interviewed?

13.2 In relation to the actual data gathering, when will consent be discussed and documentation obtained? (e.g., mailing out materials, delivery of consent form, meetings) Be specific.

Consent will be discussed during our first contact with the participant, and the delivery of the consent form will happen at the first meeting with the participant. A consent form will be sent via email to recruiters once they agree to participate in the study. During our initial conversation before beginning the phone interviews, we will ask them if they have read and understand the consent form, have any questions, and finally, if they agree to participate in the study.

13.3 Will there be any waiting period between informing the prospective participant and obtaining the consent? Please explain.

Yes; the time between the first contact with the participant to schedule an interview, and the interview itself.

13.4 Will the investigator(s) be securing all of the informed consent?

X Yes.
☐ **No.**

If no, please name the specific individuals who will obtain informed consent and include their job title/credentials and a brief description of your plans to train these individuals to obtain informed consent and answer subjects' questions.

13.5 How will you determine who will give consent?

i.e. subject, parent, guardian, Legally Authorized Representative. If someone other than the subject will give consent, provide justification and a plan for obtaining surrogate consent.

Only the subject will be allowed to provide consent for him or herself.

13.6 Describe the steps taken to minimize the possibility of coercion or undue influence.

We will reiterate prior to starting our interviews the fact that subjects can withdraw from the study / interview at any point during the conversation.

13.7 If subjects are minors, will they still be involved in this study when they reach the age of majority (18)?

X N/A – No Minor Subjects
☐ No.
☐ Yes. If yes, outline your plan to re-consent these subjects at the age of majority:

Subject Comprehension

It is the responsibility of the investigator to assess comprehension of the consent process and only enroll subjects who can demonstrate informed understanding of the research study (45 CFR 46.116)

The federal regulations require that consent be in language understandable to the subject. If subjects do not comprehend English, translated consent forms are required or the use of short forms with an oral explanation can be accepted. (see the Consent Process & Forms section of our Web site)

13.8 What questions will you ask to assess the subjects' understanding of the risks and benefits of participation? (Questions should be open-ended and go beyond requiring only a yes/no response.)

- What questions do you have regarding the risks of this study?
- What questions do you have regarding the benefits of this study?
- Do you need an alternative explanation of the risks and benefits of this study?

Documentation of Consent

13.9 Prepare and attach a consent form for IRB review.

Please see the sample consent form and follow it carefully. Do not submit sponsor prepared forms without editing the form to include University of Minnesota IRB standard language and all essential elements of informed consent.

Under specific conditions, when justifiable, documentation of informed consent can be waived or altered. These limited conditions are described in 45 CFR 46.116 and 45 CFR 46.117. If you believe that this research qualifies according to the regulations, include Appendix W.

Resources for preparing informed consent forms:

- Informed Consent Online Tutorial – http://www.research.umn.edu/consent/
- Informed Consent section of the Human Subjects Guide - http://www.research.umn.edu/irb/guidance/guide4.html

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You have reached the end of this form. Please make sure that you have responded to every question on this application (even if your response is "not applicable").

Diversity and College Recruiting: Recruiting Email for Potential Participants

Dear College Recruiter [insert name],

I am a graduate student at the University of Minnesota and I am interested in exploring the recruiting process for prospective students at your institution. My research project aims to shed light on the ways in which college and university recruiters, as representatives of higher education institutions, address diversity during the recruiting process. For that reason, I am conducting interviews with college recruiters to better understand how recruiters interact with the diverse students they come in contact with to recruit. I am asking for your willingness to participate in a 30 minute interview with me about the processes and methods you use to most effectively recruit diverse students.

I am inviting you to participate in my study because you work as a recruiter for your institution. Participation in this study is completely confidential and you can withdraw from the study at any point in time. If you agree to participate, I will send you an electronic consent form and follow up with you to schedule either a phone or in-person interview at a location that is convenient to you.

Please email me at hakk0004@umn.edu or call me at 763.229.9129 if you are interested in participating in this interview or if you have any questions or concerns.

Thank you,

Leah Hakkola
Ph.D. Student / Research Assistant
Department of Organizational Leadership, Policy, & Development
College of Education & Human Development
University of Minnesota
Cell: 763.229.9129

Appendix C: University of Minnesota IRB Continuing Review Approval

Continuing Review of IRB - Approved

Social & Behavior Science Research

Study Number: **1204P13002** Principal Investigator: **Leah N Hakkola** Title(s): Diversity and College Recruiting

Study Status

Data Analysis Only

Funding Source(s)

There are no funding sources for this study.

Personnel

Hakkola, Leah (Student P. I.) Ropers-Huilman, Rebecca (Advisor)

Study Enrollment

Number of Subjects Approved for study: 16

Number of subjects enrolled this reporting period: Male Female Unknown Total

Number of subjects enrolled to date: Male Female Unknown Total

Is this a multi-center study? Yes

Total national accrual to date: Unknown

Unanticipated Problem Reporting

Have there been any unanticipated problems, subject withdrawals, or complaints about this research? No

Has the risk/benefit relationship for subjects changed from the initial expectation? No

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Review Period:

02/09/2014 - 04/03/2015

Rev: 03/01/2005

6	6	0	12
7	7	44	58

Study Summary

Summarize preliminary information about any results and/or trends:

In the past year, I completed 12 interviews with college recruiters at Macalester College and the University of Minnesota. All recruiters agreed to participate in my study and signed the IRB consent form. I transcribed all of my interviews in the

last several months and coded them based on major discourses/themes that emerged in my literature review. I then analyzed these themes using Critical Discourse Analysis. My preliminary findings are that institutions represent "diversity" using the discourses of internationalism, neoliberalism and social justice. While recruiters tended to draw from these larger discourses, their understandings of diversity were also shaped by their past experiences, personal identities and social positioning. These two findings revealed that discourses of diversity are sometimes complimentary, and sometimes competing with each other. There are ramifications for how these discourses may affect students who identify as diverse and may or may not be represented in the texts, images and conversations about the importance of "diversity" at those institutions.
Observations in this study included visiting one college recruitment fair in the fall of 2014. The identity that recruiters enacted in their work at the fair was my main focal point in my observations, as I was specifically interested in the interactions between recruiters and students. During these observations, I acted as an observer because I was in a public space that was accessible to everyone (Merriam, 1998). I took several photographs, collected recruitment materials and observed how recruiters and students interacted with one another. I recorded field notes throughout my observations to supplement my other data collection methods. Aligned with Merriam questions (p. 106) field notes procedure, my notes included the following items: 1. Verbal descriptions of the setting, the people, the activities 2. Direct quotations or at least the substance of what people said 3. Observer questions comments put in margins or in the running narrative and identified by underlining, bracketing, and the initials. My field notes were not analyzed using critical discourse analysis, but were used to triangulate my understandings when I analyzed the recruiter interviews and recruitment materials. I used narrative analysis as my data analysis procedure for my observations. Through narrative analysis, I investigated these stories and the themes that emerge from them, as well as identified absences of particular discourses during interactions and communication at the fair. Combining narrative analysis with CDA highlighted both convergences of themes regarding diversity, as well as showed competing discourses about how diversity is understood and mobilized from a personal standpoint. Finally, use of observation data, combined with my other methods served to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the discourses of diversity used in the entire recruitment process. I am now in the process of weaving together all of my findings into a larger findings and discussion chapter of my dissertation.
Have there been any changes in protocol approved by the IRB since last continuing review? No

Since the most recent IRB continuing review approval, have there been any progress reports on the research?
No

Since the most recent IRB continuing review approval, have there been any multi-center trial reports? No
Since the most recent IRB continuing review approval, have there been any other information relevant to this research discovered, especially information about the risks and benefits associated with the research?
No Since the most recent IRB continuing review approval, have subjects experienced any benefits?

No

External Findings
Is there anything in the relevant recent literature that the IRB should know about concerning this research?
No

Other Comments

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Appendix D: IRB Participant Consent Form

An Exploration of Diversity Discourses in College Recruitment Processes

IRB number: 1204P13002

You are invited to be in a research study exploring the understandings of diversity in the college recruitment process. You were selected as a possible participant because you are involved in admissions or recruiting at your institution. I ask that you read this form and ask any questions you may have before agreeing to be in the study.

This study is being conducted by: Leah Hakkola, a Doctoral Candidate in the Department of Organizational Leadership, Policy, & Development, University of Minnesota, Wulling Hall, 86 Pleasant Street SE Minneapolis, MN 55455

Background Information

The purpose of this study is: 1) To investigate how institutional diversity discourses are represented, communicated, and discussed in recruitment policies and practices as they relate to rationales supporting diversity in higher education, and 2) To explore how admissions units and recruiters enact and support particular diversity discourses in their work with diverse prospective students. Through the method of critical discourse analysis, this comparative case study will investigate the narratives, texts, images and stories used to construct efforts to increase diversity in higher education, while analyzing these elements through the lens of Critical Race Theory.

Procedures:

If you agree to be in this study, I would ask you to do the following things:
Be involved in a one time in person 45 to 60 minute interview that will be audio taped.

Risks and Benefits of being in the Study

The study has no risks.

The benefits to participation are:

The study has no benefits.

Compensation:

You will receive no compensation for participating in this study.

Confidentiality:

The records of this study will be kept private. In any sort of report I might publish, I will not include any information that will make it possible to identify a subject. Research records will be stored securely and only researchers will have access to the records. Study data will be encrypted according to current University policy for protection of confidentiality. Only the researcher, Leah Hakkola, will have access to the interview data and all identifying information will be omitted in the transcription process.

Voluntary Nature of the Study:

Participation in this study is voluntary. Your decision whether or not to participate will not affect your current or future relations with the University of Minnesota or Macalester College. If you decide to participate, you are free to not answer any question or withdraw at any time without affecting those relationships.

Contacts and Questions:

The researcher conducting this study is: Leah Hakkola. You may ask any questions you have now. If you have questions later, **you are encouraged** to contact them at the University of Minnesota, Wulling Hall, 86 Pleasant Street SE Minneapolis, MN 55455, (763) 229-9129, or hakk0004@umn.edu. You may also contact my advisor, Rebecca Ropers-Huilman at the University of Minnesota, Wulling Hall, 86 Pleasant Street SE Minneapolis, MN 55455, 612-624-1006, or ropers@umn.edu

If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study and would like to talk to someone other than the researcher(s), **you are encouraged** to contact the Research Subjects' Advocate Line, D528 Mayo, 420 Delaware St. Southeast, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455; (612) 625-1650.

You will be given a copy of this information to keep for your records.

Statement of Consent:

I have read the above information. I have asked questions and have received answers. I consent to participate in the study. *[Avoid statements that begin with "I understand…".]*

Signature:____ Date: _________

Signature of Investigator:___________________________________ Date: __________