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Éditorial/Editorial

In an effort to optimize healthcare, people (that is, patients, providers, and funders) have started to increasingly scrutinize nurses' practices, whether these relate to assessments, plans of care, interventions, or evaluations. What people want to know is, what is the utility, efficacy, and effectiveness of the services being recommended, delivered, and paid for? Do these interventions induce their intended outcomes, or do they cause more harm than good? This trend, which is commonly known as evidence-based practice, has challenged all healthcare practices. There are no sacred practices seemingly beyond the apparently critical gaze of evidence-based practice. From this lens, everything should be subject to critique and critical review.

While the foregoing aim of evaluating everything seems ideal, it is not as comprehensive in practice. What is lost in this new movement is the actual practice of critical appraisal. In decrying the previous approach of providing care based on anecdotal evidence, personal opinion, and historical practice trends, we have failed to maintain the foundational premise of critical reflection: to question and challenge everything. Indeed, the basic tenets are simple: question that which we are told is best; ask how and why one item has been established as ideal; and challenge the prevailing norms, so as to fulfill our professional obligations of providing patient care that achieves patients' goals. Such critical thinking, which should be a central aspect of evidence-based practice, however, is often applied to everything but evidence-based practice itself. Reflecting on if, how, when, and in what ways evidence-based practice helps, including a review of how evidence-based practice is implemented, is required.

What appears to have happened is that, in opposition to a previous mindset, wherein initiatives were simply applied, we now seem to be unable to provide care until the so-called right type of evidence emerges. We have become dangerously immobilized in the absence of evidence. But does this make sense? Is this actually a change in how we care for patients? It seems to be little more than the replacement of one dogma with another. Instead of practicing without evidence (what I suggest is the previous *modus operandi*), we now simply do nothing when there is no evidence (the current approach). How is this different from before though? Does this new approach actually improve patient care, or does it simply create a new form of practice that is equally devoid of critically thinking?. Now, it simply seems that we have becoming unable, or at least increasingly reluctant, to address inequities and suffering due to a paucity of allegedly

good, correct, or adequate evidence. Now, we stand by and blame our unwillingness to change and our fear to act on the new trend of evidence-based practice. I will explain this point using a recent discussion I had at a conference about screening and men's health.

Since 1979, the Canadian Preventative Care Task Force recommended the abolition of the annual health examination. They advocated, instead, for a periodic health examination that was tailored to each patient. Their logic was that indiscriminate annual examinations not only were costly, but also (and most importantly) caused innumerable instances of harm. That is, incidental findings arose from tests with poor sensitivity and specificity in the context of low prevalence figures for the tested-for conditions. The result was needless treatments, which ranged from rather benign interventions to the outright removal of perfectly healthy organs. Some of the damage was irreparable. (As an example of this evolution of screening guidelines, consider the recent changes to recommendations for cervical cancer screening.)

Accordingly, the periodic health examination has been adjusted to maximize the detection of pathologies, while minimizing the potential for harm. However, the pendulum has now swung so far toward evidence-based practice that it has become nearly impossible to recommend new strategies in the abscence of experimental studies that establish sensitivity and specificity values. For example, while we have good data showing that men who engage in receptive anal intercourse (i.e., men who are penetrated anally as part of their sexual practices) have elevated rates of anal cancer due to the acquisition of sexually transmitted human papillomavirus (HPV), clinicians are reluctant to undertaken any sort of examination or screening for such cancer in the absence of a validated screening tool. This leaves us with the situation of known harm (men being diagnosed with advanced stage cancer), and clinicians being reluctant to do any screening because there is no evidence for such screening. Here, we are witnessing the ongoing manifestation of harm and clinicians who refuse to act because now one has yet to establish the sensitivity of a digital anal-rectal examination for cancer detection. (Please note that the examination I am discussing here is known as a DARE, which focuses on detecting abnormalities on the anal verge, and should not be confused with the better-known DRE, or digital rectal examination, which targets the prostate and its associatied pathologies.)

In light of the current situation, I am reminded of words from Oscar Wilde, "everything in moderation, even moderation". Perhaps, in considering this phrase, it is time we apply the same logic to evidence-based practice and be moderate in our excitement for evidence? To simply demand evidence—and often specific forms of evidence only—we have simply replaced one dogma with another. How is this an improvement? It is still an uncritical practice. This does not

mean that evidence-based practice is worthless; it is simply that we need to begin functioning in a world of evidence that is based on shades of grey, not black and white, not good versus bad, and not best practices and other. Indeed, we need to step back and say, evidence is indeed needed and warranted. However, are we so myopic that we cannot be critical of evidence and the evidence-based approach as well? Evidence-based practice ushered into a new era of critically examining healthcare practices. As part of this, we must not lose sight of critical reflection, and accidently adopt a new mindset mindlessly. The absence of evidence does not equal evidence that something does not work. Rather than letting history judge this new approach, should we not begin to do so now?

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Abstract
The health impact of music is an emerging interest of research, although few studies have attempted to understand what it might be specifically about popular music that momentarily lifts people and gives them an immediate sense of wellbeing. This paper proposes some basic ideas in this area, using Daft Punk's Get Lucky to explore how such experiences might be facilitated from an artistic and production standpoint. Features the song and its performance scenarios are related to Deleuzian ideas on affect. It is suggested that the physical characteristics of musical sound contribute an important auditory ingredient to affective intensities; mobile energies emerging from force encounters within assemblages of humans and non-humans. These intensities might be experienced as 'feeling states'; somatically registered vibes and passions that flow through songs, environments and listeners alike. Through the registering of lyrical and other meanings, these feeling states might then slide into consciously known attitudes and emotions.

Key Words affect, Daft Punk, music, non-representational theory, place, wellbeing

A Force from the Beginning: Wellbeing in the Affective Intensities of Pop Music

GAVIN J ANDREWS

Introduction

> Everything [in popular music] was so angular, so preset and so defaulted. The first time we put out something that felt festive and celebratory it was like...[pauses] ..the way people have reacted to it! You know, they don't have to, but the fact that they have sort of confirms that there is a shift and people just want to be happy again. And I'm just happy to be a punctuation in the sentence of the history of this year. [Pharrell Williams GQ Awards Interview, Sept 2013]

A traditional but modernised disco jam, Get Lucky is co-written and co-performed by cult house music duo Daft Punk (Thomas Bangalter and Guy-Manuel de Homem-Christo), musician/producer Nile Rodgers, and singer/producer/musician Pharrell Williams. The song was released in April 2013 and, after gaining extensive radio play, rapidly emerged as a worldwide phenomenon. It eventually peaked at the top of the record sales charts in over 20 countries, sold well over eight million units in official downloads and hard copies, and was viewed over 200 million times on YouTube. Get Lucky was, 'the song' of the summer. It was, for a time, difficult to get away from, yet it was liked by broad sections of the general public and hard-nosed music critics alike (winning two Grammys for 'record of the year' and 'best pop performance'). Important to this success, as Pharrell mentions in the interview extract shown above, Get Lucky possess a positivity feeling and message that resounded with listeners in the context of a post-recession world.

The positivity aspect of Get Lucky is a critical motivation for its consideration in the current paper. As the following review will explain, although the health and wellbeing impacts of music are a growing interest of academic research, few studies have investigated how they might emerge in

everyday songs, situations and environments. Get Lucky, as a recent and a quite famous example of a 'feel good' song, is well suited as a starting point to investigate this specifically from an artistic/production perspective. Aspects of the song, and the way it is presented and performed, are framed in the paper by Gilles Deleuze's concept on 'affect'; particularly its onflow as environment, and movement to and from emotion.

Music, health, and wellbeing

A range of disciplines have, over the last two decades, explored the relationships between health, wellbeing and music.[1-3] The health sciences have demonstrated how music can be utilized quite practically in caring situations and contexts establishing, for example, its efficacy as a therapeutic and technical tool in medical research, diagnosis and treatment across various clinical specialities including psychiatry,[4,5] audiology and hearing medicine,[6,7] obstetrics and gynaecology,[8-9] oncology,[10,11] palliative and end-of-life care,[12,13] cardiology,[14,15] general surgery,[16,17] and dentistry[18-19]. Moreover they have also focused on its efficacy for treating particular demographic and client cohorts such as children (in neonatology and paediatrics),[20,21] older people (in gerontology and geriatrics),[22,23] and people with physical and intellectual disabilities (in community health)[24,25]. In terms of benefits, it has been argued that through its positive impact on both the body and mind, music can help reduce pain, blood pressure, stress, depression and tiredness, as well as help increase emotional strength and resilience, confidence, contentment, attention and relaxation.[26-29] Notably, many of the interventions on which these observations are based involve the specific use of 'music therapy'; an holistic modality of complementary medicine integrated into conventional health care settings in various ways and to various degrees.[30-31]

Music, of course, is not always part of treatment and exists, for the most part, outside and 'upstream' of medicine where it potentially impacts on public health positively or negatively (or does not impact at all). In a basic cause-and-effect sense, relationships exist, for example, between dancing and fitness levels [32-33], and performing/listening to music and physical and emotional injuries [34-35]. Most relationships are however not so clear or deterministic, and are relative to political and cultural contexts. For example, public health interventions have explored how certain genres of music can be helpful in enhancing and delivering public health messages to youth[36] and investing them more generally in health-related initiatives, practice and research.[37] On the other hand, musical cultures might also be aligned to, but not necessarily cause, poor health and wellbeing outcomes particularly in the contexts of drug use,[38-39] degrading and stigmatizing imagery,[40] urban crime and violence,[41] unrealistic expectations and negative self-perceptions,[42] high risk sexual behaviour[43] and even extremist political movements[44-45].

Outside medicine and public health, longstanding relationships exist between music and the idea of 'social wellbeing' (i.e. the meeting of human rights, needs and security on a collective, community level) through musicians addressing social causes in their songs, performances, activism and other activities[46] and this, in turn, influencing their listeners[47]. Andrews et al.[1,48] note that a first phase such activity spanned the 1930s to 1950s, when popular gospel, blues and jazz musicians began to publicise threats to human rights and liberties. A second phase spanned the 1960s and 1970, when big name rock artists and bands more firmly cemented the tradition of musicians focusing on broad societal problems such as vulnerability and inequality, injustice and oppression, marginalization and exclusion, deprivation and conflict - in various forms and scales.[49] A third and long-running current phase arrived during the mid-1980s. Here, although the concerns of the first and second phase continued[50-51] – particularly through a new generation of Hip Hop artists[52] - on another level they have also become more pragmatic, reactive and emergency focused, grounded in the vast Band Aid/Live Aid/ Live8 activities of 1984-2005 and their focus on the survival, health and prosperity of populations in Sub-Saharan Africa. Notably, as part of the current phase, the most famous of musicians have emerged as powerful agents able to exert direct leverage at the global scale.[48,53-55] Whilst they have embarked upon various activities (from musical events to direct involvement in organizations, financial initiatives and politics) and have achieved many of their goals (particularly in terms of debt relief, boycott, policy change, fundraising and public awareness) a critique of their 'celebrity diplomacy' has also emerged, that helps balance opinion. This raises concerns with the accuracy, simplification, contradiction, hypocrisy and partiality in their arguments and projects.[48,55-59]

Beyond celebrity, in the last twenty years musical activity on social wellbeing has diversified considerably, involving many different kinds of musically-led activities, activism and social commentary - often at more modest local and regional scales – and different kinds of group agencies, cohesions and identities. Festival attendance and culture, for example, has exploded in popularity across the globe; festivals being times and spaces existing outside 'normal life', that are attached to

various social causes, spiritualism, globalism and utopianism, and wider commercial interests.[60-61] Another growing phenomenon is 'community music therapy' as a way groups work in their own local cultural contexts to communicate, articulate and overcome their members' common challenges, and increase their collective wellbeing.[62-63] Meanwhile a 'post-Live Aid' grass-roots phenomenon has solidified whereby the important, yet often understated, activism of the many thousands of amateur and more modestly profiled professional musicians is gaining recognition. Their diverse concerns for social wellbeing have spanned not only developing world contexts and issues but have also evolved within developed world urban cultures.[64-65]

In addition to the varied, yet relatively specialist and prescribed situations dealt with in the above literatures, wellbeing can also be part of peoples' everyday experience of popular music. Indeed, as Ansdell[66] outlines, at one level the everyday consumption of popular music can have potentially profound personal impacts and consequences such as helping people build and negotiate their own identities and identities with other people and things, helping them establish and maintain relationships in non-verbal ways, and find moments of transcendence and meaning that might promote change in their lives. Moreover, at another level, as most people 'know' to be the case, music simply makes them feel good and just a little bit better as they go about their regular lives (which is a big part of why they purchase and listen to it). In terms of understanding how and why these things occur at both levels, various explanations have been proposed. Whilst there are those that focus on underlying biochemical and physiological responses in bodies,[67] others are more psycho-social in orientation. Of the latter, most recently for example, De Nora[68] draws on the work of Goffman and Foucault, and suggests music is used as a 'technology of the self'; a very brief encounter and aesthetic experience through which individuals can work on themselves – in that moment and thereafter - to reinforce their actions, identities and capacities in a ever institutionalised world. Notably, both within this particular post-structuralist understanding and more generally, listeners' emotions are known to play an important and intricate role,[69-73] as do their specific listening situations and practices[52,74-79] in facilitating positive memories, feelings and outlooks – including empowerment, hope and utopian desires for a better way of being.

In terms of understanding how wellbeing is worked specifically into the form of popular music, far less research has been conducted and even less is known. Scholars have noted how particular genres and styles of music are purposefully aligned to particular wellbeing feelings and experiences - including, for example, popular jazz and ambient music with simplistic therapeutic moments,[80-81] rock songs and venues with hope, healing, realism and escapism[82-83] - but an opportunity remains to dig far deeper. To pick apart and consider far more fundamentally the basic structures, techniques, processes and performance aspects of popular music and how they might, through their combined unfolding in environments, help give rise to wellbeing experiences. Indeed, as Pharrell commented himself in The Guardian Newspaper on 9th March 2014 "I always want to put something medicinal into my music. To always have some nutrients. It can't be just shan't, you know what I mean?". Looking for these nutrients, and the challenges this poses, raises the potential of 'affect' as an investigatory and explanatory concept.

Affective environments

Affect is a capacity and transitioning of the body; for it to be affected by bodies, to modify and then to affect other bodies. As Thrift[84] notes, affect has a diverse philosophical precedent and grounding in the work of such eminent scholars as Plato, Kant and Rousseau, but importantly, still has no single common understanding. A number of different explanations exist that span hundreds of years of academic thought including phenomenological and social interactionist (emphasizing embodied practices that create visible actions), psychoanalytical (emphasizing practices that emerge from and as human drives), Darwinian (emphasizing expressions of emotions that are similar across species). It is however a fourth explanation, a specifically naturalistic one, that has been most influential in recent years, which this paper draws on to the greatest degree. Originating in Spinozas Ethics and his early philosophical reasoning of mind, body and nature, the naturalistic explanation was later developed and articulated more extensively in Deleuzian critical theory,[85-86] most recently re-emerged across sociology and human geography, in the latter discipline as a key testing concept in the turn towards Non-Representational Theory, and approaches to understand the 'taking place' of the active world.[87] In much geographical research it is argued that the 'affective environment' is affect's collective manifestation and transhuman happening in space-time involving interactions between all physical things assembled and moving (from atoms and molecules, to the more complex forms of matter, to complete human bodies and non-human objects [88-89]). The result being an intensity that is experienced amongst people (transpersonally) less-

than-fully consciously as a sensation or 'feeling state'. This manifests to them on a somatic register, as a vague yet intense vibe or passion.[90-91] Hence, one might think of the overall affective process and experience as a highly variable yet constantly occurring part of peoples' lives in which they participate. A part that is endlessly streaming situated in-between, but complexly related to, what is physically happening, and what they observe, reason and know to have happened.

Because affect implies a transition from one experiential state of the body to another, it potentially impacts on wellbeing, in either positive or negative ways, through it having a bearing on people's energy, and their capacity for engagement and involvement. Spinoza and Deleuze[85] argue that whilst negative affection (a sorrowful or sad affect) acts like a toxin that weighs people down and reduces their capacity to operate physically and mentally, positive affection (a joyful or euphoric affect) acts as a nutrition that carries people forwards and increases their capacity to operate physically and mentally (whether they participate in the affective environment by chance or due to conscious decisions [e.g. 92-94]). These processes suggest a fundamental rethink of what should be the starting point and basic unit of analysis in studies of health and wellbeing; a movement from a focus on the 'body-with-organs' to a focus on far broader assemblages [95] and the environments within which they unfold and make [92]. In sum then, given these impacts, affect works in two particular ways with regard to wellbeing. At one level, impacting on a person's capacity, it leads to positive or negative feeling states associated with enhanced or degraded engagement in itself (being able or unable to undertake activity A, B or C or being able to undertake activity A, B or C with more or less ease). At another level, it enhances or limits engagements in specific types of activities which themselves produce specific positive affective feeling states (the affective experience of actually doing activity D, E or F). Notably, for some of these activities, a range of more fully-conscious and traditionally measurable positive health outcomes also exist in unison (such as cardiovascular health through forms of fitness, and tangible wellbeing outcomes through forms of work/income, leisure, social contact and political involvement).

Although certain affects might arise from relatively 'natural' social or physical conditions and situations (such as persons entering an untouched natural landscape), reflecting the situations people most typically find themselves in throughout their lives, the majority exist as part of human designs (even if the designer is not concerned to affect per-se). As Thrift[84] argues, affects are often created by self-interested parties that purposefully provide certain textured feels to the things people do and places where they reside. Music, for example, is a highly engineered sound that potentially contributes to affect in the place within which it is played. On the one hand, it helps create the immediate affective experience of being in that place.[74-76] On the other hand, if it reoccurs and is predictably present, it helps create a particular 'affective possibility'; somewhere that is known for particular feeling states, that people might be attracted to and seek out. Moreover, because value is attached by people to particular affective feeling states and things (such as music) that help create them, one might talk about markets for affects, whereby financial resources are distributed and exchanged in their production and consumption.[96]

Notably two significant methodological challenges persist when investigating affect. The first is the involvement of the researcher's own emotions and other judgement filters when attempting to make sense of affect - something that they do not fully cognitively experience. As Pile[97] explains, a researcher, like any individual, might witness, experience or add to an affective state but any later contemplation of this state inevitably involves their full cognition and their personally, socially and historically affixed interpretations which provide a false consciousness of it.[96,98] Thus, affect cannot be truly recalled. The second challenge is related to representation and the fact that the researcher's written words, no matter how expressive and colourful they might be, can never directly expose a vibrant sensory happening, and will inevitably change and deaden it. Thus, affect cannot be written. In response, researchers can recognise these constraints and employ a number of mitigating strategies including, in terms of data collection, a heightened awareness and use of their own senses during observations, and also providing other access points to the object of focus (such as audio, video and photographs).[99-101] In terms specifically of writing, they might and select words and phrases that are as true and honest as possible to the event that unfolded, and attempt to provide detailed description of the energy and momentum of what happened.[98,102] In short, all this might be done, so legitimate attempts are made at 'relaying', 'conveying' and 'presenting' empirical realities more than (re)representing them. These strategies are used in the following study of Get Lucky, which employs structural analysis of the song, video and video analysis, personal observation and reflection, reflections of a second person, and a scan of blogs and fan sites.

Onflows of basic and technical sound

"Daft Punk and I were on unified plane of grooviness"
(Nile Rogers in The Telegraph, 30th June, 2013)
Link One: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=h5EofwRzit0

Affect commences with a particle physics that turns social; atomic and molecular processes that cannot be observed with the human eye yet are continually at play, unremittingly forming and moving the materiality of everyday life.[88] Those associated with heat, light, kinetics are all important to affect, and those that underlie sound contribute an important auditory component. As Andrews et al.[92] remind us, all sound is structured and delivered by soundwaves; longitudinal pressure waves formed by vibrating objects that disturb air molecules causing them to move. The result is a pulsating motion of air, its molecules rebounding off objects or vibrating them; the sound heard being the variation in density/pressure picked up by the human ear (and its own biological molecules). Soundwaves vary in frequency (the number of back and forth vibrations in a given time), the sensation of frequency being pitch (whereby the higher the frequency of the wave, the higher the pitch). Soundwaves also have intensity (energy transported through time and space) which can be picked up by the human ear, and/or measured mechanically or electronically in decibels, as loudness. Musical soundwaves in particular possess certain characteristics. Whereas non-musical sound is a mixture of frequencies whereby no regular mathematical relationships exist between them (often neutral, unremarkable or even unpleasant to the ear), musical sound is a mixture of frequencies whereby regular mathematical relationships do exist between them (often noticeable, engaging and pleasant to the ear). Beats meanwhile occur within much musical sound as regular short bursts at a noticeably higher decibel level, and notify the tempo (speed) of the music. In addition, with most musical sound, multiple sources of sound result in multiple simultaneous and complementary frequencies - and often constructive interference and/or harmony (whereby two wavelengths combine to positive acoustic effect). In Get Lucky, this sound energy comes through in particular, technically manipulated, forms (see link one).

Get Lucky is played in the key of F-Sharp, runs at a tempo of 116 Beats Per Minute with a Chord structure (Bm7-D-F#m7-E) that does not vacillate. These facets give the song a consistency, and drive it straight through its four minutes and eight seconds within minimal change. They also act as a solid base upon which a range of more specific techniques and content are placed. From the outset in Get Lucky two introductory bars, each with four riffs, present a simple rhythm that showcases the entire song to come. All instruments - guitar, bass, drums and various keyboards and electronics - enter the fray at once, yet it is the bars played on a lightly effected Stratocaster guitar, that immediately stand out. The riff, constituted of eight or so quick strums, is immediately infectious and begs you to move with it, to be part of it (the listeners' inner voice mimics "der de, der de, der de, de de der der…."). Rogers' crisp 'funky' movements and each of his strums, is responsible for the song's immediate momentum. It is a momentum, like with much classic funk, that is constituted of hundreds of tiny moments, with just a micro-second of anticipation and expectation for the next moment to come. As Pharrell explains in the song 'the present has no rhythm'. Indeed, rhythm is always leaping towards, and commencing, the next moment. The song continues, rolling seamlessly through a basic verse-chorus-verse-chorus-bridge-chorus format (order ABABCB), only the bridge being distinct, with its heavier synthesized sounds and repeating 'robot' vocals (yet still overlaying the hooks/melodies from the chorus and pre-chorus). In most of the song it is the more organic sounds of drums, guitar, bass guitar that dominate, with digital sounds and effects placed subtly in the background (making the song contemporary without making a conscious point about it).

Get Lucky has a consistency and thus 'catchiness' that results from two specific structural features. Firstly, refrains (regular repetition) are a key element of the song (notably as with much other music and its affective qualities[103]). The riff, for example, is repeated 100 times in three very close varieties in four chord loops, and the words "up all night to get lucky", for example, 40 times in two styles (including once 18 times consecutively, once eight times consecutively and twice four times consecutively). Secondly, Get Lucky possess an ongoing and unresolved harmonic tension.[104] It does not contain or rely on a 'build' (which common in much dance music to increase intensity and take listeners onwards and forwards to a 'higher level'), but instead generates positive energy throughout by simply never settling to a 'home chord'. This sets up an underlying anticipation in the song which is never resolved or released, just recycled and set back in motion.[104] All is not perfect however and, as we know well as listeners, just as refrains have the potential to engage us by providing a consistent familiar experience, they also have the potential to annoy us in the longer term, for example if we are overexposed to a song being cyclically repeated. Harmonic tension can potentially mitigate negative experiences of overexposure. Indeed because listeners have never reached

the song's destination (because one never emerges from the tension), they are forever exploring its journey (which does not so easily wear thin or 'get old' for them). However, despite this mitigating quality of harmonic tension, its capacity is not limitless in this regard, and a certain degree of overexposure will inevitably lead to negative experiences. 'The gift keeps on giving', but certainly not forever.

Body and object happenings

As described, the physical and technical features of popular music are important to its affect, yet just as crucial is where and how music is played, experienced and interacted with. Indeed amongst a complex set of inter-relationships that can be described between sound, affect and space, is the reality that both sound and affect are dependent on space. Both need to literally to 'take-place' - emerge in space/time within an active assemblage of humans (bodies) and non-humans (objects) - in order to exist.

So how might this work? Affect brings attention to the body's relational capacities to act and interact with other things. In terms of process, a shift in an individual's energy and capacity emerges as their body becomes affected within a local assemblage of bodies and objects.[105] This is a rapid, continually repeating and open process. Within bodies, physical reactions and adjustments might be obvious (such as audible sounds or rapid full limb movements) or subtle (such as a tremble, eye or mouth movement). In turn, these reactions become visible to other bodies that are affected, and so on.[97] These relationships are modulated by the presence, and relative positioning and movement of objects (which might be large, small or minute; noticeable, not so noticeable or invisible), the numerous physical 'things' that surround bodies and interact with them to various degrees. In this sense, affective environments can therefore be thought of as the taking place of force-encounters; as the happening of the ebbs, swells and flows of intensities passing between bodies with objects.[106] Ultimately the result is a 'trans-human' experience, whereby bodies experience themselves expansively as more than themselves; as part of a greater physical happening.[107]

Such coming together of, and interactions between, bodies also necessitates a rethink of the fundamental nature of human togetherness. Whilst traditional forms of togetherness based on personally and collectively known social positioning and identity (for example in terms of class, gender or taste) will always be important to many aspects of human life, it might be that togetherness can arise prior to this, through affect, in different forms. As Thrift[108] posits, affect introduces the possibility that togetherness might also be about quite subtle and less conscious forms of human binding and harmony that arise between individuals through their gathering and their parts and exchanges in immediate and continual shifting spatial positioning.[108-109] Indeed, while traditional forms of togetherness are communicated through language and a conscious reading other bodies, 'affective togetherness' occurs prior to any such communications [84]. Thus affective togetherness is about what people are doing with other people in places energetically in moments, at the point at which who they are is not apparent and does not yet matter.

Of course, theses points in mind, Get Lucky might contribute towards an affect almost anywhere it is played (whether this be, for example, a night club, a bedroom, a train, in a shop etc). Not only is each context unique, each individual occasion is unique, and thus the experiential possibilities are almost endless. Three illustrations - from countless millions around the world - are the song's official promotional video, one of the researcher's own experiences, and one of his family member's experiences. Whilst the former showcases the purposeful production of an affective environment by the artist and record company, the latter showcase the emergence of more organic and random events.

The first illustration

The video starts with a close up shot of Roger's transparent Stratocaster. Whilst one might consciously register the make, perhaps more important is that the guitar is itself moving up and down as Rogers strums and dances. It is creating the auditory rhythm, but has its own physical movements and rhythm. The camera soon pans out to reveal Roger's smiling head which is also dipping and bobbing in time. Rogers might be operating the guitar, yet he too has his own physical movement and rhythm.

Next coming into view are the two Daft Punk 'robots', one on the bass guitar, the other on drums. Their helmets present them as shiny faceless bodies; neutral, clean, without personality. Their gloved hands hit drums and play notes, and they are also moving; both creating rhythm and being rhythm. They are a moving anonymity, a moving blank, a modernist machine spectacle, that entices.

The camera turns to Pharrell. He is moving and dancing but is more expressive and purposeful with his gestures. A subtle smile here and there, a point and look up "to the Stars". A cheeky bite of his lip, then sweep of the arm "coming to far". A subtle fist pump "to get some'. A pull on his lapel, "to get

lucky". This might choreographed, but you don't think about that. He's enjoying himself, moving, getting into it.

Eventually we see the entire band. Its only them, on their own, in black against a black background . Yet this emptiness seems only to enhance their collective energy and movement. Their suits glitter in the studio lights creating human mirrorballs. Stars sparkle and twinkle in time behind them; a flash here a flicker there. The camera is also moving around, circling and going in and out, participating with the band.

The second illustration

It's an early summers evening and I'm driving through Toronto on my way back home, after visiting a museum with son. I hadn't heard Get Lucky before. My radio is off, only the hum of the engine and the various city noises can be heard, as we travel along Bloor Street – horns, shouts, drills and other sudden bursts of sound. It's was a good day, visiting dinosaurs, but we are both tired now a little bit bored…

My son asks, like he often does, for me to put the radio on. I agree to his request, and the sounds of a well known Toronto alternative rock station fill the car. Nothing playing motivates us or moves us at this point, the sound of mainstream jangly indie guitar riffs, youth voices and adverts – that we have heard hundreds of times – provides at least some noise, a backdrop at least, and a slight increase in energy.

Then a tune comes on the radio; funky guitars and an instantly catchy groove. I start to move. I'm tapping my hand against the steering wheel, rat tat tat tat tat, tapping my left foot in the foot well. I'm nodding my head to the beat. I'm suddenly smiling, and for some reason looking more intensely at the people on the street, as if they can hear. I'm even starting to enjoy the movement of the car, the speed that it is picking up along the street. The thumping and vibrations of the street car tracks add to the sensation, thump, thump, thump, seemingly in time with the music. I'm engaged, smiling and for some reason I briefly look at my son. He is also nodding his head but in an even more exaggerated motion than myself, smiling and tapping his foot. We say nothing, just move in time together, increase our movements, enjoying the moment. The song continues to the end but, even thereafter, we feel lifted, less tired. We talk and laugh our way up Avenue road, continuing on our way home.

The third illustration

A summer barbeque by the lake, the sun has gone down, its final warm red glow now past. The volume of the music increases on the stereo so it now stimulates the ears physically and its vibration is felt through the body. Friends start to dance, one-by-one on the deck, to various tunes. The beat of the music is increasingly stamped onto, and felt, through the wooded planks. The makeshift dance floor becomes even fuller as Get Lucky comes on, each body adding volume to a single mass of human movement. The energy increases as the Guitar strums, and the bass vibrates. A little more effort is exerted by the mass, braver moves showing left and right. Uplifting feelings and smiles emerge, all as one.

It is within affective moments like these where music comes together in an overall performance event; a complex and changing mix of sound, objects and bodies whereby traditional dichotomies and binaries, such as 'production' and 'consumption', make less sense. It is here where the affective wellbeing feel and experience initially surfaces. Moreover, as the above examples illustrate, whilst affects arise, other processes arise beyond them whereby the mind becomes more consciously involved in the experience. This might be through the forming of opinion on the music, actively relating oneself to specific aspects of the musical content, or more simply through being aware of oneself or others involved in the sound and sensation of movement. This more conscious participation brings us to the subject of music and meaning.

Enter meanings

> "It [Get Lucky and the album Random Access Memories] brilliantly captures the melancholic beauty of the nightclub, the feeling that the party must inevitably end, with moments of reflection and a sense of space" (Hodgkinson, The Times, May 2013).

Although a variety of musical content can be responsible for bringing a song's meaning into focus, lyrics are a powerful and direct way of communicating it. Whilst lyrics, like instrumentation, do not have to be thought about by the listener and can easily be ignored, they might be and often are. Whenever this occurs, the listener moves beyond affect and their emotions – which are necessary to unlock and make personal sense of meaning - come into play. On this subject, Pile [97], outlines a three stage process. The first stage is the non-cognitive action of affect; the purely physical interactions and energies that occur within assemblages of bodies and objects. The second stage is a less-than-fully conscious, pre-personal, affective feeling state; how these physical interactions are tacitly picked up, yet not consciously registered. The third stage is consciously known and felt emotion; the way affective experiences can be later fixed on, or compared to, personal knowledge and known social categories. Although the process might stop at the first

or second stage, a one-way rapid advancement typically takes place through from the first to the third stage, always crossing an involving the second stage [97]. Thus, an affective feeling state is always a forerunner to, and influence, on any emotion pertaining to a person's immediate situation. In a song, these three stages - movement, vibe and meaning - might transition back and forth and re-circulate rapidly, rather depending on the immediate circumstance/assemblage, and the listener; the extent to which they are listening and with what purpose, and their current and broader life situations and contexts.

As Bailey [104] explains, a relationship exists between the musical structures and lyrics in Get Lucky which assists transitions to emotions; specifically whereby the musical structures encourage the listener to, at key times, notice specific lyrics and lyrical meaning. Bailey observes, in particular, that the chorus of Get Lucky is composed of twenty bars, each with four beats. The only lyrics actually sung 'on the beat' are sung on the fourth and final beat of each bar. This creates a situation whereby the listener is paying more attention to these specific words. Moreover, on six of the twenty bars, the final 'on beat' word has two-syllables - " lu-cky"- (as opposed to one syllable in the other fourteen) which makes it stand out even further. The sounding of a hi- hat cymbal and changed pitch of the robot voice on the word lucky, add even more to the emphasis [104]. Further emphasis is placed on the meaning of some lines in the song by the extension and higher pitch of certain words within them; making the entire sentence slower and clearer. For example in the pre-chorus "**we----ve**, come to **fa-----ar**, to give **u-------p**, who we **ar-------re**" and in the chorus "I'm up all night to get **so-----me**, she's to all night for good **fu---un**". This approach is combined with well placed pauses throughout the song and emphasis words possessing positivity such as 'stars' 'sun' 'giving' and 'winning' . Indeed, these types of techniques structurally connect the affective and meaningful emotional levels of Get Lucky.

Thinking beyond the aforementioned three stages, after a song is listened to, both the affective and emotional feelings involved can be recalled and ascribed meaning (even though the former has no meaning in itself). Thus both affect and emotions both have a longer-term resonance in terms of the meanings people ascribe to music. In the emotional realm of popular music lies connections to vast social and cultural realities (such as gender relations, fashion, work, education etc). Get Lucky is specifically about having fun and meeting people whilst partying. It is also about gendered differences in experiences and expectations regarding sex in these situations (although Pharrell has often gone to lengths to argue that 'getting lucky' can mean things other than having sex, such as getting along with friends, and meeting new acquaintances). In terms of wider social meaning and identity then, Get Lucky is to the second decade of the twenty-first century what Wham's 'Club Tropicana' was to the 1980s [110], or Destiny's Child's 'Jumpin Jumpin' was to the early 2000s (noting many alignments across other genres of popular music – such as Pulp's 'Sorted for Ez and Whiz' and The Specials 'Nite Klub').

Finally, based on and looking beyond social realities, music holds potential for the release of hopes, dreams and fantasies. Millions of possibilities exist, each personal and each relational to each listener. This 'imaginary landscape', reached through affect and emotion (the latter often involving escapist visualization) is critical to popular music's feel good factor. A music website and blog included the fan comment: "I get this feeling of love being something that you can't deny, and being part of that, pushing that idea thought when the song is on". For the author of this paper, now in his mid 40s, the song evokes momentary nostalgic reflections on the feelings and circumstances of his 20s; of past times and places long gone. Occasionally these might be specific and focused, but often they are general and vague. It also evokes a smile when thinking of the generation younger than himself and all the personal fun, trials, tribulations and changes they must be going through. The song, in a way, connects his own history to their present.

Conclusion

> Think about an occasion when you have entered a dance venue of any kind…. the affective quality of the space in which bodies move is never only something personal – it is a product of a complex mix between music, light, sound, bodies and gesture. What is clear is that this affective intensity is felt – you can feel it in your gut and that this felt sense can be modulated by changes in the level of those factors… [If asked] you might articulate this feeling through identifying a specific emotion – 'I feel happy'. This designation would make sense because we have a collective – if vague – understanding of what it means to feel an emotion such as happiness.[111 p 1827-8]

As McCormack describes above, affect is a reasonably abstract, yet strangely familiar phenomenon. An average participant, whilst recognizing affective feeling states, would probably never ever talk directly about the 'concept' of affect. Moreover, by the same token, it is highly doubtful whether musicians ever specifically engineer and create music based on an academic understanding of affect. However, both parties undoubtedly value particular vibes and atmospheres in music and musical performances. Indeed, although

abstract, the processes by which affect works, and its flows into emotion, seem to speak greatly to the passions we intuitively know to come hand-in-hand which music, and the ways in which we experience and feel music.

In particular, the analysis of Get Lucky illustrates how understanding the affective qualities of music potentially broadens our understanding of the dynamics between music, health and wellbeing. As the initial literature review noted, a substantive volume of research published across disciplines has firmly established the many ways that music can be used to directly promote health and wellbeing, whether this be in social, political, institutional or everyday contexts. Affect does not necessarily conflict with any of these explanations, and might be thought of as something that initiates prior to, and works more broadly and environmentally alongside, them. Starting off with atoms and molecules, then involving energetic interactions within assemblages of human bodies and non-human objects, affect emerges as part of a musical event (rather than after it, or as a result of it).

Get Lucky is just one song, part of one particular genre of popular music with specific affective qualities, connecting to specific cultures and evoking specific types of emotions. In future many other types of music could be examined in terms of their affects and connections to health and wellbeing. In this endeavour attention could be paid, not only to musicians and their songs, but to other people and roles involved including listeners/fans, their practices and experiences. Music is an energy and force that flows throughout peoples' lives. It is commonplace in their movements, actions, thoughts and feelings, and the places they frequent and make. To not engage more thoroughly with music's immediacy and emergence as environment, would be a missed opportunity for critical health research.

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Abstract
The aim of this study was to describe the biopolitics of involvement discourses articulated by nursing staff concerning relatives in nursing home institutions, using a Foucault-inspired discourse analytical approach. Previous research has described how relatives have not been involved in nursing homes on their own terms. This is partly due to a lack of communication and knowledge, but it is also a consequence of an unclear organizational structure. Results from a discourse analysis of six focus group interviews with nursing staff show that the "involvement discourse" in nursing homes can be described as a "new" vs "old" family rhetoric. This rhetoric can be said to uphold, legitimize and provide different subject positions for both nursing staff and relatives concerning the conditions for involvement in nursing homes. As part of a "project of possibility" in elderly care, it may be possible to adopt a critical pedagogical approach among nursing staff in order to educate, strengthen and support them in reflecting on their professional norming and how it conditions the involvement of relatives.

Key Words discourse analysis, focus group interviews, involvement, nursing home, nursing staff

Replicating the Family: The Biopolitics of Involvement Discourses Concerning Relatives in Nursing Home Institutions

JESSICA HOLMGREN, AZITA EMAMI, LARS E ERIKSSON & HENRIK ERIKSSON

According to Swedish law, all health care should be provided with respect for and considering the dignity of the individual, and contribute to health and well-being among the care recipients.[1,2] Accordingly, the involvement of relatives in nursing homes is an important element in holistic and individualized care,[3,4] for the residents' psychosocial well-being[5,6] as well as for the development of high quality nursing home care.[7,8]

In Sweden, approximately 90 000 persons over the age of 65 live in nursing homes.[9] Today it's basically just the most acutely ill persons who end their lives in nursing homes. As a supplement to municipal efforts, relatives play a crucial supporting role as informal caregivers while the older person lives at home.[10]

Previous research on the involvement of relatives in nursing homes shows that relatives want to continue being involved in the care of their older family members even after they move to an institution.[11,12] Studies have described how the move sometimes involves a transition for both the residents and their relatives as new relationships are formed with the nursing staff.[13,14] Due to the move and the form of care in nursing homes, relatives who have previously played a significant role are expected to transfer care responsibilities to the nursing home staff. This implies that the earlier care by family members, which complemented the municipal care, is demoted in importance in the context of the nursing home.[15] Many relatives find it a relief to have their older family members cared for professionally, and they accept the need for a transition in roles.[16,17]

However, some relatives find it difficult to understand

what is expected of them in the nursing home and do not understand how they can best continue being involved. This leads to conflict between family members, the nursing staff and heads of units responsible for the nursing homes.[3] Previous studies argue that this conflict may be due to a lack of a philosophy of care and unclear guidelines on how family members can be involved[18] within the framework of what is legally possible.[1,2] The nursing staff sometimes feel that relatives make unreasonable care demands, which leads to the description of relatives as "challenging" or "difficult".[12] The relatives, in turn, do not feel that their views are valued[19] and feel they are mainly regarded as "visitors" whose role includes only limited involvement.[20] Researchers have pointed to the need for new approaches that will improve and facilitate the involvement of relatives in practice.[14,21]

Research on the involvement of relatives has been going on for several decades.[3,22-24] However, such research still appears to lack certain perspectives. To our knowledge, up to date studies with a more explicit critical stance that address the involvement of relatives in nursing homes are almost totally absent.[cf. 18] More critical research is needed in order to enhance the quality of nursing home care by focusing on the involvement of relatives.

In line with a critical research approach, Michel Foucault[25] offers some perspectives that may be valuable as a theoretical framework. Such a framework has been utilized in this study. In general, Foucault's theory of power is a useful tool when studying the biopolitics of public welfare-state institutions such as nursing homes, and specifically when studying upholding discursive practices governing such institutions.[26,27] To facilitate the understanding of this framework, we will briefly describe the most important and relevant concepts underpinning Foucault's theory of power,[25] such as discourse, power/knowledge, and biopolitics. We do not claim that this presentation is in any way exhaustive.

Theoretical framework

In examining the discourse on involvement in this paper, we start from Foucault's[25] views about power as being relationships in societies expressed through language and practices. In other words, a set of statements or practices that systematically constructs the objects of which it speaks. The power in the form of discourses controls the ways in which we can express ourselves, act and think, and each discourse has its own limitations. The discourses produce both truths and subjects in this way. Different discourses enable different subject positions and it is not possible to be outside a discourse. In this way, subjects (nursing staff and relatives) reproduce the discourse on involvement at the same time they are constructed by them.

To Foucault,[27] the concepts of power/knowledge are inseparable. It takes power to produce knowledge, and knowledge itself produces power relations. Foucault claims that power is pervasive and involves all aspects of social interaction. Power is thus relational, without an absolute center, and it is irrelevant who holds the discourse on involvement. This means that power is not directed against the subjects themselves (nursing staff and relatives) but toward subjects' possible actions. Accordingly, this study does not seek to make the nursing staff accountable when they as well as relatives are governed by the "involvement discourse". Instead of studying power top down, Foucault[27] focuses on how knowledge in the form of discourses operates and produces "truth" and subjects. Foucault argues that power is productive and not always negative in an oppressive and sovereign manner. Power is not an institution, but may be exercised within institutions such as nursing homes, as shown in this paper. As soon as there is a purpose and a goal, power is exercised in relations. While the discourse on involvement is influenced by power, it also reproduces power through linguistic representations. Foucault stresses that we only have access to reality through language. It is through representations that we produce discourses that are never reflections of a preexisting reality. Power in the form of biopolitics[26] is thus exercised through language, which is expressed among the nursing staff.

Biopolitics, according to Foucault,[26,27] is the modern state's control of citizens' lives and health. The biopolitical strategy is communicated and maintained through language and is imposed through various social institutions. Historically, knowledge has been established in the form of public health programs, with a view to controlling people's behavior.[26,28] Biopolitics thus involves the entire lifespan and constitutes the link between the subject, social institutions, expertise and practice. Foucault[27] further describes how biopolitics intends to construct a modern, self-regulating and responsible subject. In line with this, he has also linked biopolitics to the medical discourse and described how the lives of people are governed and affected by the status in society of the medical sciences as guide and "bearer of truth".

In this paper, we will address the "involvement discourse" as part of a biopolitical strategy in the care of the elderly that relates to a governmentality. We also assume that biopolitics

and issues related to what happens in later life are closely linked, where biopolitics is one way to control the discourse on involvement. There are for example discourses on what to eat, and that one should exercise and what is considered old age and how later life should be lived.[29] These discourses are launched and sustained through language by using scientific knowledge, which in itself becomes a force with various biopolitical meanings. Part of these aging discourses can also occur when one is a relative of someone who moves to a nursing home and there is a meeting with the nursing home, creating a discourse on how the family can be involved.

Language, knowledge and power may play a central role for relatives in the meeting with a nursing home, because the discourse that is created conditions their involvement. The aim of this paper is thus to describe the biopolitics of involvement discourses articulated by nursing staff concerning relatives in nursing home institutions, using a Foucault-inspired discourse analytical approach.

A Foucauldian-inspired discourse analysis

In this paper, we have used Allen and Hardin's[30] step-by-step analysis about how to conduct a foucauldian data analysis within the field of nursing science[a]. A foucauldian analysis focuses on power relationships in societies as expressed through the intimate connection between language and practices.[25] This approach focuses on analyzing *how* power is exercised and how it can be understood, rather than studying *who* is in power. Before we describe the data analysis, a short overview of participating informants is provided and a description of how the focus group interviews on which the analysis is based were conducted.

As part of a larger ethnographic project, 27 nursing staff members from three nursing homes in central Sweden were recruited for focus group interviews. The intent of conducting focus group interviews was to study how the nursing staffs collectively constructed meaning of the involvement of relatives, rather than their individual perceptions.[cf.31] Each head of unit in the nursing homes was informed that we wanted to interview approximately 30 nursing staff in groups of four to five people. The informants were to be Swedish speaking, permanent employees of the nursing homes, and actively engaged in nursing care practice. We also wanted the focus groups to be as heterogeneous as possible in terms of gender, professional affiliation, ethnicity, age and work experience. This was to capture a diversity of opinions and perspectives about involvement.[cf.31] The result was six groups, two from each of the three nursing homes. There were a total of 27 nursing staff members, 26 women and one man, originating from Europe and Asia and aged 36-63 years. Their work experience varied from two to eighteen years and their workload varied from 37%-100%. All informants received both oral and written information about the purpose of the study before giving informed consent. They were told that their participation was voluntary and that they could withdraw their participation at any time without any restriction.

The focus group interviews were conducted as six sessions during one month in early 2011. The interviews took place in connection with the nursing staffs' regular shifts. The first (JH) and last (HE) authors conducted the interviews together. The interviews took place in reserved staff rooms and coffee rooms in the nursing homes, where the interviews could be carried out privately and undisturbed. The interviews lasted between 59 minutes and one-and-a-half hours, with an average of 75 minutes. Each interview began by asking the nursing staff member to describe what her or his work in the nursing home consisted of during an ordinary day. Their stories always included relatives in one way or another. Based on this, we asked questions related to relatives' involvement in care activities. In an attempt to avoid taking for granted things the nursing staff discussed, we felt it was important to let them speak uninterrupted while we asked naive clarifying follow-up questions. The interviews alluded to the complex situations where the perceptions of relatives and the nursing staffs diverged. For instance, we asked what would happen if relatives presented a suggestion and what responsibility nursing staff and relatives had for the residents feeling well. Each interview ended with an open-ended question asking if the interviewee wanted to add to, modify or withdraw any of what was said during the interview. No one wanted to take back anything that had been said. However, the interviews often ended with informants beginning to expand their reasoning and sometimes they also started to talk about other things. The interviews were conducted in Swedish, as authors and informants spoke Swedish. All interviews were digitally recorded and transcribed verbatim by the first author.

Data analysis

Based on the foucauldian theoretical framework, presented in the background section, we analyzed the focus group interviews, focusing on three starting points as outlined by Allen and Hardin.[30] The starting points focus on linking language with practice, asking social and historical questions and creating public models of subjectivity. Based on these methodological implications, the following questions led us

through the analysis:

•What differences do the nursing staff mark and construct through their language linked to the practice of involvement for relatives in the nursing homes? What "involvement discourse" is identifiable?

•What other groups or institutions in the society have historically marked and constructed differences in a similar way and what are the consequences?

•What possible subject positions are available for relatives, based on the "involvement discourse"?

The analysis started with naïve readings of all the transcripts by the first author. After intuitive understanding of the overall content, the first author together with the last author started by asking the first question of the data. Passages that were explicit about involvement were used as points of departure for identifying key statements that were repeatedly used and shared in the transcripts. These key statements were marked and discussed in relation to this question. An excerpt from the interview data may serve as an example of this process:

> Lucy: What I might think is difficult, is when the expectations and wishes of the relatives don't correspond with the residents' [wishes] because it's not at all unusual. The resident wants it in one way, and then comes the relatives here and tells that, that is not the way it's going to be, my mother or father are going to be cared for in this way.

In the quote above, we identified the key statements that upheld the shared language about involvement. The key statements constituted the naturalistic generating structure that accompanied the "involvement discourse" that we wanted to identify. In this example, we noted key statements such as "difficult", "expectations", "don't correspond" and "comes the relatives here and tells".

After this identification of key statements, we condensed transcripts in relation to the process in the first stage of analysis. The first and last author addressed the second question using the gathered material. In this analysis, the first author read the condensed transcript again, constantly discussing with the last author how the key statements could be understood as techniques used in a broader "involvement discourse". Based on how it was guided, we made a genealogical attempt to understand the "involvement discourse" in a historical and social context. The key statements were put in a broader context. For example, we noted that the specifics of the "involvement discourse" could be related to several other institutions and to an overall assumption of a "caring state", such as psychiatric health care facilities, foster home institutions and boarding schools. This analysis was then discussed among all the co-authors.

After consensus in relation to the second question, the first author went back to transcripts, condensed transcripts, memos and notes from the discussions concerning question one and two and focused on the third question. This step in the analysis process was driven by an interest in interpreting the key statements we previously structured as "difficult", "expectations", "don't correspond" and "comes the relatives here and tells", as concepts that were defining the available social positions for relatives. In this we applied an alternative reading of the meaning of the concepts where we distanced the wordings as they had been used by the informants to create an alternative understanding of the techniques used in the discourse on involvement and how it was guided. For example, the constant use of family as a concept has a specific meaning for the nursing staff, but we distanced the concept from their use and related it to various public models of "a family" in plural, defining the specifics of the concept and interpreted in relation to our previous analysis. The analysis was again discussed among all the co-authors. Three assumptions were identified that uphold the biopolitics in "involvement discourses" concerning relatives in nursing home institutions. These are presented in the results.

Research ethics board approval

The study was granted approval by the Regional Ethical Review Board [No 2010/658-31/5] and ethical considerations are in accordance with the Declaration of Helsinki.[32] In order to protect the informants' integrity, their names, ages, nationalities, professions and places mentioned in the interviews were encoded.

Results

Three assumptions upholding the "involvement discourse" were interpreted as "*we are family*", "*for the residents' best interests*", and "*with the mandate to care*". The specifics of the "involvement discourse" had a point of departure from within the resident's family. Through the language, the nursing staff were placing themselves *in* the relations of the resident's family structure. The motive for this was presented as this being the position that best served the interests of the residents. Underpinning this was a dualistic reasoning about formal and informal care.

We are a family

The central and influential discourse in all focus group interviews was the construct of the residents being a part of an

already existing family formation in the nursing home culture. As the "old" family, relatives were sometimes constructed as "has beens" in favor of the nursing staff. The nursing staff ascribed to themselves a significant role in the provision of care for the residents from the moment the resident arrived at the nursing home. This was clearly expressed in the third focus group interview:

> JH: So in general…what responsibility do the nursing staff have to support the residents to have a good life?
>
> Judy: A lot of responsibility.
>
> JH: Yes.
>
> Judy: You have a 100% responsibility because, what should I say… you are a mother, a caregiver, psychologist, a friend, relatives, you are everything. I think that this job is the most complex job among all caregiver jobs, to work as a professional caregiver or as a nurse you know…Nurses are kind of more distant [in relation to the residents] but enrolled nurses and nursing assistants are so close, so close. No money could pay for this responsibility.
>
> Karen: And we who work in a nursing home, they [the residents] become as part of a family.
>
> Judy: Yes they are.

The family as referred to in the interview seemed to constitute a fundamental position from which the nursing staff defined their responsibility, based on what it meant to be "part of a family". The coalition between them and the residents was also upheld and legitimized by them being professional caregivers with "100%" responsibility".

This practice was inevitably linked to the conditions of relatives' involvement, since it operated continuously and functioned as conditional for the relatives as "new" family members. The following excerpt from the fifth focus group interview illustrates the reasoning of some nursing staff about the significance of past relationships between relatives and residents. Laura told the following:

> Laura: We kind of end up in these family tragedies so…, they…have a collectively need of…
>
> Zoe: Punish [the nursing staff].
>
> Laura: Yes and a collectively need for therapy [laughs] yes… I think that they would need to go in some kind of therapy. There are many in that generation that is… daughters and sons that were fostered during a tough period and they would need therapy. It's the way you feel, see someone and blurt it out, it is precarious. There is a frustration that must seep out somewhere.
>
> JH: How important are the relationships between the residents and their relatives?
>
> Zoe: Oh well…
>
> Laura: The relational aspect is always important.
>
> Zoe: Even when it works.
>
> JH: Yes.
>
> Laura: Then it's fantastic. Everything runs smoothly. Then the relation between us [nursing staff and relatives] turns out good… if people have had good relations to their mothers or fathers they are satisfied.
>
> JH: Mm…
>
> Laura: Then they [relatives] possess the social skills, they have brought with them from home [laughs] how to behave properly.

As shown in the conversation above, when Laura says "We kind of end up in these family tragedies" it was stated that the nursing staff took a step into the families and engaged in relationships in the "old" families of the residents. In this way the nursing staff had a central subject position on different levels, where they knew just as much about the residents as their "old" families. "To care for" meant not only taking care of the residents, but also collectively engaging in all areas of their "old" family's responsibilities, fully and wholeheartedly. The nursing staff further spoke partly based on their own experience and partly based on something that they marked as common sense.

For the residents' best interests

During the focus group interviews we were also told that the nursing staff mostly listened to what the residents wanted and desired, or more specifically what the nursing staff thought was the best for the residents. They told us about several situations where relatives had views on the residents' care that the staff marked as different from the residents' perceptions and desires. It might apply to what the resident would wear, how often s/he would take a shower, or when the resident should nap or what s/he should have for dinner. The fifth focus group illustrates how the nursing staff reason about who to listen to when relatives have comments about care activities:

> JH: So what do you do if a resident has not showered in five weeks but relatives want them to do it?
>
> Laura: Then we talk to family members about why.
>
> Annie: We're not supposed to listen to relatives.
>
> Jamie: It is not the relatives who should decide, it is the residents who will decide.
>
> Laura: No, maybe then they go in to the resident themselves, and try to persuade them [to take a shower] [laughs] ... I believe that family members can join in with familiar strong persuasion. But it does not concern ourselves with what they do in the family so to speak, unless it gets ....yes, unless that we can see that the residents almost cries afterward and you notice that it almost becomes a mental abuse. So we have not had much [situations like that] right now, but earlier in room X, then we needed to intervene and control a bit.

When Annie in the quote above says, "We're not supposed to

listen to relatives" it marked where the nursing staff positioned themselves in the resident's family. It seemed as though the staff were taking on a position of being the interpreter of what was the best for the residents, placing themselves as a Hermes in the family structure. This demarcation seemed to be important when talking about the relatives' involvement. As Jamie states, "it is the residents who will decide" and within that rhetoric it seemed to place involvement from a top down family configuration (staff-residents-relatives) where involvement was dependent on the staff's presence and their interpretation of situations of involvement in the nursing home.

Another example of how the nursing staff marked involvement in relation to relatives was identified in the first focus group interview:

> Mary: Well, it's a gamble all the time because you're supposed to be able to cope with our job…we're not here to discuss and argue with relatives and then it's easy to succumb to make the business work, otherwise we would argue and quarrel and go to supervision sessions with relatives all the time.

Again, the top down family configuration was addressed when talking about how to manage involvement. Inviting to discuss the job with relatives could have unexpected consequences, so "keeping them short" was referred to as being a more important approach to involvement than negotiation. On several occasions the informants addressed this as being crucially important in their ability to function in relation to the residents.

With the formal mandate to care

The nursing staff also marked involvement based on themselves as professional caregivers and the relatives as informal caregivers, as illustrated below. The starting point seemed to be based on a quite traditional division of responsibilities in the fifth focus group:

> JH: If I would be a relative here in the nursing home, how can I be involved? How can I help and get involved?
>
> Samantha: Take a walk with your mother. Come and visit, have coffee with her.
>
> JH: Yes.
>
> Samantha: Perhaps talk a bit with us.
>
> Jennifer: Just be here.
>
> Samantha: Yes, exactly, just be.
>
> Jennifer: Not engage in endless squabbling.
>
> Samantha: [Laughs] If you manage your business, we'll take care of ours.

A recurrent and frequent statement, when discussing relatives' involvement in the discussions was the division of chores and labor. As stated by Samantha, "If you (relatives) manage your business, we'll take care of ours". A key statement such as this, upholding the "involvement discourse," seems to focus on relatives as social visitors, just being there and socializing but within defined boundaries. For example, walks and having coffee were relatives' domains, while intimate care was a staff function. It was when this division was not honored that the risk of "endless squabbling" came to the fore.

The nursing staff often returned to the fact that it almost always took some time for relatives to adjust to the routines and hand over the care. Pauline gave us an example of this process during the sixth focus group interview:

> Pauline: Oh yes, you notice when you talk to them [relatives] that they find it hard and heavy [to engage in the care work], yes.
>
> JH: Do you have any good examples or an actual experience that you can share with us?
>
> Pauline: Yes, there is an old man, that is older than the resident, he can stay here…oh yes, but now he leaves at 9 pm in the evenings…then he thinks it's hard [to leave] but I tell him that it's optional, you don't need to fix with everything, but he, he wants to because he wants to be a bit of a martyr [laughs] I think. I mean… there is no one who force him but he really wants [to care for the resident], or else perhaps he doesn't really trust us [laughs] no, I don't know, he is special.
>
> Sara: No he wants…I think that he wants to check on us, that everything is properly done.
>
> Pauline: Many times, they [relatives] have a bad conscience because they have put their older family members in the nursing home.
>
> Sara: Mm…
>
> Pauline: That's why they come her every day, and are so worn out.
>
> Sara: Yes, usually older people.
>
> Pauline: Yes, older men.
>
> Sara: It is also a question of trust as well.
>
> Pauline: Yes exactly, because later on they let go, gradually.

In the text above, the given, normal pattern and expectation marked among the nursing staff seemed to be that the relatives were supposed to trust them and automatically hand over the care. The "new" family expected the relatives to let go, although this handover could be protracted and lengthy according to the nursing staff. The relative in this case, who was seen as having difficulties handing over care to the staff, was constructed as a playing a martyr role and the nursing staff's competence was consequently questioned. One could also interpret this as an expression of the fact that even the most enthusiastic relative eventually had to hand over care

responsibility to the nursing staff in order to fit into the "new" family order.

Discussion

How can the biopolitics of involvement discourses concerning relatives in nursing home institutions be understood? Before answering this question, we would like to briefly comment on two main points of departure: in this paper biopolitics should be seen as a way to govern and legitimize the "involvement discourse"; and based on how the "involvement discourse" is expressed discursively through language among nursing staff, what is said also becomes a "truth" and knowledge about involvement, giving the subjects (nursing staff and relatives) different influence and opportunities.

The biopolitics in the identified "involvement discourse" in this paper could be linked to a discourse resting on a "new" vs "old" family rhetoric. It is thus a family rhetoric that upholds and legitimizes the "involvement discourse" in nursing homes and provides different subjects positions for both nursing staff and relatives. The first interpreted assumption of the results, *we are a family*, shows how the representatives of the "new" stepfamily (nursing staff) steps into the "old" family (the original family of the resident) and place themselves in the center of it and attribute to themselves a pivotal position. This corresponds with previous research that showing that the relatives often are given a peripheral role in relation to the nursing staff when handing over the care responsibility.[15]

The second assumption *for the residents' best interests* upholds the biopolitical aspect of nursing staff prioritizing first and foremost the voices of the residents even though their relatives try to contribute with valuable information to optimize the care provided to the resident. This is in line with previous research indicating that relatives are playing an important role as part of holistic and individualized care, in helping the residents achieve well being.[3-6]

The last assumption, *with the formal mandate to care*, upholds the "involvement discourse" with the rhetoric of a reasoning of formal and informal caregiving based on a traditional division of labor in nursing homes. This specific discourse conditions what caring activities relatives and nursing staff should engage in. Holmgren et al.,[20] have described the consequences of this particular part of biopolitics, providing relatives with the subject position as "visitors", preferably focusing on social and practical activities in relation to the residents and nursing staff.

Biopolitical meaning presents itself through language in the "involvement discourse," with the help of "natural" assumptions. These assumptions can result in the relatives' experiences of finding themselves being on the "outside looking in" on the "new" family coalition between the nursing staff and the residents, as Baumbusch and Phinney[18] have described it. The assumptions seem to be so obvious and "natural" that they are rarely questioned or challenged. The question that can be asked is whether the nursing staff are too oblivious about their privilege of interpreting the residents' needs and desires. And if that's the case, then in whose benefit?

Similar involvement discourses in a broader societal context

Based on the first and third starting points of the analysis, it can be noted on a macro level that the use of family oriented rhetoric has a specific meaning for the nursing staff. In relation to the second starting point, in distancing ourselves from their use of the concept, we have related it to various public models but in a broader societal context.

In this study, we have described the prevailing social processes in terms of an "involvement discourse" that comprises the complexities and social interaction in the form of a family formation conditioning the involvement of relatives. The discursive practice becomes the social interaction of the nursing staff, which is in constant renegotiation, dynamic and revision. The fact that the nursing staff positioned themselves in the families of residents, positioning relatives "outside" of the "new" relation with the residents, is not specific for nursing homes. It is rather just one example of many institutions that are characterized by the construction, reproduction and implementation of a sometimes traditional "involvement discourse" and its practice.[26,27] Similar power structures and biopolitical incentives that are constructed and reflected in the nursing home culture have been and are still dominant in society's many institutions.[27] This kind of macro power process can easily mount in conservative and collective milieus where individuality, creativity and a critical stance are not always encouraged. Other examples of such institutions in the society, nationally and internationally, may be psychiatric health care facilities, foster home institutions and boarding schools.[cf. 26,27] A unifying concept for these institutions, as well as for nursing homes, is that they represent something that one could call the "caring state" - a state that takes care of and protects citizens and that is designed to strengthen the relationship between families and the state in the pursuit of equality, community and solidarity.[33] The idea of the

Swedish welfare state[34] can be seen as an example of this approach, where biopolitics has been about welfare, resting on social sciences and enactment of public institutions.

In conclusion, this study's results are largely consistent with previous research on family involvement. This study has also reviewed the relatives' involvement from a new angle by using a biopolitical framework to analyze involvement discourses articulated by nursing staff. "Replicating the family" is ultimately about how the nursing staff in relation to the "involvement discourse" takes on the subject positions as "new" family members. Their role becomes that of representing what is moral and biopoliticallly "right" and "wrong" regarding the care that is best for the residents. Studies that have calling for better cooperation based on holistic care and a partnership between nursing staff and relatives,[16,35,36] seem to have been overlooked, based on this study's conclusions.

Displacing the "involvement discourse" in nursing homes – a "project of possibility"

Based on the discourse analytical approach presented in this paper, there is great potential for understanding discourses on involvement in alternative ways, since this is only one of several possible interpretations. Cheek and Porter[37] reason about how a foucauldian approach could change the social situations that are not always constructive, and in some sense oppressive to a "project of possibility".[38] They argue that it is not always about making large disruptive changes to achieve positive outcomes. It should rather be small modifications that could lead to positive social changes. Although there are probably no quick and easy solutions to change the power structures that circulate and condition the involvement of relatives in nursing home, it might be worth exploring the best practices in similar venues where professional norming and practices have been changed and improved successfully. In order to attend to a "project of possibility",[38] we believe it is necessary to reconsider the elderly care contents and biopolitics. This could possibly initiate a transformation of the existing "involvement discourse" partly providing nursing staff with new knowledge and insights as well as encouraging a more reflexive critical approach to the notion of family involvement in institutional care.

Foucault[26] points out that there is always a possibility of resistance where there is power. The "project of possibility" could in particular help to support nursing staff in making relatives more involved through an open and unbiased way of understanding their role and contributions to the care of residents.

However, knowledge itself probably won't lead to good professional practice if it is not applicable to practice, and if it does not enable a reflective and critical approach.[cf. 39] We believe that if we are to achieve a "project of possibility" in elderly care, it also requires other components. The Swedish school system is an arena where successful work has been done, in questioning norms and common assumptions.[40] Based on a critical pedagogy presented among others by Paulo Freire,[41] it is possible to create social change. The critical pedagogy is ultimately about promoting social justice and democracy by paying attention to how norms and notions sometimes marginalize people. In elderly care, a more pronounced organizational holistic care culture may be a theoretical base from which to start.

Previous research has shown that such framework both protects health care workers in elderly care from burnout and promotes workplace engagement.[42] This ensures a caring work culture where one is treated with respect and fairly, social support at work to experience connectedness and the experience of having an important mission. We believe this holistic approach could also benefit the residents and their relatives, in the transformation of the current "involvement discourse". As it stands today, in a biopolitical sense it appears that the "involvement discourse" is challenging and unreflected. Acquiring the skills and support to work with issues of involvement, in more conscious ways could be valuable for both nursing staff, residents and relatives.

As previous stated, a critical pedagogical approach[41] can be beneficial to change institutional practices such as involvement of relatives in nursing homes. This could be done through long-term critical pedagogical work that should aim to educate, strengthen and support the nursing staff in reflecting on their professional norming and how it conditions perspectives about the involvement of relatives. For example, by using recurrent forum plays and various valuation exercises in a holistic caring environment,[40] it might be possible to improve cooperation between relatives and nursing staff in a future postmodern elderly care.

Clinical and research considerations

In order to achieve a holistic practice and a critical and reflexive approach in nursing home institutions, we suggest not only a framework of critical pedagogy but also implementation of a systematic assessment and benchmarking of a holistic practice. This would provide a quality improvement indicator, which may show the effectiveness and outcomes of a holistic and critical intervention approach. There is a need for more research about how power relations operate in the nursing

home arena and how we can find ways for to change the current structure for the better.

Methodological considerations

The methodological shortcomings present in this study are associated with the theoretical perspective that guides the discourse analytical reconstruction of the focus group interviews. This means that the foucauldian power perspective influence what to focus on in relation to the aim of the study, and also provide the framework for how things can be interpreted. The consequence may be that deselected interesting and valuable aspects can be omitted, since they do not correspond with the perspective. This does not mean that other interpretations would not have been possible, since the ontological basis of the study assumes that knowledge is constructed rather than that it exists objectively and independently outside of human influence.[31] Even if it was the aim of the study that guided us through the interviews, it cannot be overlooked that we as researchers were co-creators during the interview process. This meant that we expressed ourselves and presented relatives' involvement in elderly care based on our own situated individual positions in the interaction with the nursing staff. This made us conscious and reflexive in that we helped produce and were produced by prevailing discourses concerning the elderly care context during the interviews. From this perspective, the focus group interviews should be considered not as innocent transcripts, but as power producing where we as researchers are not innocent and neutral but highly operating. There is a criticism that interviews as data are not preferable because researchers are as co-creators of data to a great extent. This is something of which we are aware and that may affect the outcome, but we believe that there are no neutral stories or genuine truths behind the prevailing discourses in any form of data. However, we have presented both the interview questions and the nursing staff's answers from the transcripts in order to give a wider perspective on the interview contexts. To minimize the risk of over-interpretation of the results, the first author has enjoyed continuous reconciliation and dialogue with the other co-authors regarding the reasonableness of the interpretations. In cases where we have had different views of the material, we have discussed this and reformulated the interpretations. Finally, the results and the paper as a whole has been reviewed, during an academic seminar by other researchers who had not participated in the research process. This was to assure that what was presented in the paper would seem reasonable and convincing.[31] As these researchers had not participated in the work of the paper, they had the opportunity to look at our work in a more objective manner. Where they had comments, we took these into account and revised the paper accordingly.

Notes

[a] There is an ongoing development of literature concerning discourse analysis and how to conduct such a method. However, within nursing science, the literature on discourse analysis is relatively scanty. Allen and Hardin provide a method for conducting this kind of analysis, developed within the nursing science field.

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Abstract
The Voices of Diversity project's goal was to explore which experiences of students of color and women students on campuses of predominantly white institutions make them feel welcomed, accepted, supported, and encouraged, and which make them feel the opposite. This was to address (1) the frequent claim that African American and Latino/a students' lower graduation rates are unrelated to anything that transpires on campus and (2) the increased subtlety of many expressions of bias against members of historically mistreated groups. At each institution, between 51 and 54 students of color participated, as well as three white women and three white men, each completing a questionnaire about demographic information and campus experiences and being interviewed about what has been helpful and hurtful to them on campus. Manifestations of racism, sexism, and the two combined were reported on all campuses in both overt and microaggression forms. Recommendations for change were made in individual reports to each institution, and at one, major changes were made immediately and ongoing, and at another, work was begun on comprehensive action plans.

Keywords campus, higher education, microaggression, qualitative research, race, sex

The Voices of Diversity: What Students of Diverse Races/ Ethnicities and Both Sexes Tell Us About Their College Experiences and Their Perceptions About their Institutions' Progress Toward Diversity

PAULA J CAPLAN & JORDAN C FORD

Introduction[a]

> If…true equality of opportunity and appropriate learning experiences will result in equality of achievement, then we must organize our professional services and our society such that no person is kept from achieving that potential by our indifference to his or her condition, by the inadequacy or inappropriateness of our service, or by the impediments society deliberately or accidentally places in his or her path.
>
> --Edmund Gordon [1 p219]

> In order to change the way race is understood, race has to be directly addressed rather than ignored.
>
> --Lani Guinier [2 p207]

> When the ideology of racism is examined and racist injuries are named, victims of racism can find their voice. Further, those injured by racism discover that they are not alone in their marginality. They become empowered participants, hearing their own stories and the stories of others, listening to how the arguments are framed, and learning to make the arguments themselves.
>
> --Daniel Solorzano, Miguel Ceja, & Tara Yosso [3 p64]

In *Can We Talk About Race*, Tatum concluded, many university personnel today know little about how to improve interracial interactions,[4] and Milem et al. have noted that some institutions' diversity agendas are "poorly conceived and misguided"[5 p3] and often fail to include active opposition to exclusion and prejudice and a comprehensive rather than piecemeal approach. These problems are

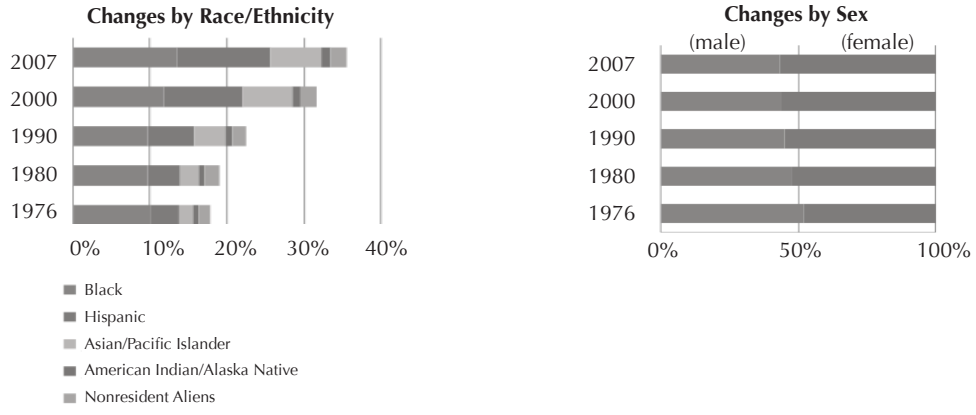
dramatically reflected in the recent "I, Too, Am Harvard" project by Harvard University students, which began with photos depicting ongoing forms of both blatant and subtle racism on their campus,[6] and in attorney and activist Wendy Murphy's recent analysis of ongoing violation of the rights of women college students that are supposedly granted by Title IX but that has too often failed to protect them in cases of the civil and human rights violation of sexual assault.[7]

Due to rapid increases in numbers of students of color in undergraduate student bodies and especially at predominantly white and traditionally male-dominated colleges (see Figure 1 and references 8-11,13-16), "[b]oth the organization and the new students display new needs".[17 p179] The same is true because of increases in the proportions of women among undergraduate populations.[8-12] This renders it especially important to understand current students' experiences. The vast majority of American colleges and universities were created by and for white men [18] and have often been less welcoming and supportive for members of other groups [18, Carnegie Foundation, 1989, unpublished data], even when the latter have been recruited to attend.[19]

The increasing representation of racial/ethnic minorities and women on traditionally white and male-dominant college campuses is striking[c] (Figure 1). Between 1976 and 2007, Blacks as a percent of total students grew from 10 to 13; Hispanics, 4 to 12; Asian/Pacific Islanders from 2 to 7; and women, from 48 to 57. But simply changing the representation of various groups does not in and of itself ensure that the experiences of racial/ethnic minority and women students are as positive as those of their white and male counterparts. In order to know whether and how there are differences, it is necessary to ascertain students' perceptions about the degree to which their campus experiences suggest that equity has been achieved. Since institutional change tends to be slow, one cannot assume that increases in numbers of students of color have been accompanied by adequate changes in what has been called the "chilly climate"[d] for students of color and for women in undergraduate populations at PWIs.[18,20,21] Increases in numbers alone have not led to equal educational achievement, as reflected in grades, retention and graduation rates, and post-baccalaureate education.[9,22,23] Indeed, the dramatically lower graduation rates for African-American, Latina/o, and Native American college students than for whites and Asian-Americans are current problems crying out for solutions, and women of color's outpacing of their male peers in college attendance makes it clear that interactions of race and sex also warrant attention.[8-12] Important policy changes like racial, ethnic, and women's studies programs and student associations; increases in racial/ethnic minority and women faculty; peer counselors; financial aid; and policy changes have been helpful, to be sure. But experience in the civil rights and women's movements has shown that even changes in structures and policies do not, in and of themselves, eradicate racism and sexism and in fact often lead to the metamorphosis of expressions of prejudice into subtler forms, including especially what Pierce has called micro-aggression (see references 18,24-26). The voices of students of color and women are thus essential in the search for what will be helpful to them.

Some who wish to explain differences in graduation rates focus on factors intrinsic to the individuals, their families, and their pre-college schools (see references 18,28-31). Although – as with any student –those factors can play roles in students' college achievement, it is important as both an ethical and a practical matter to consider what is happening and what can be done on campus, in the present, for undergraduates of color and women (even while efforts can also be made to assist pre-college youth).

Figure 1: The Changing Student Body



Source: Synder, T. D., et al. (2009). Digest of Education Statistics 2008 (NCES 2009-020). National Center for Education Statistics, Institute of Education Sciences, U.S. Department of Education, Washington, D.C.

College administrators may do outreach to certain high schools and even middle or elementary schools and their communities, but they largely deal with students as they are when they arrive on campus. Knowing what happens right on campus that makes students of color and women feel accepted and supported and what makes them feel the opposite can give administrators guidance for on-campus services, procedures, structures, and practices that they want to continue or alter and for some that they might want to initiate.

Factors at many levels and in many realms of on-campus life can help determine whether or not students feel accepted, encouraged, supported, and respected because of their race/ethnicity and sex.[32,18] The factors are formal and informal, individual and institutional, academic and social, horizontal (other students) and vertical (faculty and administrators). A vast amount of research related to diversity has been conducted over the past three decades. The research has represented an array of approaches to gathering and analyzing information, ranging from large-scale surveys to interviews of small samples of participants and institutions.

Is diversity working?

College campuses are more diverse than ever,[8-12,14-16] and increasingly, students of color who graduate from high school are collegebound.[33,10,34,35] However, inspection of graduation rates for different racial/ethnic groups strongly suggests that there are problems that need fixing. College graduation rates are highest for Asian-Americans (65%) – although their figures vary widely depending on nation of origin (Hune & Chan, 1997, unpublished data), followed by whites (58%), and are strikingly lower for Latina/os (45%), African-Americans (38%), and Native Americans (37%).[36] Thus, despite improvement in recent decades in the rates at which African-American, Latina/o, and Native American students who start college obtain their baccalaureate degrees, these rates remain markedly lower than those for white students,[8-12] and racial differences persist even when members of racial/ethnic minority groups are matched with whites on high school preparation and socioeconomic factors.[9]

Because increases in baccalaureates have been far greater for women of color (78%) than for men of color (54%), with a similar pattern within African-American, Asian-American, Latina/o, and Native American groups,[Cook & Cordova, 2006, unpublished data; Guinier, Fine, & Balin, 1997, unpublished data;14-16] it is essential to take not only race but also sex and the combination of race and sex into account in attempting to understand what it is like to be an undergraduate attending a PWI. The media have reported some admissions committees' decisions to admit men who are less qualified than the women they admit in order to equalize the sex distribution of student bodies,[14] a policy that promises to ignite a new kind of affirmative action debate.

That there are well-documented, positive effects of diversity, including academic and social ones [4,37-44; Smith et al., 1997, unpublished data], does not mean that racial/ethnic minority students experience no difficulties resulting from factors on campus (e.g., Nettles and MIllett[32]). In fact, McCormack found that, despite years of institutional-level efforts to value diversity and pluralism, displays of discrimination had increased during those years, and the longer the students had spent on campus and in residence, the greater was the likelihood that they had experienced discrimination.[45] Even Gurin, Nagda, and Lopez, despite finding that the students of color who had the most experience of diversity showed more interest in learning about groups besides their own and perceived less division among racial/ethnic groups, also found that diversity did not foster, "for students of color, a stronger sense of commonality with White students".[40 p31] And Gurin et al. found that for African-American students, there was a negative relationship between classroom diversity and their self-assessed academic skills.[41] It remains the case today, as Allen wrote, "we have only a limited and imprecise understanding of the factors that…provide these students with an institutional and educational experience that is personally gratifying and academically successful".[46 p166]

Theories of causation

> It's not just about the choices folk make. It's also about the choices they have available to them.
>
> --Dyson [47 p6]

> But we cannot overcome the history of racial oppression in our nation without understanding and addressing the subtle, subversive ways race continues to poison our lives.
>
> --Dyson [47 p223]

Two kinds of explanation have been offered for the lower retention and graduation rates of African-American, Latina/o, and Native American undergraduates: the individualistic and the structural. Advocates of individualistic explanations attribute racial/ethnic differences in retention and graduation rates solely to pre-college experiences and factors within

individuals or their families — including the racist, scientifically discredited *hereditarian* view of intelligence.[4] These views persist despite abundant evidence that on-campus factors, including racial climate, impede students' progress.[8,32,38,48-58]

Though some argue that "the responsibility lies with the university to…provide an atmosphere of inclusion and acceptance…" [59p189; see also 60], there has been a widespread belief that campus conditions play no role in students' happiness or success, based partly on the myth that academia is a full meritocracy and that people and scholarship outside the "mainstream" are nevertheless fully valued.[23,18,29] This has also been an explanation put forward for the lower numbers of women in mathematics, sciences, and engineering (Caplan & Caplan, 2009, unpublished data). Some administrators have perpetuated this myth by denying that prejudices exist on their campuses,[30,31] and an institution that looks diversity-positive in quantitative terms may nevertheless be a site of considerable institutional or other forms of racism and sexism that do not show up in numbers but have tremendous negative impact. This is of all the more concern at a time when, because of laws and rules against hate crimes, expressions of prejudice often take forms that can be hard to identify as clearly prejudicial and thus confusing and complex to deal with.

Contributing in a complex way to an individualistic view was that, during the last half of the twentieth century, allegedly objective measures such as the Scholastic Aptitude Test were given major roles in admissions. It was widely believed that this would go far to reduce the role of biases such as racial prejudice as determinative admissions factors. However, those who held this belief failed to take into account the significant positive effects on test scores of such factors as expensive test preparation courses[46] and the significant negative effects of such factors as text anxiety and expectations of failure (see later discussion of stereotype threat.) The tests were assumed to be objective because of having been derived from scientifically designed criteria, and thus excellence was assumed to be measurable, an assumption reflected in Justice Sandra Day O'Connor's decisions in the *Grutter* and *Gratz* cases.[2] This assumption, however, cloaked ongoing racism, sexism, and classism.[2]

White and Asian-American students have tended to have higher SAT scores than African-American, Latina/o, and Native American students,[46] and it has often been assumed that this was proof of their intellectual superiority. As Lawrence-Lightfoot points out, these are "…scores on narrowly constructed tests that capture only a limited range of knowledge, and an even smaller spectrum of ways of knowing. And these are quantitative, evaluative instruments that tend to focus on phenomena that are measurable — discrete, visible, and countable — not necessarily the dimensions that are meaningful to the learning and growth of students" [61 p236]. But the public's and even many educators' lack of awareness of this information has made it easier to blame students from groups who tend to take longer to graduate than white students, on the grounds that this must be due to their intellectual inferiority and/or their having been admitted under affirmative action programs with allegedly lower standards. As Guinier notes, one who holds this view "ignores the experience of racial disadvantage" [2 p141]. One form that the individualistic approach can take is race-blindness — at the extreme, the "new white nationalism" [62] — which carries the risk of blinding us to the fact that educational equality among racial and ethnic groups is a long way off.[Giroux & Giroux, 2004, unpublished data; 9,62,63]

In contrast to the individualistic view, which scholar Michael Eric Dyson describes as less likely to be held by more educated citizens, is the structural view,[47] whose proponents identify impediments that are extrinsic to students, their families, and their high schools. These impediments include factors that produce a negative climate on campus, including an institution's earlier history of minimal diversity and of exclusivity[52] and its problematic organizational and structural aspects,[64] all of which affect the climate both for students of color and for women. Milem et al. note that some institutions' diversity agendas are "poorly conceived and misguided",[5 p3] and often fail to include active opposition to exclusion and prejudice and a comprehensive rather than piecemeal approach. As Tatum points out, many university personnel today know little about how to improve interracial relationships.[4] Combined, these factors encourage those who do not feel accepted and supported to adopt an individualistic view and assume wrongly that the faults lie in themselves.[18] Guinier proposes a focus on what she calls racial literacy, which "begins by redefining racism as a structural problem rather than a purely individual one".[2 p202] She points out the paradox that the Court still "requires institutions to consider race differently from the way they consider merit",[2 p197] as though the test scores typically used as indicators of merit were far more important predictors of success in college than the presence

of racism on campus. Furthermore, she underlines the importance of understanding the need for *structural mobility*: "…an institution's commitments to upward mobility, merit, democracy, and individualism are framed and tempered by an awareness of how structures…tend to privilege some groups of people over others… places the issue of merit firmly on the table and attempts to define it in the context of democratic values".[2 p159]

Hochschild has proposed changing the structural conditions that create the gap between the promise and practice of equal opportunity".[57 p160] As Takagi writes, "Although it is true that blacks and Hispanics have lower graduation rates than whites and Asians, it is unreasonable to assume that such differences are the inevitable result of racial preferences. Approximately four years pass between the time a student is admitted to the university and his or her graduation",[63 p193] and Ponterotto (1990, unpublished data) attributes to the inhospitable climate on predominantly white campuses the higher dropout rates of Blacks, Hispanics, and Native Americans. Mary Catherine Bateson succinctly encapsulates a structuralist view when she points out that "Each time we have understood that some social group had the right to full participation, innovations in education have been needed to make the transition possible".[65 p134] Focus on a structuralist view is of the utmost importance, for it is nothing less than tragic for those who manage to obtain admission to higher education to encounter unnecessary and demoralizing obstacles.

What distinguishes experiences of students of color from those of white students and those of women from those of men?

In trying to understand what on-campus factors could help explain the lower graduation rates of African-American, Latina/o, and Native American students of color, what most compellingly warrant exploration are the ways that racial prejudice and bias are expressed. It is particularly compelling in light of the fact that many stereotypes about these three groups – such as that they are less intelligent and less hardworking than others (e.g., references 66,67) – are strongly negative and directly related to academic achievement, in contrast to the relatively innocuous stereotypes about whites and the intensely positive stereotypes about Asian-Americans as the "model minority" characterized by high intelligence and a propensity to study long and hard.[68] Of course, those model minority stereotypes result in their own kinds of pressures on Asian-Americans.

Despite recent claims that we are in a post-racial and post-feminist period in which racism and sexism have been eradicated, so that no further attention to these issues is warranted, in fact, as noted, manifestations of racism and sexism have not disappeared but have often become more subtle.[18] Two areas that have been especially illuminating in the effort to understand the experiences of students of color in the context of mechanisms that tend to work in subtle, even unconscious ways but often have devastating effects on their targets have been Claude Steele's theory and research about *stereotype threat* and Chester Pierce's work about microaggression.

Steele has articulated the notion of *stereotype threat*, the threat that others will view one through a negative stereotype or fear that something one does will confirm or strengthen the stereotype.[69-71] Importantly, his research about stereotype threat has shown that such stereotypes as racist and sexist ones have material effects on students' scores, because knowing that there are widely-held negative beliefs about a particular ability of members of a group to which one belongs adversely affects one's performance on a test of that ability.[69] Willie (2003, unpublished data) and Massey et al.[72] have written that double-consciousness (as described by DuBois [73]), the awareness of not only one's own beliefs about one's group but also of the beliefs of others about one's group) is particularly intense in the Ivy League, where whites' stereotypes of Blacks often include the latter's intellectual inferiority and social pathology. Caplan has noted that negative stereotypes serve important functions, including to justify a scapegoated group's subordinate position and thus make it easier for the dominants to maintain their greater power and control.[74] The groundbreaking importance of Steele's work has been to show that stereotypes can impair performance in ways that reinforce the stereotypes (e.g., that Black students are not as intelligent as white students, or that women are not as skilled at math as men), thus providing ammunition for those who want to keep the scapegoated groups down.

What Pierce calls *microaggressions* are manifestations of prejudice and hatred that are brief and/or subtle but great in the power or magnitude of their consequences.[24] They can include comments that actually impugn a person's race or sex such as, for instance, "You are better, nicer, or smarter than most Black women or Latinos" or a rolling of the eyes when a woman or racialized person speaks in class. Sue et al., suggest that nearly all interracial interactions are prone to microaggression and note three forms of microaggression:

microassault, *microinsult*, and *microinvalidation*.[75] They distinguish among these by saying that *microassaults* are explicit, conscious racial derogations in the form of verbal or nonverbal attacks that are meant to hurt the intended victim; that *microinsults* are communications that often unconsciously convey rudeness and insensitivity and demean a person's race/ethnicity, such as a white prospective employer telling an applicant of color, "I believe the most qualified person should get the job, regardless of race"; and that *microinvalidations* are "communications that exclude, negate, or nullify the psychological thoughts, feelings, or experiential reality of a person of color," such as complimenting Asian-Americans for speaking good English or repeatedly and persistently asking them where they were born.

It has been said that many daily manifestations of racism and sexism on campuses (e.g., a racist "joke" told at lunch, professors' tendency to call on male students more than females) might seem minor in some sense but that they are so numerous that trying to function in such a setting is "like lifting a ton of feathers"[18, see also 8,25,26,76-78] — which are not reflected in quantitative statistics made public by institutions. As Pierce has written, "the cumulative burden of a lifetime of microaggressions can theoretically contribute to diminished mortality, augmented morbidity, and flattened confidence" [79 p281].

As Sue points out, the operation of white privilege and male privilege "maintain their power through their invisibility. On a personal level, people are conditioned and rewarded for remaining unaware and oblivious of how their beliefs and actions may unfairly oppress people of color, women, and other groups" [29 p767].

Targets of microaggression ask themselves whether they imagined the microaggressions, whether they were deliberate or unintentional, how to prove that they took place, and whether it is worth risking the punitive consequences, including increased hostility from the perpetrator, of naming and objecting to what has just happened.[75,78] Larkin has found that microaggression can significantly interfere with the targets' attempts to acquire an education, leading them, for instance, to avoid certain classes and certain geographical spaces in educational institutions.[77] And as decades of research about, for instance, verbal abuse directed at women has shown (e.g., Caplan, 2005), even a single incident of dismissive or demeaning behavior can lead to chronic self-questioning, lowered self-confidence, and fear of doing anything to precipitate a second such incident. When the target for any reason finds it difficult to confront or challenge the person committing microaggression or perpetuating stereotype threat, the dangers of self-blame and shame are increased.[74,75,78,80]

The presence of "micro" in Pierce's term is a reference to the brevity and/or subtlety of these manifestations of prejudice and hatred, not to the power or magnitude of their consequences, and indeed Pierce writes that "[t]he subtle, cumulative miniassault is the substance of today's racism". [81 p516] Their very brevity and subtlety lead the target into self-doubt about whether or not something racist or sexist actually happened,[82] and they make it harder to obtain legal redress or even the support from family and friends, because the manifestations can too easily be deemed minor and the target overly sensitive if unable or unwilling to shrug it off. In fact, partly due to this lack of validation and support, the consequences of microaggression include feeling insecure, unself-confident, self-doubting, frustrated, isolated, silenced, frightened, ashamed, discouraged, helpless, powerless, and despondent.[3,75,78,80,83] Sue and colleagues address "the invisibility of unintentional expressions of bias"[75 p277] that results from their being subtle, indirect, and often unintentional and from their happening when explanations other than prejudice (such as "just joking") are available. They also describe the "perceived minimal harm of racial microaggressions" [75 p277], which involves whites' failure to take into account the history of racism that intensifies the negative effects of what Whites might assume to be, if anything, only minimally hurtful: "When one considers that people of color are exposed continually to microaggressions and that their effects are cumulative, it becomes easier to understand the psychological toll they may take on recipients' well-being" [75 p279]. Solorzano et al. report that, as a result of microaggressions, Black students are "on the defensive to keep from succumbing to stereotype threat" [3 p67], and Sue et al. write that for people of color, microaggressions "impair performance…by sapping the psychic and spiritual energy of recipients and creating inequities".[29,75 p273, 84] Microaggressions thus create a negative climate or what in sexual harassment cases is called a hostile environment for students of color and for women.[3,77,85]

Microaggression is often a consequence of the somewhat paradoxical combination of visibility and invisibility experienced by those identified as different: They experience a heightened visibility that includes scrutiny for conduct that is disapproved of by the dominant group and for signs of inferiority, as well as the expectation that they will represent and speak for the whole of their racial/ethnic or sex/gender group.[18] Curiously related to heightened visibility is the

invisibility that often also plagues members of racial and ethnic minorities and women, manifestations of which include being talked over and around and having their opinions undervalued or ignored.[18]

Although pre-college experiences that result in stereotype threat and pre-college experiences with microaggressions may have some effect on students' college experiences and performance, as they enter a campus where stereotype threat continues or is exacerbated and/or where steps are not taken to counteract its origins or consequences or to reveal, analyze, and reduce the consequences of microaggression, they may find it more difficult to move through their undergraduate years. There is a widespread belief that members of some racial/ethnic minority groups were admitted through affirmative action and thus (through a misunderstanding of affirmative action) are less intelligent than white students, even when the data do not support this belief.[8,22,86] Students of color's awareness of the belief, in combination with the effects of stereotype threat,[70] internalized racism (e.g., Bivens[87]), or both, can seriously impede their education.[78] These students know that performing poorly will strengthen assumptions about their group's inferiority.[18,70] The common belief that students of color usually have lower Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) scores than do whites is especially troubling, given the considerably lower SAT scores of white students whose parents attended the same institution or whose families have made large donations to it.[e][88]

There is no purely academic college environment free from social components, for even classrooms, study groups, and libraries are laden with social signals and import, and the presence of stereotypes and microaggressions might thus be expected to constitute a barrier to academic progress.[3] In any case, these problems could certainly be expected to reduce the extent to which students who are their targets feel welcomed, accepted, supported, and encouraged on their campuses.

What seem to be missing from the research literature are the perceptions and perspectives of students from various racial/ethnic groups and women spoken in depth, in the privacy of confidential, one-on-one interviews, about what they perceive to enhance or detract from their college experiences. It can be informative to hear students express in their own words what they consider to be barriers that they have to surmount and what they believe to be needed to make them feel welcome and supported on their campuses.[3,8,28,89,90,91] The need to hear from students of both sexes and the various racial/ethnic groups about their on-campus experiences is thus compelling, all the more in light of what Gordon describes as the "pitifully small although growing body of knowledge available" about these experiences.[1 p217]

The methodological approach

Participating campuses

The four institutions participating in the VOD study were selected to represent both public and private institutions from different geographical areas that have varied degrees of selectivity in admissions and varied histories with regard to diversity. Confidentiality requirements prohibit us from naming three of the participating campuses, which in this report we call by the pseudonyms Midwest University, South University, and Ivy University. However, President Michael Nietzel of Missouri State University explicitly requested that the participation of his university be publicly acknowledged. The four universities were selected as follows:

•Missouri State University was chosen because it is a public institution and is located in a medium-sized city, Springfield, Missouri, where the percentage of whites in the population is one of the highest in the country, but at the time we conducted the study, the university was headed by President Nietzel,[f] who has been described as having a sincere and profound commitment to diversity. Missouri State University had a history until well into the middle of the 20th century of refusing to admit Black students. It has moderately high admissions standards.

•Midwest University was chosen because it is a public, research institution with high admissions standards and a strong history of pro-diversity work. It is located in a medium-sized city.

•South University was chosen because it is a public, research institution and a Southeastern flagship university with a prominent history of racism but some recent, beginning attempts to address issues of race and sex. It is located in a small city, and its admissions standards are high for a public university in that geographical area but not compared to those of some public universities in other regions of the country.

•Ivy University was chosen because, although some of its numbers for undergraduate diversity are high, it has had a mixed history with respect to both race and sex. It is a private, research university with extremely high admissions standards and is located in an urban area in the Northeast.

This report reflects solely the interviews of participating

students, because it was not within the scope of this project to gather information from administrators, faculty, or staff or to incorporate data collected by the institutions.

Participant sample

The main goal on each campus was to interview at least 50 students of color from the four targeted groups of African-Americans, Asian-Americans, Latinas/os, and Native Americans, both women and men, and generally in proportion to their representation in the racial/ethnic minority undergraduate population of their university, as well as three white women and three white men for comparison purposes. We did not include international students. Some variation with regard to internal demographic classification systems existed across the sites, but for purposes of uniformity in our reports about each of the four institutions, we generally use the terms African-American, Latina/o, Asian-American, and Native American. The vast majority of participants classified themselves as the official university records classified them, but a small number in most categories classified themselves differently, including as biracial or multiracial.

At each of the four university sites, we used a random number table to select students from full lists of all of the racial/ethnic minority undergraduates. Invitations to participate were emailed either by the Registrar's office (Midwest) or by Harvard University Project Director, Paula J. Caplan (MSU, South, Ivy). For some groups, more than one set of invitations had to be sent until we obtained our target number of participants for that group. For example, at MSU response rates were highest for white women and lowest for white men, with the other groups at various points in between. At Midwest, as many as four sets of invitations had to be sent for

Table 1: Profile of Undergraduate Classes and VOD Participants

	% of Total Undergrad	% of Minority VOD Participants	% of Total Undergrad	% of Minority VOD Participants	% of Total Undergrad	% of Minority VOD Participants	% of Total Undergrad	% of Minority VOD Participants
Race/Ethnicity & Sex	**MSU**	**MSU**	**Midwest**	**Midwest**	**South**	**South**	**Ivy**	**Ivy**
African-American Women	1.72%	21.82%	4.14%	18.87%	8.13%	47.06%	5.66%	15.09%
African-American Men	1.50%	16.36%	2.93%	11.32%	5.08%	31.37%	4.67%	11.32%
Latinas	1.05%	12.73%	2.61%	9.43%	0.63%	3.92%	4.67%	11.32%
Latinos	1.00%	12.73%	2.38%	11.32%	0.54%	1.96%	4.08%	9.43%
Asian-American Women	0.90%	10.91%	6.48%	18.87%	0.75%	3.92%	13.19%	28.30%
Asian-American Men	0.81%	10.91%	7.32%	22.64%	0.79%	3.92%	9.11%	16.98%
Native American Women	0.56%	7.27%	0.47%	3.77%	0.23%	3.92%	0.46%	3.77%
Native-American Men	0.41%	7.27%	0.41%	3.77%	0.17%	3.92%	0.42%	3.77%
Sub-Total	**7.96%**	**100.00%**	**26.74%**	**100.00%**	**16.32%**	**100.00%**	**42.26%**	**100.00%**
White Women	51.17%		36.76%		41.60%		27.13%	
White Men	40.87%		36.50%		42.08%		30.61%	
Sub-Total	**92.04%**		**73.26%**		**83.68%**		**57.74%**	
Sex								
Females	55.39%	52.73%	50.46%	50.94%	51.34%	58.82%	51.11%	58.49%
Males	44.61%	47.27%	49.54%	49.06%	48.66%	41.18%	48.89%	41.51%

Source: MSU, Midwest University, South University, Ivy University and Authors' analyses of interview data.
Note: These race/ethnicity figures do not include students classified as non-resident aliens or with ethnicity unknown

Table 2: Demographic Information of VOD Participants

Race/Ethnicity	Midwest University	South University	Ivy University	Missouri State University
African-American/Black Women	8	24	8	12
African-American/Black Men	5	16	6	9
Asian-American/Asian/ Pacific Islander Women	9	2	15	6
Asian-American/Asian/ Pacific Islander Men	10	2	9	6
Hispanic Women/Latinas	3	2	6	7
Hispanic Men/Latinos	5	1	5	7
Native American Women	2	2	2	4
Native American Men	1	2	2	4
White Women	3	3	3	3
White Men	3	3	3	3
Multi-Racial Women	4			
Multi-Racial Men	4			
Race not Reported Women	1			
Race nor Reported Men	1			

Native American men and white men until we obtained our target number of participants, whereas for others —African-American women, Latinas, Latinos, Asian-American women, and white women — only two sets had to be sent. At South, because of the very low response rate and very small number of Native American men, invitations were also sent more than once.

Differences in response rates for the various race-by-sex groups suggest that there may have been some skewing in the sample ultimately included in our study. However, we can only speculate about a wide variety of reasons for the differences in response rates and thus what ways our sample may be skewed. Research has shown that response rates for college students tend to be higher for women[92] and for white and Asian students than for others.[93,94] Because of this, our findings may not be completely representative of each university's undergraduate population. Table 1 provides the enrollment percentages of race/ethnic minority students for each of the undergraduate populations of all four colleges, as well as a similar breakdown of the composition of the VoD participants by campus. Overall numbers enrolled in the undergraduate populations are not provided here in order to protect the confidentiality of the participating campuses.[d]

After the necessary rounds of invitations, at least 57 students participated at each campus. Table 2 contains the demographic breakdown of participants across schools. (More complete numerical data on each campus, as well as the numbers of invitations sent out on each campus, are available upon request from the first author.)

Mixed methods design

The VOD project is a mixed methods study with a dominant/less dominant design.[95] The interviews with the students constitute the heart of the study. Through these interviews, as well as detailed questionnaires, we have aimed to identify both current benefits and pressing problems for which solutions must be sought in order to optimize the benefits from diversity for these students, as well as how they understand the causes of the problems and how they cope with them. Many factual questions are included in the two instruments, but many are opinion and/or open-ended questions to highlight students' own viewpoints and to encourage rich and elaborate responses.

Voices of diversity questionnaire survey

Each participant completed a questionnaire (available from first author upon request) about their demographic,

family, individual academic history, and an array of on-campus experiences that were expected to help uncover the sometimes blatant and sometimes subtler factors that are associated with students' feelings of being welcomed, accepted, supported, and encouraged or the opposite. We conducted descriptive analyses for the entire sample as well as by race/ethnicity and sex.

Voices of diversity student interviews

After completing the questionnaire, each participant was interviewed about her or his on-campus experiences. An African-American man and a white woman, each of whom had had decades of interviewing experience, conducted the interviews. Interview questions were focused primarily on the students' descriptions of the experiences they have had as undergraduates that they knew or believed to be related to their racial/ethnic background, their sex, or both. The questions were comprehensive, because the aim was to understand what the students considered important about their experiences, in the context of a wealth of information about their lives. The interview also included requests for suggestions about improving campus climate with regard to diversity for race/ethnicity and sex/gender. The interview questions are presented in Appendix A. Interviews were recorded on MP3 equipment, and the interviewers kept extensive notes about their interviews. When a participant made a statement such as that they were treated in a way that was discriminatory or hurtful in some way, the interviewer asked them to describe the treatment in ways that an observer would have been able to confirm. Thus, for instance, if someone said they were mistreated because of their race or sex, the interviewer asked them to say exactly what had happened, and this probing elicited concrete descriptions of behavior, such as: "When the professor asked the students to form study groups, the white students literally turned away from the Black students and formed all-white groups" or "The professor never called on women students even when they raised their hands to speak."

The ETS research team read through ten randomly selected interview transcripts to get a sense of overall interview tone and to see which questions were eliciting better responses than others.[75,95,96] The Harvard research team and the ETS research team chronicled their thoughts and reactions to the interviews and discussed what each found. From this first reading, the two research teams collaborated to develop a preliminary coding scheme, and the interview items were classified into five categories or tiers (in order of importance). Coding categories were based upon articles discussing racial microaggressions and campus climate. [3,75] In order to achieve inter-coder consistency, two ETS team members first coded one question to see if they were consistent on coding. The team coded the top two tiers of questions independently of each other. Their coding for these questions was then compared to see which categories were used by one coder but not the other and to see if the styles of coding differed (Richards, 2005, unpublished data). The ETS research team met biweekly to compare and discuss the coded questions, coding issues and differences. The researchers used a grounded theory approach [97,98] to analyzing the qualitative data, in that they used immersion in the material and identification of themes based on the input of the interviewers and the coders. As a result of these meetings, the ETS researchers ultimately achieved a Kappa coefficient of 98% in NVivo. Mid-way through the study, a Harvard team member joined the coding team. The ETS and Harvard researchers achieved a Kappa coefficient of 92%. ETS assigned a pseudonym to each student participant.

Study limitations

Students are only one group at colleges and universities that experience racism or sexism in their daily lives. This study is not about the experiences of those other groups (e.g. faculty, administrators, or staff). In addition, in many of the situations that students report in the interviews, they discuss their interactions with faculty, administrators or staff. This phase of the research was not designed to interview these groups to gain their perspective on the circumstances that students report. An additional limitation is that the foci of this study were factors related to race and sex, so that we did not ask explicitly about such factors as sexual orientation, social class, or disability, not because these are not important but because of simple constraints of resources.

We primarily carried out a thematic analysis of the qualitative content from the interviews. For the quantitative data on the written surveys, the samples were too small to allow us to go beyond frequency distributions, but these produced some interesting information as well. Tables of frequency data are available on request.

Issues related to racism and sexism are complex and nuanced, as many of the participants' responses reflect. For reasons of space and clarity, it was not possible to include in the text of this paper more than a fraction of all the interesting and illuminating responses the students gave in their interviews. The vast majority of the results presented in the text of this report come from the interviews, but selected results from the online survey are also included.

Findings

A wide variety of manifestations of both racism and sexism and the often silent suffering they cause appeared in the interviews at all four universities. The findings were so richly detailed that they cannot be easily summarized here, but some of the major ones are presented. From the interview material, some of the quotations that best illustrate the findings are given.

Findings about racism and sexism

1. On all four campuses, racist and sexist treatment often take the form of micro-aggression, causing their targets confusion, sadness, self-doubt, anxiety, and frustration and constituting drains on their energy and attention. This suffering is often silent due to a combination of the subtle, "joking" ways they are conveyed; uncertainty about whether the perpetrator really meant to be racist or sexist; social pressures to keep silent in the face of such mistreatment; the absence of an ethos in which all students are encouraged to object to expressions of bias; the unavailability of forums in which such matters can be safely discussed or reported; and the failure of universities to help students and others learn about various ways to respond. In an example in which something powerfully racist was allegedly said as a joke, Emily, a South Asian-American woman, says:

> My [last] name is a very Muslim name, and even though I don't act like I'm very conservative, I don't come across as that, people have made jokes like terrorist jokes: "Oh yeah, you have a bomb in your backpack?"…I kind of looked at him and I was like, 'Shut up, don't say that,' and he was like, "You know I'm just joking."

Sang, an Asian-American senior, vividly describes how even a single incident can lead to self-doubt after causing her "shock and sadness":

> Some white guy stepped on my foot…and yelled at me and told me to go back to my country. And then I was thinking, "Oh wait, this is my country, I was born here." That was one of the first and only times that I've been discriminated like that, so to me it's like I've never felt like I don't belong here or in this country or anything until that day that this made me think, "Is that what people feel about me?"

Other students describe how mistreatment affects them. Alexandra, an African-American senior, says that due to racist incidents, "You start questioning yourself. …I had… ridiculous anxiety about turning in work for school." Gladys, a Latina senior, says:

> I go nuts, I do.…it hurts so much, so much, it's indescribable the way it makes you feel…your whole body becomes hot, and your eyes automatically become glassy, because you just feel so inferior, because of something like that. I'll try to just walk away, but if I walk away then I cry, then I feel bad for feeling weak about it… I would feel like I needed to say something in defense of myself, because it does cause a great, overwhelming emotion within me.

Raymond, an African-American, is among several students who describe the painful and emotionally draining dilemma of having to wonder, when someone is unfriendly, if it is because they are racist or just having a bad day:

> I have to stop and think sometimes, 'Are they being racist? Or, is that just how they act? Or, are they just not being friendly because they're having a bad day?' So I try not to let it get into my head and make me angry and things like that. I just try to think it through, like maybe there are other reasons why they're not friendly. So I try not to think about all the negative and try to think about the positive. I do speak and try to get them to speak, but if they don't want to, I just try to go on with my day. It makes me feel like I am not wanted, but I know what this campus has a tradition of, and I'm here to actually change that. So, I'm going to be one of the people you see that has helped the university grow and prosper.

And when Demonde is inclined to act aggressively in response to mistreatment, then suppresses that inclination for fear of causing yet more trouble for African-Americans, and instead just walks away, he feels regret for having done nothing. Describing this devastating Catch-22 situation, he says:

> I don't feel that there is anything I can do. If I do anything physical, I'm in trouble. If I do anything through the wall, it's like, well he said, she said. What can I do? I feel useless. I'm being hurt by this person. It's messing with me emotionally. I'm getting angry. …I'm not stable, and the fact that I cannot do anything about it makes me feel even worse. …sometimes you can walk away from situations, then it just eats at you for days, and you're like, 'Man, I should have done this. I should have done this,' and in your head, you're going over and over what you would have done if you see this person again, what you would have said. And when you see this person again you're like, 'You know what, I still can't do anything. There's nothing I can do.' You're just out of it. There's nothing you can do. Ever been in a situation when there's nothing you can do, and you felt so strong about something? I mean, it's crushing.

2. Common and varied manifestations of racism and sexism on all four campuses make too many of our participants —especially African-Americans, Latinas/os, and Native Americans (but almost no whites and only a few Asian-Americans) — at a vulnerable time in their lives feel that they have to prove they are qualified to be at the university and say that they do not have a sense of belonging or fitting in in

either the academic or the social realm. This, however, was less likely at Ivy University than at the others, but of those at Ivy who believe that they must prove they are qualified to be there, African-Americans of both sexes were especially likely to attribute that to their race, and women in general were more likely to attribute that to their sex. The participants who said that someone had suggested outright that they had been admitted only because of affirmative action also constitute a sizeable minority of our interviewees.

Some examples illustrate the very wide range of incidents that lead to these kinds of feelings. Anthony, an African-American senior, says that surprise that he is an Ivy student is expressed in fairly subtle reactions – "a slight raising of the eyebrows, or eyes following you in the dining hall, mostly from white students, particularly from females." A white woman friend told that the first time she saw him, she was frightened of him, although he had done nothing threatening to her, "because I was wearing a do-rag." Veronica, an African-American, has been asked in disbelief on campus, "You go to Ivy?" In an example of microaggression that "highly offended" her, Meadow, who is part Native American, was at the Ivy Powwow when a white male and female in their late 50s asked her from where Ivy flew in all of the Native Americans to participate. When she told them that she was Native American and that "the powwow was put on by Natives at Ivy, they acted astonished and then told me it was 'great' that Ivy was 'letting in' Native Americans." Luis describes an instance of a white, male student assuming that, because he is Latino and was putting up posters in a dormitory, he was a custodian. And a Black woman, LaToya, says:

> The ways that people look at me, things that teachers say, you know, make me feel like I don't… people would just kind of flat-out say…that Black people got here 'cause of affirmative action…[and] don't deserve to be here. …the general campus is mostly white, and…I don't fit in there….

At one university, an incident that brought significant media coverage and protest involved a social event approved by the university and hosted by official university organizations of Black students. Some non-Black students called police to report that they believed the Black students were not university students and did not have the right to be there. Although police came, saw the permit to hold the event, and went away, Black students' groups and others protested the message that Black students are unlikely to be students at this highly-respected university and do not belong there. It was clear from our interviewees' comments that this sense of not belonging resonated with other, common experiences Blacks have on campus. Dedra, an African-American, says of this incident that no one involved in the email complaints about the Black students was able to identify any of the latter and did not realize they lived in their residence, as well as that the emailers were asking whether the Black students were in middle school, although the Black students included "a lot of big men, big women that clearly look like the adults they are"; she feels that this "spoke volumes to how much people, to how much [our university] as a community outside of the Black community says that we belong here." She is further disturbed that no one recognized that the Black students were wearing their organizations' T-shirts, which some of them wear to class.

3. Many members of all of the groups of students of color at all four universities reported that on campus they have been aware of negative stereotypes some people – especially whites – hold about the interviewees' racial groups, and the same is true for many negative stereotypes about women. Negative stereotypes about African-Americans are often the most intense, and at Ivy, African-Americans and Latinas/os in particular say they feel scrutinized, that some people are on the watch for them to confirm negative stereotypes about their races. Asian-Americans are more likely than other students of color to report positive stereotypes about their groups but point out that these often set standards that are difficult to meet (e.g., always being very smart) and thus are burdensome. White, male students rarely report negative stereotypes about their group.

Despite the fact that the following examples are numerous, they constitute only a tiny fraction of reports of negative stereotypes based on race and/or sex that our participants described. African-American senior LaToya says, "With the Black students, it's very hard to be one of the few women in certain classes, like Engineering or something like that," because sometimes "the teacher doubts you because you are the only Black person." Stereotypes about African-Americans that participants say have been voiced, mostly by white students of both sexes, include that African-Americans are not intelligent (reported by Rosa), "are all athletes, or at least related to one" (Rashard, also Jarett and Chad), many are Criminal Justice or Business majors (Sebastion, Michelle), "all have some street knowledge [about] hustling someone" (Rashard), are all rappers and are "corrupting the world" (Jarett), and speak in certain ways, such as "Yo, yo, yo, what's up?" (Sasha). Lawrence, who is African-American, reports the stereotype that African-American men are loud and aggressive. He infers the existence of this stereotype from the surprise white people show just "from coming in contact" with the former, especially those who are "academically

inclined." He says "they seem to be surprised at first and taken aback that you're actually there. Because you're not… just out on the streets selling drugs, and objectifying women, stuff like that." Rosa is an African-American who reports the stereotype white people of both sexes have of African-Americans as "ghetto," as being loud, "And that we fight. That we ruin things. We ruin parties. We ruin events….it's saying we're uncivilized." She points out the double standard embodied in the fact that when white men "come in at three or four o'clock in the morning, hollering, running up and down stairs, getting onto elevators, and pouring powder," they are not called uncivilized. Ayano notes the stereotype that Asian-Americans "all speak Chinese, every last one of us"; she reports being asked, when she says she is Vietnamese, "Do you speak Asian?" and when she replies that there is no such language, being asked, "Don't you all speak Chinese?" Demonde, an African-American, describes a remark made by a white woman student in his program, in which he was the only African-American man:

> She would say, "You're a good Black person." I was like, "What do you mean a good Black person?" "Like, you're not really Black." …I felt bad. I want to be Black. I am Black. Just because I'm here, I'm in college, I speak, I guess, proper. [Other people have said to him] "You don't talk Black. You're this Black, you're not this Black." Well, I'm Black. I'm proud I'm Black.… It's like Black people can't be educated. Black people can't do what I'm doing.

Stereotypes about Native Americans that the students report hearing on campus include that they are alcoholics (Jake) and are not intelligent, live in tepees and on reservations, and wear feathers (Lauren). The interviewees believe that such stereotypes are often freely expressed because there are so few Native Americans on campus that those voicing the stereotypes do not realize they are present, and many Native American students are assumed to be white.

Gladys, a Latina senior, notes:

> Just being in the Greek system, women are objectified a lot. Like sorority girls are supposed to be gorgeous, they're supposed to be social, they're supposed to be sluts, they're supposed to sleep with the frat that they're going to the party with. There's expectations that, I think, put a lot of pressure on the women.

4. Most participants on all campuses report having witnessed or heard about incidents on campus involving race-based or sex-based discrimination, harassment, or aggression. There were many examples of offensive body language, so-called humor, and racial slurs such as calling an African American student "nigger," an Asian American student a "yellow chink" and a Middle Eastern student a "terrorist." When students report the race and sex of the perpetrators, more often than not, the latter are white men.

The students had an unfortunately great number of examples to offer, though only a fraction are included here. Many students relate the story of an Asian couple who had been spat on, and Sang, an Asian-American woman who is a senior, says: "A group of Asians were walking [on campus], and then a group of white people peed on them." Tyrone is one of many students reporting that "a Black male" at a white fraternity house was pushed down the stairs and had beer cans thrown at him, and he says that the fraternity was at least temporarily "kicked off campus." Alexandra, an African-American senior, says that as a female intramural referee, she is subjected to sexist treatment from all-male teams who treat her as though she is incompetent, saying that "it kind of sucks that you have to deal with that kind of stuff and just blow it off, because then we're accepting behavior that shouldn't be happening, and we're accepting it like it's normal, and it's not." Hyun has friends who attend parties at private, social clubs for men but will not go to particular ones, because they are at greater risk there for being raped. Naoki, an Asian-American man, knows a male student who became drunk and "was touching girls and everything while they were asleep." The man remains on campus, according to Naoki, awaiting legal hearings but has not gone before Ivy's adjudicative board, which cannot hear his case until after the court procedures have ended. Anthony, an African-American, read in the student newspaper about a white football player getting angry at his white girlfriend, kicking her door down, and choking her. He says the attacker was expelled from Ivy, though he does not know if the expulsion was permanent. Carlos describes being allowed to enter a party given by a white fraternity (he is friends with the students in the fraternity) whose members tried to prevent African-American male students from entering. When the African-American students became angry, a "big brawl" ensued, with 45 white men attacking the four African-American ones. He says that the African-Americans "were going to get demolished, so they walk away all angry, yelling things." He believes that this incident was not reported to any authorities: "It kind of just blows over, and that's it." Louis, an African-American student, describes an incident of racist behavior exhibited in a social situation, when white members of a fraternity yelled at his friend:

> …we are walking home and we walked across the street, and I was with my Indian friend, Jay. They were making racist comments towards him like, "Where's your turban at?" …They were just making racial slurs towards him, and it got out of hand.… A fight was

> about to escalate, but it was me and couple of my other friends. We tried to break it up, and we called the cops.

Ping, an Asian-American woman, describes being the target of the interaction of sex- and race-based aggression:

> I was walking home late one night, and…two white college males were on the balcony, and I could hear them talking about me. "Look, an Asian girl." I started blushing and getting upset. As I walked underneath the balcony, they started calling out to me. At this point, I was so angry I simply raised my hand and gave them the finger… His friend then called out, "Well fuck you, too! Fucking bitch! Fucking 8-year-old figure." I went home extremely upset. I'm used to drunk guys yelling inappropriate remarks at girls during weekends when everyone is out partying. It has happened to me several times before, all by white males. But this was the first time my being Asian was mentioned. I felt like they expecting me to be some submissive Asian exotic, like in the movies.

5. Many participants on each campus show a lack of awareness of or uncertainty about whether the university is making system-wide efforts to reduce racism and sexism and about the university's policies about diversity and procedures for reporting incidents of discrimination and aggression. At Ivy, many participants expressed the view that the university has policies about sexual assault but not about other aspects of sexism.

6. Many participants on each campus note racism and sexism in course materials, sometimes because of what is present and sometimes because of the absence of materials created by anyone other than white men. Raymond is an African-American student who was surprised that in his Music Appreciation course, only two African-American singers were even mentioned, and those mentions were brief. Asked how he handled this, he says, "I was just ready to get out of class, because I was so frustrated. I didn't want to make a big scene or say anything, because…I don't want my grade to be affected." Tanya, also African-American, notes the racism inherent in the absence of course materials written by anyone other than whites:

> Most of the material has nothing to do with African-Americans, Hispanics, just mainly white people. … the only way on campus that you can really learn about a different race, is, just, taking African-American studies and different classes just for that race.

An African-American named Rashard describes the effect of the absence of examples of successful African-American businesspeople from textbooks:

> We get textbooks from McGraw Hill, and things of that nature. But I will say, you would never, ever look at Reginald Lewis' takeover of Beatrice. You would never see that…. And that should be a great case study, but you won't talk about that. Yeah, omission. You would never talk about, it would never, I have yet, in all my academic life, to come across someone who I can identify with, as far as being successful.

Justin, who is Native American and white, notes as problematic the "ignoring" of "some things that might, that should be there, perhaps." For instance, in his introductory Humanities colloquium, the work that was assigned was by "dead white guys." Monica says that after taking nine or ten English classes, she has probably read works by a total of three women authors.

A great many students of both sexes identify sexism in what is excluded from course materials. Meadow says that in most courses except for those in Women's Studies ones, "almost always male authors are chosen instead of female authors," a general observation also made by Andre, Wu, and Sundara and made by Zachary in relation to courses in Economics, by Fen and Melcia in relation to Social Studies, and by Amanda and Dinh in relation to History. Russell, who is African-American, was "shocked" to see in his Social Psychology book, which is written by three white men, what he considered the "ridiculous," sex-stereotypic definitions of "male domains" and "female domains," the former related to work and sports, the latter to child-raising and cooking. Alisa, another African American, also reports "sexism in a lot of the psychology course materials," in which the male is used as the standard, and the female is presented as different from the male. When one calls attention to this kind of thing in section meetings, she says that the instructors respond, "Oh yeah, that's really interesting," but "you're still responsible for the material in exactly the way that they teach you," and the instructors are not willing to deviate much from that. Van, an Asian-American woman, took a Chinese class, in which the textbook "was really sexist," including such things as fill-in-the-blank sentences along the lines of "Men only like women if they're pretty."

7. Related to the racism and sexism in course materials, substantial minorities of participants at each campus feel that their racial/ethnic group's perspectives are often not included or valued in the courses their departments make available or in classroom discussions, and many do not feel that perspectives of members of their sex are included in their department's courses or valued in classroom discussions.

8. Many participants on all four campuses report that African-American Studies, Asian-American Studies, Latina/o Studies, Middle Eastern Studies, Native American Studies,

and Women's Studies are held in low esteem. For example, Hyun has heard many people make negative comments about the women's center on campus or about feminists in general. In one instance, two African-American men said to a woman that the only use for the women's center is to get things printed there for free, and she had two white, male friends express similar thoughts.

9. Some participants of color on each campus express concern about the small numbers of professors of color and women professors on their campuses. One example is the observation from Dwuana, an African-American, that "the Black, the minority people don't really get a chance to speak out in class…because the class is controlled, basically, by white professors, male and female." Therefore, she says, they tend to "get in the corner block,…out of the way of the instructor…especially where you're in a class where the majority of them are white, both male and female."

10. Many participants at all universities did not know who on their campus is currently working against racism and/or sexism or what their universities' policies about diversity are, but that was less true at Midwest than at the others. Participants were especially likely to name student organizations as doing that kind of work and to feel that the administration should do more. For instance, at South University, Anita, an African-American, reports that her awareness that the university has a creed about diversity came only from someone's having pointed it out on a plaque during orientation, and this was echoed by several students who said they knew the university has a diversity policy only because they had to read it aloud during orientation. Also at South, Douglas is an African-American who believes that the top administrator of the University has done a lot to advance diversity on campus and has received death threats for getting rid of its racist images, but "in my opinion, it's just policy on paper." He says he doesn't know if this administrator knows that "he still has so far to go." Notes Douglas:

> …if you go out into the Union — that's where most people go to eat — and at the fraternities, the campus is still considerably (though not officially) segregated, and African-Americans at parties at white fraternity houses have been "called 'nigger.'

11. More participants report the presence of racism than sexism on most campuses, and even where the reports are about equal, more treat racism than sexism as a serious problem. No participant denies that there is racism on their campus, but some deny the very existence of sexism or consider it to be "normal." At South University in particular, men were unlikely to report the existence of sex-based problems, and in general, women were more likely than men to report sex-based discrimination, with the exception of Ivy, where men were quick to report signs of misogyny. In general, participants were more aware of people and organizations working against racism than against sexism on campus. Nisha, an Asian-American first-year student on one of our campuses, describes the way greater attention is paid to racism than to sexism, to the point that sexism can be invisible:

> I think sexism is harder, because like racism is more looked at as radical. People look at it is as something hateful, but sexism is so subtle. It's hard. Sexism is something you really grow up with like the male/female roles, your mom and your dad how they act and how your relatives act. It's really subtle; you don't even think it is sexism. Even if you are exposed to how men and women should be equal, as you go up and up in the education, you see a lot less females…. It is harder for women. It is so subtle, people just accept it [as though it] is something you should do.

Illustrating Nisha's point is Dong, an Asian-American, who describes feeling threatened in the presence of race-based aggression but only "maybe a little indignant" in the presence of sex-based aggression. Similarly, Quan, who is South Asian, says he is "angry" about the race-based aggression and "I would definitely interfere. Kind of, calm it down, or something… And I definitely would not want to take it, just standing, or sitting down, or anything." This contrasts strikingly with his reaction to sex-based aggression: "I guess I'm kind of numb to it. I should probably be angry, but I see it more like a fact of life…" And Jake, who is Native American, responds to the question about race-based aggression by saying that he takes "jokes" about sex/gender less seriously than those about race: "I become most upset or offended, personally. …I'll tell people to stop…usually do what I can actively or passively to kind of discontinue the conversation or that kind of train of thinking at that time"; however, his response about sex-based aggression is, "not as big of a deal, really." This man also notes that, although he feels hurt by ethnic "jokes" and does not make them himself, he sees no problem with sex-based ones. Demonde, despite having just, in response to a question about racist incidents, described white men making fun of his African-American girlfriend as "nappy-headed" and reporting how badly she felt and how provoked and ready to confront these men he was, says in response to the next question, which is about sexist incidents, by saying that he is not aware of any on campus. And Sasha, despite having earlier in her interview expressed a great deal of dismay about the double standard with regard to women's social behavior and problems with what her boyfriend expected her to be (stay-at-home, like his mother),

denies that there are any sex/gender problems on campus. Although Sandra, an African-American, has had more experiences on campus of sexism and sexual assault than with racial discrimination, Zachary, an African-American, says that people do not think that sexism is a problem on his campus, although he believes that the common view that Ivy women are less attractive than Ivy men is definitely a manifestation of sexism.

Gladys, a Latina, describes the danger run by women who speak up against sexist treatment, pointing out that "a lot of people are like, 'Oh, my God, you're racist? That's horrible!' but if people are sexist…I think people would euphemize it and make the woman look like she's overreacting as opposed to the man was disrespectful, and I've seen that happen in the Greek system so many times." And Althea, an African-American participant, notes that sex and gender issues are played down in her university's dealings with affirmative action matters, because people would take it less seriously if sex were added as a primary focus: "the general sentiment on campus was that diversity is good, and that diversity means race and ethnicity, although it also means a lot of other things, like gender. But at the same time I felt like [gender] was left out." At Ivy, Baleria, a Latina, notes that orientation sessions include a required discussion about racism but not about sexism, other than sexual assault. She believes that "there really should have been a community conversation in the same way that girls can talk about the pressures they feel, I think that was a big, something that was definitely missing there."

Findings about racism

12. More than one-fourth of participants of color feel that race has some bearing (usually as an impediment) on their success at college, although some cite racial/ethnic students' organizations, university programs for supporting students of color, and (at Missouri State, Midwest, and South) scholarships for students of color as especially helpful. Haneul, who is Asian-American, says that it can be "intimidating" if "there's no one else of your race in a class." It makes you feel, "This is so weird. Maybe I shouldn't be taking this class," so that "even if you're at the same level as everyone else, it sort of, like, maybe a little bit, just, like, pushes you down, a little bit." Andre, an African-American, describes the pressure that students from his racial group may feel because of the existence of stereotypes leading them to think, "Am I good enough? Did I only get in because of [being Black]?" Arianna, who is Native-American, appreciatively cites her university's Native American program which makes "a huge commitment to making the Native Americans feel welcomed" and notes that a foundation for race relations on her campus is trying to arrange for a Native American event. Althea, who is African-American, says there are "a lot of student organizations and events that are targeted towards the Black community and Black females."

13. Despite participants' abundant reports of manifestations of racism, many appear to cope with these by trying to ignore them and/or taking the individualistic approach that "what you get out of college just depends on what you put into it." This was the case for many students at MSU and South and for several at Midwest and several at Ivy. Raymond, an African-American, says there is an unwritten rule that, "you have to keep the peace and keep silent on this campus in order to succeed." Describing how she copes with negative stereotypes about African-Americans, Krystal says:

> There are times when you do have to suck it up and just go with it. Sometimes that may mean not saying something in class. Sometimes that may mean not losing your temper with others. It's definitely a complicated binary to exist within, but it's going to be a part of the Black experience, especially when you're trying to become successful…or…educated or…to do something for your community…. Maybe they don't think that you can answer the question correctly in class. Sometimes they will question you, to make you have double proof of your answer…. Or they'll just keep reiterating what they're saying… like it really matters…. It's expressed in different little ways, but if you pay attention, just in conversation, or just in discussing things in class, you will see that a lot of times they think that their take on life is more valid than me.

Latina senior Isaura says that "even in your classes, if you feel like you're the only Latino or Latina, it should push you harder and not make you feel like you're inferior as everyone else." And Sebastion, an African-American senior, denies throughout nearly the entire interview that there is any racism on campus and does not mention race in giving his first two pieces of advice in response to the question of what he would tell a new student. However, he then checks with the interviewer to confirm that the person he was to advise belongs to a racial/ethnic minority and says:

> Oh, stay out of trouble. Stay. Out. Of. Trouble. Because some people still expect Black people to do wrong, just because we're Black people. And, do not put yourself in a position where they can, you know, say, 'Hey, I told you so.'

14. South University participants reported more blatant expressions of racism, including comments from some faculty; being ignored and excluded by white students; and the use of race- and slavery-related images on campus than

did participants at the other universities. In stark contrast to participants at the other universities, more than half at South University have considered leaving the institution, many for reasons related to racism. Some at South describe people there as simply not knowing how to interact with those of other races. Monica, an African-American, describes white people staring at her both in the classroom and elsewhere on campus, as well as moving away from her if she sits next to them and ignoring the comments that she makes. She also considered leaving soon after she arrived because of all the racism she experienced, including hearing about the Black man who was pushed down the stairs at a white fraternity house, but she, too, stayed, because "racism is everywhere." Freddy, who is African-American, describes one situation that made him feel he does not fit in:

> When Barack got nominated, I…heard some comments made by certain whites, males and females, whom I did not know, who was making racial slurs about him being President…. And that, kind of, made me rethink, "Why am I here?" …it made me feel like I should not be here. Like, when Barack Obama got elected, they were saying, "I can't believe we have a nigger as the President." I heard that a couple times.

Michelle, an African-American, describes the rude awakening she received in her first year, when a white friend told her that some white sorority members:

> …were sending out Valentines... And this one girl had wanted to send one to her African-American friend… And she was like, "Oh wait. Isn't this girl African-American?" "Well," she said, "Black." …So she, the girl on my retreat, she looked at the other girl, and she was like, "Yeah. Send it to her." The girl was like, "I don't know if we should, cause she's Black…. I think we should call the housemother, because she's Black. And I don't know if we should send it to her." …that's one of the things when I really hurt, where it happens, but you just don't hear about it."

Shane, who is African-American, objects to South University's mascot as racist and finds this especially disturbing because most of the sports teams' players are Black. At South University, when Jarett, an African-American, asked a white, male student to stop making comments about all African-Americans being athletes, the latter replied, "You're in [the state where South University is located]," as though that made it all right to say such things.

At South University, a particularly disturbing story of a racist incident concerns the ways that it affected one participant's attempt to get an education, keep his scholarship, and try to fulfill his hopes for achieving the top position in a major extracurricular organization. Raymond, who is African-American, says that a white, male professor whom he had previously admired apparently felt that Raymond was not achieving as well as he should in an extracurricular activity of which this professor is in charge and made a "joke" about joining the Ku Klux Klan and choking him in order to get him to improve. This happened in the presence of dozens of other students, only one other of whom was African-American, and there was an audible gasp when he said it, but no one called the professor on it. Because that professor makes the decisions about scholarships in Raymond's field of study and about who is placed in the top positions in organizations in his field, Raymond wanted to speak up but was frightened about the consequences of doing so. When the comment was made, Raymond "just kind of closed my ears. I just looked down…and thought, 'I can't believe he said that.'" He was "about to walk out" but stayed and later spoke with his mother, who was glad that he had not walked out, because he would probably have lost his scholarship if he had. He told his mother, "If somebody disrespects me like that, it's not worth it. It's not worth my time to be insulted and be said things like that to. It's not worth it." He spoke with some white people in the group whom he trusted, "and they said, 'I'm a white person, and I was offended by that, because that was totally over the line.'" After a couple of days to "regroup from that and think of different ways that could have been interpreted, he courageously went on his own to see the professor and told him that what he had said was "very offensive." The professor thanked him "for coming to him in such a professional manner, because he knows that I could have taken it to [the top administrators at the University]."

At South University, Tareek, who is African-American, says that when a group of white men is walking toward him, "They take up the whole sidewalk, for the most part, like they don't see you. And they expect you to step off in the grass," and on one occasion this happened with a group of white women. Jarett, also African-American, describes himself as a friendly person who speaks to people as he walks by them, but "It just feels like a lot of Caucasians won't speak to me," an experience Gorou, an Asian-American, and Rosa, who is African-American, also report, although Rosa says that some whites are friendly to her. Talia reports verbal aggression, with one of her close, African-American friends reporting that "one of our [white, male] classmates from high school who attends here as well…was saying that she didn't belong here, because South University is for white people." At South University, the night of Obama's election a fight began when an African-American man was "sort of exuberant" about the victory, and "someone from a dorm yelled down at him to

'Shut up, nigger, or something,'" and white students used "the 'n' word" to describe Obama the night of the election. One African-American woman at South who is very outgoing and has many friends, including white ones, says that the day after Obama's election, many of her white friends looked away when they saw her and would not even speak to her. With time, most resumed speaking to her, but two never did.

Raymond, African-American, describes the white Greek letter organizations as elitist and exclusionary, to the point that he has white friends who do not invite him to their fraternities' parties.

15. At South University, Asian-Americans and Latinas/os and Native Americans in particular describe difficulties due to the extremely small numbers of people from their racial groups in the undergraduate student body, and this is the case at Midwest and Ivy for Latina/os and Native Americans. A Native American student at South refers to the invisibility of that racial/ethnic group on campus, noting that the category "Native American" was not even given as an option for listing one's race for a campus-wide event. That student says, "They put me under Asian-American, because they didn't have 'Native American' on there." They did not even have a box labeled "other." Jake, a Native American sophomore at Midwest, notes the lack of academic and social things for Native Americans:

> Events and everything are kind of lacking and not well publicized… It's really easy to find almost anything that you would want, save for the thing that I find most important. …for other ethnic groups, such as African-Americans and Hispanics, it's a lot easier to find and see things for them than it is for Native Americans. …. I know it's probably not the university's fault, but I still think there's more that they could do.

16. Many at all universities want greater racial/ethnic diversity in the student body and faculty, and at Midwest, African-Americans and Latina/os are more likely than other participants to consider their student bodies to be insufficiently diverse. On the positive side, at Missouri State, nearly half of the participants have faculty role models of the same racial group as themselves and more than two-thirds of the same sex as themselves. At Ivy, Valerie, an African-American, believes that Black students are often unaware of resources available to them there, such as some grants or study programs, because they are not as likely to have "deep relationships with non-Black faculty members." … One advantage of staying with their community is that, as she describes it, Black faculty "consider it their responsibility to make sure that we are OK" and go out of their way to follow up with students not just about academic matters but also to get to know them, "make time for them…go out to eat with them on occasion, come to meetings, sponsor them for stuff, write recommendations, like, volunteer those things…actively." She says that "that support is just granted to us automatically, once we get here," something that non-Black faculty "absolutely" do not do. Alexandra, an African-American woman who is a senior, reports believing at first that the student body was diverse but realizes:

> Now, I've seen pretty much the same faces for the last three years, and… you know when a Black student is a freshman. Because you've never seen them before…. I can walk all around campus every day, and I can see a new white face or a new Asian face, but if I see a Black kid, and I don't know who you are… You're a freshman…and that's, that's kind of sad on a campus that's so big.

Rosa, an African-American, observes that white students of both sexes tend to have closer social relationships with faculty, seeing them outside of class in social situations in which they may also discuss matters related to their courses. She cites one example of a white, male professor having lunch with a white, male student from his course and discussing the upcoming test with him. Raymond, also African-American, has majored in Biology and Chemistry and says that the Biology faculty have not been particularly helpful and "just don't approach me one-on-one," but the Chemistry faculty have been friendlier and more willing to interact with him. He thinks this difference may be due to there being no African-American Biology faculty: "Since they don't have the diversity, they…don't really know how to interact with people of different races." In contrast, the Chemistry department has a more diverse faculty, even though it has few women.

Dwuana, an African-American, says that "the Black, the minority people don't really get a chance to speak out in class…because the class is controlled, basically, by white professors, male and female."

17. Participants describe the difficulty of attracting students to events sponsored by organizations of other races and of attracting the "unconverted" to events about racism. Asian-American groups at Ivy were the exception, with some students saying they had had some success along these lines.

18. Many participants on all four campuses report some insensitivity about race issues displayed by some faculty, graduate student instructors, and advisors. For instance, Ping, an Asian-American, finds it troubling that faculty ask her where she is from, she names the U.S. city where she was raised, and they nevertheless persist, asking where her parents are from. She says it is clear that they believe that,

once they know that her parents are from the Philippines, and thus they feel they can place her race/ethnicity, they believe they thereby have learned important things about her, rather than getting to know her individually. She says, "When I've had the whole 'Are you Filipino?' thing…I get upset. I start to mumble internally, and then I'm thinking like, 'You should know not to say that.'" Rosa, the only African-American student in a music course, describes problems with the white, male instructor's dealing with hip-hop. They spent a week each studying other kinds of music but only one day on hip-hop. The instructor assigned an article about how "the thug mentality got started, and …how African-Americans sold crack to each other. But we didn't talk about it in class." She was offended, because she "didn't know if he was saying that hip-hop is centered around crackheads in the African-American community or was he trying to give us some background on it." Furthermore, all of the other students were white and "everybody was looking at me, because they wanted me to have an input…. So it's like they're eyeing you, like, what do you have to say?" And in a course about race and culture, the white, male professor responded to an African-American woman's presentation about the varieties of styles and content of women rappers by saying that African-American women who listen to them are "bitches and hos" and that the Black race is polluting the white race in this way. The participant who recounts this says that no one reported his statements and that she chose not to because he is a nice person, and, subsequently, he apologized.

19. Substantial numbers of students of color at all four campuses report faculty and advisors having made them feel negatively or giving them mixed messages about their intelligence (at Missouri State, these were disproportionately likely to be women students). Many participants of color at all four universities have had negative experiences with advisors. And at Midwest, five of our six white participants have been made to feel only positively about their intelligence, whereas half of the African-Americans have had mixed experiences. In contrast to other racial groups, at Midwest, fewer than half of Latinas/os have been encouraged by advisors, faculty, or graduate students to challenge themselves academically. Latina sophomore Brenda says:

> I've never really had anyone tell me that I should be taking harder courses. …I wish that I could have had someone sort of encourage me to do new things. When you're never encouraged to, like, push beyond what you're doing, you kind of feel like that's all you can do. …it would have been nice having someone kind of, like, believe in you and, like, tell you that you could keep going.

Tanya is an African-American who reports that most of the time, she is "the only Black student in the class" and that a lot of the white, male professors do not seem to think she can do the work as well as the white students, and they do not call on her as much as on the latter. Rachel, also African-American, describes a white English professor who helped white students of both sexes but not her with a quiz. Dwuana, an African-American, describes a white, male professor providing course materials for a white woman but not for a Black man, each of whom had missed the first class. As a result, the male student was unable to do his first assignment and received an "F" for it. Rashard, also African-American, describes the advising system as "terrible" and says that if you go to the advising office without an appointment:

> …like I've seen many other people do, walk in there, and just, kind of, look around, they feel as if, they wonder if you, they almost feel like you're going to steal something… everybody looks at you as if, 'Where'd you come from?' And they ask, 'May I help you?' …very quickly, …as if you don't belong there.

Valerie, who is African-American, did not feel that her first-year advisor took her seriously, and she was distressed that this white woman repeatedly tried to persuade her to take on less difficult work than she wanted, although to do that would have interfered with Valerie's plans for an honors concentration. Alisa, an African-American, considers the advising in the Psychology department to be poor, basing this conclusion on three different white, male advisors she has had. Each of them she has seen only to have them sign her study card at the beginning of the year, and when she recently passed one on campus, she "couldn't figure out who he was or why I should know him, and then it occurred to me, 'Oh, that used to be my advisor.' So that gives you an idea of how connected we were or how much we interacted." Dedra, an African-American, three times met her first-year advisor, who signed her study card but was busy, did not give her advice, and "never reached out to see if I was okay during the semester or to talk about where, how I was feeling about classes." Veronica, also African-American, says that her first-year advisor "basically didn't know anything about the undergraduate experience." Jerome, who is African-American, reports that a white, woman advisor advised him when he first arrived not to take Calculus classes, although he was a Finance major. He thought it was strange that she did not even bother to look at his transcript before giving him that advice, and if she had, she would have seen that he had taken Advanced Placement Calculus the previous semester.

20. Many participants of color at MSU and South do not feel that their ideas are respected by other undergraduates or by teaching assistants/graduate students. Monica, an African-American, says that white students often treat her as though she is "not as smart as they are" by listening only to each other and disregarding her when she speaks in class, even when her answers are right, and theirs are wrong.

21. The vast majority of participants at all four universities say that whites do most of the talking in class. LaToya contrasts her lone minority situation with that of students who benefit from white privilege, noting that "white people in class like to talk a lot," because "they don't have to think about the repercussions." What she herself says is likely to be assumed to represent all Black, queer women, but what a white student says will not be taken to represent all whites, she points out.

22. A great many participants of color (e.g., nearly half at Missouri State) would like to speak more in class than they do and often mentioned the discomfort occasioned by being asked to speak for all people of their racial group, as though every member of their race has the same beliefs. A Black student says that he is aware that when race topics come up, "there are people staring at me, trying to see how I react," at which times "I kind of scrunch up and try not to be noticed in the classroom." Michelle, an African-American, describes her acute discomfort as the only member of her race/ethnicity in a class around the time of the Presidential election. Her teacher told the class that the campus is segregated, asking them to look around the classroom and report how many African-Americans they saw. Michelle put her head down and felt, "Oh, God. This is so awkward." Had she been white, she feels she "would have been like a beet, beet red, 'cause I was really heated."

23. Most participants at all four universities describe students of color as tending to spend time primarily with members of their own racial/ethnic groups, the vast majority attributing this solely to comfort and familiarity, with only a few mentioning the need for a sanctuary from racism as a cause. At Missouri State University, Black students in particular praise the Multicultural Resource Center as a comfortable place to go. Students' answers to the question of why students self-segregate seemed to reflect a failure to examine the assumption that a person will have more in common with same-race than with different-race others and/or that what same-race people share is more important or compelling than commonalities that people of different races might find they have.

The findings that substantial numbers of students of color believe that white students hesitate to work with students of color and believe that students of color hesitate to work with white students suggests that self-segregation is a way to minimize risk of rejection by other-race peers. Valerie, an African-American at Ivy, notes that "for a lot of Black students here, this is the first time, as it was for me, that there was a significant Black community that was intellectually strong and kicking, and interesting, and fun to be around," so that they tend to stay within that community for that reason as well as because of troubling attitudes of some non-Black students toward Blacks. Sandra, also African-American, has friends of various races but says that "Black people tend to be drawn to each other because they feel like they understand each other's struggles." She also notes that many Black people had primarily white friends in high school and are pleased at Ivy to find other Black people who "talk like them[selves], and they have the same academic and career goals." Kyung, an Asian-American sophomore at Midwest, says that although:

> …everyone does know someone of a different ethnicity…you do hang out, typically, with your own race. …when you look in a mirror, and you see what you look like, and you look at everyone else, it's really hard, initially, to get past your self-consciousness, that you're afraid someone's going to view you differently…. And so it's more comfortable when you're hanging out with other people who do look like you and when you don't feel, like, maybe they're going to judge you by physical appearance.

24. At all four universities, Blacks and Latina/os in particular often grapple with the burdens of being the "lone minority" in a classroom, including being left out of study groups and being afraid to speak in class, for fear of confirming the stereotype that members of their group lack intelligence. Negative stereotypes — often about African-Americans in particular at Midwest, Missouri State, and South — appear to reduce the likelihood of formation of interracial study groups. Demonde often feels he does not fit in, does not feel welcome, and feels "alone" when he is the "only Black person" in courses in his major. When he told a white, woman classmate that he felt this way, she accused him of being racist because he had noticed that he was the only Black person, and he had to persuade her to consider how she would feel if she were the only white person in class. Douglas, who is African-American, worries that, because there are so few students of color in his area of study, "there may be affirmative action notions applied to us." Dara, also African-American, notes, "It's very rare that I will find someone of my same race in a class with me, even if it's a lecture of 300-some students, maybe I'll find ten at the most

of someone with my same race or even a darker skin tone like me." Dwuana, an African-American, says, "In the classes that I've taken, you really never hardly find the Black, both males and females, sitting in the front of the classroom…. We, kind of, often go to the back of the room, so we're not called on as much." Avoidance of being called on is due to fear of "negative feedback," of being laughed at because of getting an answer wrong. Donnell describes white students in his classes considering him "dangerous" and not wanting to work with him because he is African-American: "…if you're sitting in a row, and they say, 'OK, in your, in your section, just pair off into groups,'" he says, "the white person on each side of you turns away from you to avoid ending up in your group."

25. At Midwest, African-Americans and Latinas/os are especially likely to have considered leaving the university, most commonly for academic or financial reasons , stress, or homesickness, with a few mentioning race-related problems. Jose, a senior, says it has "never been easy for me to pay for this school", and early on, he did not feel he fit in. Krystal, who is African-American, notes "the fact that there weren't many things that the African-American students could be comfortable doing sometimes, or the fact that I didn't have anyone to do my hair, or I didn't have anyone to handle cosmetic issues that I needed handled." However, once she chose her major and was:

> …continually indoctrinated with the leaders and the best slogan here at [Midwest University], that became a part of me, and I really felt like, 'You know what? I am a leader. I am the best. I need to stay here so that I can continue to shine a light for other minority students and continue to be an example for them.'

And Danielle, an African-American, first-year student felt out of place until she connected with another African-American woman student.

26. At Missouri State and South, participants say there are unwritten rules prohibiting interracial dating. At Missouri State, the contrast between the high perception of acceptance of interracial friendships and the much lower acceptance of interracial dating suggests a clear limitation of racial integration on campus, although both interracial friendships and dating there appear to be more accepted than at earlier times in history. But the fact that one-third of Missouri State participants said that interracial dating is not accepted reflects some degree of belief that people from other races are different in important ways from members of one's own race.

Demonde, an African-American at South University, says that interracial dating, especially white women with Black men, is "a huge problem for parents" and that when he and a white woman friend have gone out to dinner in town, both Black and white people have given them "funny" looks, to the point that the woman said she did not want to eat any more, so they left. South University student Talia's white friends have criticized interracial dating, although they know that she is multiracial.

27. Some participants at the time of the interviews at Missouri State and South did not believe that there is administrative support of racial/ethnic minority group organizations and programs on campus.

28. Many participants of color — especially Black, male students — report that they have had negative experiences with campus police at Ivy, Missouri State, and South but not at Midwest. Andre, an African-American, describes a Black, male friend being questioned by the police about whether he attends Ivy when he was just about to swipe his Ivy card to enter a building, and he reports a woman running away from that same friend when she saw that he was about to enter the same building as she. Shaun is among several students who observe that the campus police selectively dispersed African-Americans as opposed to whites who gathered in groups the night of President Obama's election, treating celebrations by the former as though they were race riots. In fact, notes Shaun, the South University campus police has a double standard in general for responding to limit African-American students' socializing, for which they will be "out there in full force…have their sirens on and everything, they are trying to hurry everyone up for leaving," but for white students' parties, "there's nothing like that going on." And Erin, a white senior at South University, reports that an African-American friend who is a sorority member says that campus police are called to break up early those barbecues held by her African-American sorority but permit much noise and drunkenness around white sorority houses.

29. At Missouri State and South, some students of color who mentioned off-campus experiences reported frightening ones, such as being chased and called racist names by whites, as well as more subtle ones, such as being treated in more demeaning or suspicious ways in stores (a Midwest student also described the latter kind of incident). However, one Black student favorably contrasted Springfield, MO, the location of Missouri State, with their St. Louis home, since in Springfield, one "only" encounters hate speech and Confederate flags, whereas "in St. Louis, you can get shot at."

Findings about sexism

30. Some women at Ivy and South mention that they feel out of place in classrooms and majors where there are few women, because they feel they are not taken seriously and/or they fear confirming the stereotype that, for instance, women do not belong in Physics or Engineering. Haneul, an Asian-American man, learned when he "stumbled" on a Women in Science awards night where he went "for the free food" that women find it difficult to stay in Physics, especially because in many courses, there is only one woman student. He also says that many of his women friends have told him, on nights when they had to do problem sets, that they feel they should drop the class, because they do not think they are "good enough," although he knows they are smart enough to do the work. Related to this, Van, an Asian-American woman at Ivy, says it was:

> ...very difficult for me to ask questions in Computer Science or admit that I didn't know how to do something, because I was a girl…. I think that actually caused a lot of problems for me academically, within Computer Science, just because it was like I felt such a need to prove myself as a female that…it actually really got in the way of my learning. You know, like situations where I should have just let up and been like, "I don't know. Please explain this to me."

31. At all four universities, some women participants report comments from classmates and faculty demeaning their intelligence because of their sex and/or focusing on their appearance instead of their academic abilities. Meadow, a multi-racial student at Ivy University, notes that there are some "white, male professor(s)" on campus who are known to devalue women. Krystal, a Midwest junior who is African-American, relates the story of one of the only African-American women undergraduates majoring in Engineering, who was mistreated by a white instructor. The student, she says:

> …was doing her work very, very well, and the teacher wouldn't give her her proper grade. I think the teacher was trying to fail her or something. And I think she had to take it to the board, just to prove that her answers were correct…He had some kind of vendetta out for her specifically, because she was the only African-American female…. And right there I was like, "You know what? There's no way I could ever be in Engineering."

Valerie, an Ivy junior and also African-American, also notices "there's quite a bit of sexism, visibly, especially from professors." She and her friends have been in a number of classes in which a professor "will just make jokes about females, that are not insulting, but it certainly is, like, a very chauvinistic, really, comment. Or, will openly, even, flirt with students in class, that are females." She also has seen "in enough classes" male professors more intensely engaging with male than with female students. Tanya, an African-American at South University, relates an experience she had that reflects the stereotypic expectation that a mother with a child cannot handle a heavy workload, perhaps especially in quantitative fields. She has a young child, and her white, male advisor her informed her that she would not be able to have a double major in Mathematics and Chemistry and still graduate in four years, and another white, male professor told her that she would not be able to take a high-level Calculus course and be able to keep her daughter, but she took the class and obtained a grade of "A." Dominique, an African-American first-year at South University, describes a white, male student who "picks on me all of the time" because she is Pre-Med and taking Biology, and he does not think women should expect to do well in such courses. She has been mocked for being a woman taking Pre-Med and Biology instead of looking for a husband and says she tries to push past that kind of treatment and focus on getting her education. Veronica, an African-American at Ivy University, has also had a professor make comments with sexual innuendoes about such things as, "what a proper woman should do and how she should act."

32. Some women participants at each university report that if they assert their opinions and values, they are considered to be inappropriately strong and feminist. Evelyn, who is Asian-American and white, has become more aware of issues of sexism since coming to college, and sex-based aggression makes her feel sad. Her reaction is in part because of the "complicity" of some women in perpetuating those attitudes and stereotypes through their failure to object when people make sexist comments. As a result, "people start to think it is okay, there's this whole notion that we are living in a post-feminist era, [although] obviously we are not past sexism." She believes women's reluctance to speak up or do anything actively feminist is because of their fear of being called names, thought to be ugly or lesbian "or all these different negative things that are associated with standing up for women's rights." She worries that this is "a very bad place for us to be" and she is angry that men feel it is okay to make generalizing comments, and women think they don't have the right, or they don't really want to stand up for it because they are not one of those types of women who get all up in arms about these small things, when they are not really that small, and when they are cumulative. Quan, a South Asian man, identifies a Catch-22 for women in academic settings, noting that when they dress in certain ways, such as wearing

miniskirts, male professors may objectify them but give them "better treatment," but says:

> ...if a girl is trying to be true to her values, sometimes it's seen as overly feminist. And male professors will, sometimes, feel, I won't say threatened, but they just don't like it, I don't think. And they will, kind of, shun them.

Lawrence, an African-American, reports that a woman friend who is president of a feminist group on campus is treated badly because she refuses to be objectified, "even jokingly," and abused, and he says that women are expected to wear short shorts and men to dress "like Poppin' John…normal." At South University, Erin, who is white and a senior from the northern U.S., says that people of both sexes sometimes let her know she does not belong there, because women in the South are not supposed to have strong opinions, especially not negative ones, so when she expresses a strong opinion, people "either close off and stop talking to me, or they become fascinated." And Cynthia, a multiracial woman at South, encountered the expectation for women to be physically weak, helpless, or passive when, at a bonfire party, because she added some wood to the fire, some men called to her, "Oh, you have some balls, don't you!"

33. Sex discrimination also includes microaggression in the classroom, such as professors talking more with male than female students and taking the former's opinions more seriously than the latter's. Students at Midwest and South in particular mentioned these kinds of problems. As an example of sex-based microaggression in the sciences, professors converse more with male students than with female ones and take the men's opinions more seriously, according to Brenda, who is Latina. Talia, a multiracial participant who was the only student of color in a particular course, tells this story: The professor required students to attend a series of meetings and became angry at her when she emailed to say she would not be able to come at one point, so she left her job to go to that meeting because "he was so adamant and stern." Near the very end of the 30-minute meeting, another student walked in, and the professor only told him he should arrive on time. An African-American woman named Anita describes a white, male professor who seemed to favor the male students more than he favored the female students:

> When I raised my hand because I knew the answer to the question he was asking, he would never call on me to answer it. (Never?) He only called on me one time when I happened to know the answer. When it was obvious that I didn't know the answer to the question he was asking, he called on me to give the wrong answer or to guess. But he seemed to be more lenient with the male students than females. (Would he call on them if they didn't have their hands up?) Only if no one had their hands up. (What if they did raise their hand?) He would.

34. Many participants at all universities reported having witnessed or heard about incidents on campus involving sexism of various kinds and/or sexual assault. At all but Missouri State, Greek letter organizations and/or private, men's social clubs are described as having powerful, exclusionary effects on men of color and as contributing to sexual harassment and sexual assaults against women. The numerous examples given here reflect the frequency and range of such incidents, and to a very great extent, they were similar across universities. Jessica, a biracial senior, says:

> …sex-based aggression "is always shocking" and is upset by the expectation that the women victims should change, such as by not going out at night, rather than the male perpetrators. She describes the double bind for women or people of color who are subjected to either sex- or race-based aggression: "we kind of have to deal with it the best way that we can, because that's our only option, but at the same time, if we obsess over it, we get called out for obsessing over it."

Jessica also reports:

> My sophomore year, my friends and I were walking, and this guy just grabs us…and pulls us. It was an awful experience…. I reported it to our [campus safety department], and I think we also talked to the [city where the university is located] Police about it, and they just said like, they probably put "attempted sexual assault" or something like that…. I actually had this guy follow me home, and I feel like men don't have that problem, like being followed home by women…it's a real problem here. Stalking, too, is a big thing. I had a girlfriend of mine who was…stalked by someone on campus. They would show up to her classes, and…that's frightening.

Doreen is a Native American who heard from a white woman that the latter was "drugged at a frat party," something that Doreen says happens "at all frat houses, women students are drugged," because she has heard similar stories from other women in her dorm to whom this has happened. The first woman she mentioned says she was sexually assaulted while drugged. Xiu, an Asian-American, also reports stories of women being drugged and then sexually assaulted at parties. She describes one white woman to whom this happened:

> …when she reported it to the officials, they basically said it was her fault and didn't really do anything about it. And I think it really traumatized her…she was really depressed after that. She got into drugs and stuff, and…she was finally getting over everything that happened. And she said that the guy who assaulted her…came up to her and was like, "Hey, I had a great time, we should do it again."

Cynthia, who is Native American and Latina, says that at a fraternity party, a white, male student "came by and smacked my butt." She said, "I don't know you. What are you doing?"" but he "just laughed it off." She was very angry but took no action except to avoid him the rest of the night. She also tells of a white, male student who "just randomly starts poking" the breast of a white, woman friend of hers. When Cynthia challenged him, he said, "Well, I am just messing with her." Cynthia then "cursed him out," and he left the party. Neither instance was reported to anyone. And Lanita, also African-American, says that some African-American men said to her and some other African-American women, as though they were 'joking,' "You're nothing but a mouth with two holes." Liz, who is white, describes men at private, social clubs "in their drunken stupor" treating women in degrading ways:

> You can be standing in a group of guys, and they can be talking about the girls that are next to them… commenting on people's clothing or 'She's pretty, she's ugly, she's fat. She's a bitch.'

Hyun, an Asian-American, says that "especially when you're in [private, social] clubs [men] feel that they have the right to touch you or talk to you as they please." And Iseul, an Asian-American woman, reports that at a private, men's social club party, "a Black male…just grabbed my behind and squeezed," and when she turned around to protest, he said, "I am not going to apologize. You were asking for it." She found this "shocking. …a rude awakening that people would do that." She did not report the incident but never went back there again. She has "also heard of instances of sexual aggression and even rape at a lot of these [men's] clubs." Qing, an Asian-American woman, says that the parties hosted by exclusive men's clubs are

> very, very unbalanced in terms of gender. When you go there, I feel like the average ratio is five girls to one guy. If you're a guy, and you're not part of the club and you don't have friends in it, you have to bring a whole crowd of girls in order to get in. That not only objectifies and devalues women; [and] is just a perpetuation of all the most negative stereotypes of Ivy, as being a white, male-dominated, legacy driven, connections, all that stuff, and I think that it's really unfortunate, that it has to be a part of this institution, because I really do love it.

Sandra, an African-American, describes a rape victim who did not report the incident but "just ended up leaving" Ivy, because she was so humiliated. A woman friend of Sandra's was "roofied" and did not report what happened. And when Sandra's roommate was sexually assaulted and was crying, they called the sexual assault helpline, but "they didn't really do anything. I think it was because she was nervous about talking about it, and they were like, 'If you don't want to give up any more information, then they can't really help her'." The roommate did not want to report the man's name, because she was "nervous about getting him in trouble" and "didn't want to be embarrassed herself by ratting him out." Valerie says that in cases of sexual assault, even if the stories are passed around by word of mouth, "identities are, kind of, kept quiet," and she is aware of no aggressors in sexual assault cases being disciplined, even when they are reported. But she says that a stigma is attached to reporting sexual assault, because:

> …there's often…nuances to a situation. Or, if there's any way in which…you are not absolutely pure of any kind of blame at all, there is a great deal of hesitancy. Not to mention the fact that, you know, everybody here has a heavy academic course load. So, you've got to stop that to pursue something…. when it's come up in hypothetical conversations, it's even been to the point where,…given the amount of red tape I feel like I would have to go through if that were ever to happen to me, given the skepticism, given the male-friendly attitude on this campus anyway …I was kind of wondering, if that happened to me, whether it would ever be worth the, like, trouble, to go through it.

Dan, who is white, describes a gang rape of a first-year woman student by players on the football team, and "she may have taken a semester off or a year off," as far as Dan knows, no charges were laid against the rapists. He says, though, that in the next issue of the campus humor publication, a "joke" was made about the incident on the magazine's cover.

35. Women are more likely than other students to remain silent in class at all four campuses, even when they have something important to say or ask, and at Ivy University this was also disproportionately true of Asian-Americans and Latina/os. Brenda, who is Latina, opines that women are less comfortable than men speaking in class until they are very clear about what they want to say:

> [Men] have more access to professors and…. I don't think they feel so inhibited…speaking in class…. I think women still feel like they have to be within their own space and kind of really think about what they have to say before they say it….

Baleria, a Latina, reports that in some classes, including discussion sections, the men are:

> …more vocal, or sometimes seem to get more attention, or more credit for similar statements, or, let's say you both have the same thing written down on a homework assignment but one will just be more vocal about it.

Dora, a Latina, feels held back by the maleness of the faculty and "lack of female presence in teaching." Most of her

professors are men, and this makes her reluctant to approach them or try to excel in "their" subjects:

I feel like I would be very discouraged even just joining a panel discussion…. Sometimes I feel a little scared to ask my professors something because I'm a female; that's weird, I shouldn't say that.

Shun, an Asian-American woman, says she is reserved about participating in section because she fears being wrong, saying something "trivial," and not being able to articulate it well: "I'll have an idea, and it's, like, spinning around, and it'll come time to talk, and, just, like, I can't express it very well, and, like, awkward silence." Similarly, Ji, an Asian-American, stays silent until she knows that she has it "formulated." Mu, another Asian-American woman, sometimes stays silent when she is not "a hundred percent sure that I am right. And so I tend not to speak in case I might be judged."

Discussion

What our participants told us about their experiences on campus at their predominantly white institutions revealed that, despite the fact that some people believe that the United States is a postracial and postfeminist society and that there are no longer race/ethnicity-based or sex/gender-based inequalities, on a variety of historically predominantly white campuses, many students of color and women have experiences reflecting that substantial manifestations of both racism and sexism remain today. This is consistent with the structuralist understanding of students' difficulties on campus (e.g., see references 2,47,52,57,64), and confirms the occurrence of many on-campus experiences that contribute negatively to the environment in which students attempt to acquire an education and that could well interfere with that attempt. At the same time, many participants report some positive experiences, such as receiving support from student organizations and particular faculty or administrators, that make them feel welcomed, supported, encouraged, and accepted, but nearly every student also reports experiences that make them feel the opposite.

The kinds of mistreatment the students report come variously from other students, faculty, administrators, police, and others. Furthermore, although there remain some blatant expressions of these biases, especially at South University, much of the suffering that these manifestations cause on all four campuses is silent, and there appear to be at least five primary reasons for this:

(1) Much mistreatment comes in the form of microaggression, [24,81,79,75] so that the people who are its targets spend a great deal of time in internal dialogue, asking themselves whether they imagined or misinterpreted what the other person said or did and, given the less than blatant form of the mistreatment, feeling apprehension and anguish about whether, if they try to name and object to what was done to them, they will only be told that they are overly sensitive or even that they are imagining it. They worry that speaking up to protest such treatment carries the risk of creating still more problems for themselves and other members of their respective groups. On campus, where they live, dine, work, and socialize with people who commit microaggressive acts against them, to name and object to racism and sexism, no matter how gently, runs the risk of having to function in settings in which they are further marginalized, mocked, or otherwise mistreated. This happens at a time when the average undergraduate is struggling with issues of identity and of self-trust and self-confidence. [3,29,75,78,80,83,84] It is clear that to be dealt with in hurtful ways because of one's race and/or sex causes a great deal of pain as one tries to grapple with matters related to identity, and the often subtle and confusing forms of microaggression complicate the process of figuring out how much one can trust one's own judgment of other people.[82]

(2) Related to the matters of identity and self-trust, the students we interviewed took their education seriously and were strongly motivated to learn. Facing, not to mention dealing with, the existence of barriers to their educational success due to racism and sexism — when they cannot change their race or sex — seemed too demoralizing to many, and so they coped by believing that "What you get out of this university just depends on what you put into it." In this way, suppressing their own awareness of on-campus racism and sexism seems to give them a sense of having more control over their lives and fates than they would otherwise feel they have.

(3) Some mistreatment — especially sexual aggression and sexual assault — that is directed primarily against women is so weighted with shame for the victims and fear of being blamed, demonized, and revictimized if they report the incidents that the victims often keep the mistreatment secret or tell only a trusted friend or two, usually begging them not to tell anyone else.

(4) Sexism is more likely to be considered a less serious problem than racism, and this makes the targets of sexism feel especially fearful that to speak up about upsetting occurrences based on their sex will lead to dismissive treatment.

(5) Many students who have been subjected to racist and/or

sexist treatment say that there is nowhere they feel safe on campus talking about these subjects. On some campuses, it appears to be due to the myth that racism and sexism do not exist there, and on others, it is because the targets already feel so pained that they do not dare to risk coming forward and speaking up, because they do not know of a campus official or a resource designated to help deal with such problems. Related to this, students describe some faculty on their campuses as either committing racist or sexist acts or as failing to intervene when others commit such acts in their classes.

Because of the nature of students' experiences of sexism and racism on campus, it is essential for university administrators to pay close and intense attention to the suffering that results from mistreatment and to take steps to change the chilliness of the climate for women and students of color. And as Sue has said, male privilege and white privilege maintain their power through invisibility, rendering it all the more important for these kinds of mistreatment to be the subject of intense study and for them to be reported as publicly and widely as possible.[29]

Recommendations

In each Voices of Diversity report that was sent to one of the four respective participating universities, one section was a list of recommendations designed to address the problems that the interviewees at their institution described. Many of the recommendations were similar or even identical for all four campuses, but some differed among campuses.

Because racism and sexism cause so much suffering and are so deeply ingrained in society in general (and thus also on campuses), we were specific and detailed in our recommendations, providing a plenitude of concrete suggestions. Given that the campuses where we did the VoD interviews varied greatly in their histories and ways of dealing with forms of bias and oppression, we were aware that, depending on the campus, some recommendations would seem more likely and possible than others to implement quickly, over the medium term, or over the longer term.

We pointed out that in places where psychological threat due to bias has been alleviated, intellectual achievement has tended to increase,[100] so the research holds promise for improving marginalized students' access to better education and thus to improvement in the very functioning of democracy. This, we noted, is the ultimate teaching and learning opportunity, a chance to create a learning community that is truly inclusive and supportive; this work is conceptual, ethical, and moral and is of global importance.

At Missouri State University, the first campus where we conducted the study, some preliminary recommendations were made in an early, written report and some in subsequent in-person meetings with those working on diversity issues. For the other three schools, more detailed recommendations were made in the written reports, which included the following lead-in to our suggestions:

> In light of some students' feelings that they are not seen to belong on campus or that they do not fit in; of many students' awareness of the negative stereotypes about people of their race and/or sex; of the ongoing acts of discrimination and aggression based on race and sex, many of which emanate from negative stereotypes and take the form of microaggressions, thus making them particularly complex and difficult to handle; of some students' lack of awareness of or uncertainty about whether the university is making system-wide efforts to reduce racism and sexism and about the university's policies about diversity and procedures for reporting incidents of discrimination and aggression; of students' perceptions of some insensitivity displayed by some faculty, graduate student instructors, and advisors; and of the many ramifications of increased diversity, and the handling of many situations that arise at all levels and in all realms requires resourcefulness and new sets of skills for many, what follow here are our suggestions for making the university's commitment to diversity more salient and create more mechanisms for dealing with problems related to diversity [we offer the following recommendations].

Universal and Individualized Recommendations

Many recommendations began with a general statement followed by more specific recommendations. In what follows, except where otherwise specified, the general statement for each recommendation was made to all four universities. As each recommendation is described here, some of the most important variations in the specific recommendations we made at the different universities are noted in parentheses. Because the VoD follow-up with Missouri State has been ongoing, and the production of recommendations more dialectical than with the other universities, rather more information is given about MSU in the Implementation section of this paper than in this section. In fact, in light of the earlier timing of our initial report to MSU and of the rapidity with which they moved to implement specific changes that we recommended or that they generated themselves, some of those changes were used as the bases for recommendations to one or more of the other three universities. Furthermore, as the VoD study was conducted on each campus, additional ideas for recommendations emerged. Thus, the mention

of any given recommendation for fewer than all four sites should not be taken to mean that it would not be important or useful for the others.

Recommendation 1

Given the wide array of comments from participants indicating that equity has not yet been achieved and that some are not sure whether the university has policies about race and sex, and if so, what the policies are, and given that most are troubled by manifestations of racism and sexism on campus, the university should consider taking actions to communicate and make salient its policies, if any, regarding racism and sexism and its ways of helping people throughout the institution to deal with these problems. Based on comments from some of the participants, this could include:

•Making salient whether the university administration has policies and procedures for reporting discrimination and what they are. (For both Ivy University and South University: Making not only the increasing but also the accommodating of diversity on campus explicit, fundamental aims of the university. These goals should be described as the responsibility of the entire university community and of benefit to everyone in that community. (At South University, this is especially important in light of many participants' statements either that they had no idea whether the university has diversity policies or that they were aware of them only because they had seen the university's creed once during orientation.)

•(For South University: Arranging for increased outreach from the administration and from student organizations to students of color when they are admitted to the university, because many participants of color report that no attempts were made to welcome them.)

•(For Ivy University and South University: Many participants believe that the undergraduate student body should be more racially diverse, especially but by no means only by increasing the numbers of some racial/ethnic groups, in order to reduce the frequency of "lone minority in the classroom" problems and difficulties for racial/ethnic minority students in joining study groups; therefore, we recommend increasing the racial/ethnic diversity of the student body.)

•Exploring appropriate media for communicating to all in its community the presence and nature of the racism, sexism and stereotyping on campus and the consequences they have been found to have for students.

•Most participants encounter problems that appear related to race and sex, and many find it upsetting and hard to know how to deal with these problems; therefore, we suggest facilitators who are trained to assist with the "difficult dialogues." This could become a part of the comprehensive effort for diversity education aimed at improving the campus climate throughout. (For Ivy University, we added: These dialogues are needed to ensure that members of under-represented racial/ethnic minorities and women have people to listen to and to advise them about the challenges of racism and sexism and changing the climate throughout the university. An alternative approach may be to consider offering incentives to academic departments that would like to examine this issue within the department, report the findings to their faculty, and develop strategies designed to offer solutions tailored to problems that are identified.)

•Some participants, especially women (and on at least one campus, Asian-Americans, and on another, African-Americans), tend to keep silent in class, so we suggest seeking ways to encourage and make it possible for these students to speak up comfortably.

•Some participants from all racial/ethnic minority groups and both sexes are troubled by racist or sexist comments by some faculty members in their classes and/or by the failure of some faculty to handle racist and sexist remarks and behavior in their courses in helpful ways, so we recommend that the University consider offering incentives to departments where faculty identify and take actions to eliminate racism and sexism and ensure that their courses are designed and conducted free of stereotype threat and microaggression. Actions could include encouraging faculty, administrators, and staff to obtain training about the effects of such comments on students of color and women, as well as about dealing with racist and sexist comments and behavior in class and elsewhere. The administration could promote these efforts by providing financial or other incentives to departments and other units that establish good records in this regard. (For South University, we also said: This would include ensuring that the courses that are offered and classroom conduct of faculty moves toward reduction of these kinds of problematic behavior.)

•Some participants expressed concerns about racism and sexism in some course materials through both commission and omission (the latter through omission of works by people other than white men), so we suggest providing financial incentives, assistance, and other resources for faculty who would identify course materials for the presence of bias and for the absence of works by diverse authors, identifying a greater diversity of materials, and finding ways to integrate them into courses.

•(For South University: Establishing a Commission on Diversity composed of top administrators, faculty, students, and community and business leaders, charged with learning about and disseminating proper information, helping improve climate on campus and in the wider community, understanding and supporting the role of inclusive excellence on campus, and facilitating some diversity-related educational events in the community. Subsets of the Commission members could form councils that assist with specific projects, such as developing a strategic plan that will involve every level, college, and constituency in working on diversity.)

•(For South University: In light of some participants' lack of awareness about the women's center and the center that deals with racial issues, finding ways to make students aware of their functions and resources and the opportunities they provide for undergraduates, as well as supporting the work of these centers.)

•(For South University: Given what some participants describe as the success in increasing discussion of race issues after having a major, national political event at South University, considering having the university host a national Diversity Summit or conference.)

•(For Ivy University and South University: Finding ways to encourage administrators and faculty to model a constant process of examining their own "blind spots" about diversity and prejudice.)

Recommendation 2[g]

Most participants report insensitivity or various forms of discrimination based on race and sex. Therefore, we recommend seeking ways to address the race and sex discrimination and insensitivity on campus, including taking steps, with follow-through, to educate people throughout the university about:

•The effects that racism, sexism, and other discriminatory systems have on emotional states of some people and on their attempts to obtain an education (thus necessarily including detailed education about the concepts of stereotype threat, microaggression, and their consequences)

•The need to demystify racial/ethnic groups and women, as well as to ensure the inclusion of perspectives of members of all racial/ethnic groups and sexes in courses, course materials, and classroom discussions (because of the vast number of negative stereotypes participants report that people on campus hold about members of racial/ethnic minority groups and women, as well as the view of many that the perspectives of members of their racial/ethnic groups or sex are not included in course materials, departmental courses, or classroom discussions)

•What leads to segregation of the races from each other on campus (because of our finding that many students of color observe that numerous Greek letter organizations usually exclude students of color from membership and even from their social events, as well as our finding that most participants believe that students primarily spend time with people from their own racial group on campus)

•The nature of white privilege and such manifestations as lack of awareness of additional barriers to learning faced by students of color, especially those from underfunded high schools (because of the observations of some participants – both of color and white – of the ways that students of color have to cope with various burdens that whites do not encounter, such as worrying whether comments they make in class will be used to reinforce beliefs that all people from their racial group lack intelligence)

•The tendency for the seriousness of some kinds of bias, such as sexism, to be minimized or rendered invisible by some women and some men from all racial groups (as described in detail in the Findings and Discussion)

•(For Ivy University and South University: Opportunities to learn why Women's Studies and various ethnic studies programs are needed and what they are actually about, rather than the negative stereotypes)

•(For South University: A required orientation session for entering students and at least one course required for every major field or as a general education requirement, with follow-through, to educate people throughout the university about the matters described above under the introductory statement to Recommendation 2. Such sessions and courses should include a strong critical thinking component and could include, for instance, assignments for students to attend one or more multiracial and one mixed-sex cultural or social event on campus and to write about them. They should definitely include information about the theoretical and research literature about stereotype threat and microaggression.)

•(For Ivy University: Why many students of color find that many private, social clubs exclude students of color from membership and even from their social events)

•(For Ivy University: Barriers faced by biracial and multiracial students who are not accepted as fully belonging to any

racial/ethnic group of which they are a part)

Recommendation 3[h]

Some participants spontaneously mentioned some programs they have found helpful. We recommend increasing support for these programs, which include:

•For reducing both racism and sexism:

From Midwest: the organization aimed at increasing mutual respect among groups; prodiversity student organizations; required training for Resident Advisors to take a course about diversity; a hate crime reporting hotline; and inter-group dialogues

From South: One World (not the real name of the organization), especially (1) an exercise they use called "cultural mapping," which involves going beyond race and sex differences to seek commonalities of all kids, whether it is music, food, ideas, or other things, as well as (2) their encouragement of each other to include a variety of people in planning get-togethers; the campus-wide event which combines people into small groups that are diverse for race and sex and assigns them tasks to perform together; and the head administrator's leadership group of students, which hears a wide, diverse array of speakers aimed to decrease "closed-mindedness"

•*For reducing racism:*

From Midwest: events sponsored by the administration on Martin Luther King, Jr., Day; what a participant called the university's zero tolerance policy about racism; the program designed to provide extra academic assistance to students from racial/ethnic minority groups; and the requirement of one of the major colleges for all students to take a course about race/ethnicity

From Ivy: the undergraduate recruitment program for students of color; racial/ethnic student organizations; the required session about race/ethnicity during first-year students' orientation; the campus foundation that organizes race-related and multicultural events; the singing group that performs African Diaspora-related music; the "Black campus ministry group"; some race relations advisors/counselors in the residences

From South: a recruitment program by South University aimed at helping African-Americans prepare to take the ACT examination; the summer transition program; the program aimed to support students of color in the sciences and mathematics; Black Alumni Weekend; Black History Month speakers and major political events related to race on campus, which make it easier for students to bond with each other and speak more openly about race; the multicultural psychology course; the recently-begun, annual party given jointly by Black and white fraternities (though there is some question about whether many whites attend); and an extra, once-weekly study session in a History course

•*For reducing sexism:*

From Midwest: the existing support group for women in science and engineering group; Women's Studies courses; the required sexual assault session for first-year students; informational sessions held by the LGBT community, as well as their coming-out week; and inter-group dialogues about sex/gender and sexual orientation

From Ivy: the women's center; first-year orientation workshops about rape and sexual harassment; the sexual assault office; the publication of stories and poetry written by Ivy students about sexual harassment and assault; support groups for various sexual orientations other than heterosexual; Take Back the Night Week; and Women in Business, especially its internship program

Recommendation 4[i]

Exploring suggestions that participants made about what changes could be made that would help them feel more welcomed, accepted, and supported, including:

•From South University: making more widely known a variety of facts and statistics related to race and sex bias; greater diversity among the student body, which will increase the need for work to be done about the taboos that some participants describe against interracial dating and even interracial friendships; greater diversity among the faculty, both for race and sex, in order to provide more same-race and same-sex role models, advisors, and mentors; for the administration to make it clearer that racism and sexism are unacceptable; for the administration to recruit African-American high school students in more areas even within the state, rather than to concentrate efforts so heavily in one area where there are many private schools; for the administration to follow the One World model and create interracial "friend groups," aimed particularly at breaking down the tendency of white Greek letter organizations to associate only with each other and increasing opportunities for students to find their commonalities rather than remaining separated by their real or assumed differences; to include more students of color in the invitational honors group; for people of all racial/ethnic groups to overcome stories and stereotypes they have learned from family and friends about other groups and to try harder to get to know people from groups other than their

own; to increase opportunities (especially for the targets) to speak about issues related to race and sex; for people who have been the targets of sexism or racism to speak out about it; for everyone to take the multicultural psychology course, in which, among other things, white privilege is discussed, as well as taking a follow-up course; to remove racial and slavery-related symbols from everything associated with the University; for top administrators to take a more "radical" approach to changing the University's history as an institution for privileged, white people (The student who made this suggestion points out that when the administration does try to make such efforts, they are at risk for being criticized, on the one hand, by South University graduates, who say, "You're being too harsh," and by the Black Student Union saying, "You're not doing enough."); to find ways to encourage white students to attend interracial academic, political, and social events; and to conduct a study of whether there is racial bias in campus police guidelines and procedures, to make known the results of that study, and to take steps to correct problems that are revealed, if any are; and providing more space on campus for racial/ethnic minority and multiracial groups to hold social and cultural events

•From Midwest University: that students need to be made aware of the procedures they can follow for reporting and dealing with racist or sexist matters, because many have no idea what to do; have in each dorm discussion groups about ethnicity, where students of various races/ethnicities can meet and talk; some students believe that the university does not believe there are problems with racism and sexism, making it all the more important for the students to impel change; an Asian-American who has been pressed hard by some faculty members to say where she is "from," even after she tells them her U.S. city of origin, therefore questions the ability of faculty to "start all these university policies and your non-discriminatory policies to your students if you're not even following it yourself?" and she wants students to be helped to "feel like they can speak up in any situation" and not rely on faculty to reduce racism; that the university president should do this work and also that "student groups can go and recruit at high schools and make sure students apply"; that undergraduates be required to take a course about sex and gender; that the university needs to make clear its policies about sex-based mistreatment and that the various schools need to do more about it; and that the university needs to do more about homophobia and heterosexism on campus

•From Ivy University: increase diversity among the faculty, both for race and sex, in order to provide more same-race and same-sex role models, advisors, and mentors; have a Native American Studies Program; and find ways to encourage white students to attend multiracial academic, political, and social events.

Recommendation 5

Our participants care about whether the climate with regard to race and sex is improving, so we recommend using – and publishing the results of — evidence generated by credible instruments such as the Diversity Scorecard (developed by Bensimon et al. [101]), which assists people on their own campuses in identifying inequities and monitoring the university's progress in taking steps to make diversity work.

•(For Ivy University and South University, the following steps related to the above recommendation were also suggested: making participation in diversity training and implementing other initiatives parts of employee evaluations and faculty raises or merit pay; giving faculty and employees release time to work on diversity; having student evaluations include questions about how faculty deal with issues of race, sex, disability, sexual orientation, age, and class in their courses; having faculty require students fill out a campus learning climate questionnaire in order to receive their grades, then having the university publish these results; ensuring that orientation for all new-hires includes diversity training; and having units use a percentage of travel budgets to finance training about research and teaching about diversity.)

Recommendation 6

Given that students from all racial/ethnic groups, including whites, describe feeling uncomfortable and uncertain about how to deal with situations of discrimination, whether they are targets or witnesses, we recommend that the university find ways to equip students with more knowledge than they currently have about ways to deal with such situations. This might well need to include changing the ethos that some participants from all racial/ethnic groups and both sexes describe as involving great pressure to ignore mistreatment to one in which everyone takes responsibility for making the campus emotionally and educationally safer from biased statements and actions. This would very likely necessitate a strategy that offers students opportunities to be engaged over the course of their undergraduate curriculum.

•(For Ivy University and South University: Providing substantial financial and other support for One World, which participants describe as having been extremely effective in encouraging students to speak up and object to manifestations of bias. This would include exploring ways to

deal with pressures that students of color and white students, respectively, feel to avoid speaking up against discrimination and ways to change the campus culture to reduce such pressures and make it highly desirable to speak up.)

•(For Ivy University and South University: Numerous venues in which to discuss white privilege.)

•(For Ivy University and South University: A campaign modeled on the one that Mothers Against Drunk Driving has used, including posters and messages from the administration urging people to speak out against bias and conveying that that is the expectation on this campus.)

Recommendation 7

Given that participants from all racial/ethnic minority groups said that administrators, faculty, or staff had made them feel negatively about their intelligence or gave mixed responses, we recommend offering financial incentives to departments that demonstrate having raised the awareness of administrators, faculty, and staff about the importance of finding opportunities to make students feel positively about their intelligence.

•(For Ivy University: Incentives could be offered to academic departments and those in the academic advising system, as well as to other administrative units such as the Financial Aid Office.)

Recommendation 8

At all universities, some many participants of color describe the academic advising system as seriously deficient in providing personalized, focused, caring attention to their needs, so we recommend careful study of ways to improve that system. This pattern was especially true at South University. We recommended:

•Giving intense attention to ways to improve the advising system

•Improving outreach to students of color to inform them about all scholarships and financial aid opportunities, given some participants of color's concerns about the lack of information they received

Recommendation 9

Some participants stress the importance of learning about people of other races and cultures and express concern about what they describe as the substantial degree of ongoing social segregation by race. This was true even at Midwest and Ivy, where the undergraduate enrollment is considerably more racially diverse than at Missouri State and South. Ways that the university could proceed to address these concerns include:

•Increasing the racial/ethnic mixing in roommate assignments for first-year students, because some participants describe the importance of their experiences in living with people from other races in order to get to know them as individuals and find commonalities with them, rather than seeing them only as representatives of their race

•Conducting a study to see how students feel about having roommates of other races and cultures, then publishing the results

•(At Missouri State, Midwest, and South: Conducting a study of the effects of the Greek system's largely racially segregated membership on campus and the apparently racially exclusionary practices of at least some Greek letter organizations with regard to which of their parties and other activities non-members are allowed to attend, then publishing the results, in light of that system's high degree of visibility and influence as described by many participants.

•(At Ivy: Conducting a study of the effects of the private social clubs' largely racially segregated membership and exclusionary practices, in light of that system's high degree of visibility and influence as described by many participants.)

•(At South: Some participants of color and some white participants describe the greater difficulty that organizations of students of color have in finding spaces on campus to hold social and cultural events, so we recommend increasing their ease of access to such spaces)

•(At South: Numerous participants of color express concerns about the use of racial images and chants, so we recommend increasing efforts to understand the degree to which students of color feel alienated by various racial and slavery symbols and references and exploring ways to educate all students about these effects and to eliminate the use of these materials.)

•(At South and Ivy: Many participants of color describe race bias exhibited by campus police; therefore, we recommend that the presence of bias be fully studied and, depending on the results of said study, steps be taken to eliminate bias.)

Recommendation 10

Some participants describe instances of feeling discriminated against off-campus, so we recommend having the university systematically study how students feel about the town community and how the community feels about the university's students of color, publish the results, and take

progressive actions based upon the findings.

•(For South University: Depending on the outcomes of this research, the university might work with the off-campus community in ways that increase the likelihood of positive, supportive interactions between students of color and the wider community. For instance, this could include: increased attempts to hire people of color from the town and neighboring areas for university positions; public service announcements conveying a commitment to diversity by the city; the university's provision of diversity and white privilege training sessions for interested businesspeople or other citizens; the city's provision of numerous internships in city offices for students of color and women; the city's decision to raise awareness of the importance of diversity in workforce development.)

Recommendation 11

At South University specifically, numerous participants of color describe the failure of many white students even to respond to their greetings, and many of all races describe uncertainty and discomfort about how to approach people from other races. Since these difficulties in great measure seem based on lack of knowledge about commonalities among them, we recommend holding sessions that are aimed at making explicit and grappling with people's beliefs about differences among people of different racial/ethnic groups and uncovering commonalities among them. These could include discussion of what, besides "comfort," leads to self-segregation when it occurs among students of color and when it occurs among white students, e.g, fear, need for protection from the racism and sexism of others, negative beliefs about members of other groups, and more blatant forms of racism and sexism.

Recommendation 12

Many participants of both sexes describe instances of sexual assault against women, as well as the victims' reluctance to make official reports or even speak with friends about it, and thus we recommend efforts to increase the salience of the university's written policy about sexual assault; working with the Sexual Assault Prevention and Awareness Center, explore ways to encourage victims to come forward; and considering establishment of a publication (like the one called Saturday Night that was begun at Duke University) that includes descriptions of sexual assault by victims and those who care about them, as well as extensive descriptions about resources and actions to be taken. This would help make it clear to the university community that these incidents occur and are deeply upsetting and that victims and targets are more likely than not to fear formally reporting or even talking about them.

•(To Ivy University, we also recommended finding ways to encourage students, regardless of sex, to intervene when someone is being sexually harassed, subjected to unwanted touching, or assaulted.)[j]

•(To a university that is not named here because that could risk the institution's anonymity in this study, we recommended strongly supporting the new campus sexual assault prevention center.)

Recommendation 13

Many negative stereotypes about women in both the academic and social realms were identified by participants, and therefore we recommend that the universities conduct a survey of the climate for women on campus and publish the results, then appoint a Commission on Women to seek solutions to any problems that are identified.

(To Ivy University, we also recommended: that the administration find ways to communicate more clearly the message that all forms of sexism are unacceptable, and that the administration explore ways to provide increased support for the Women's Studies program.)

Implementation of recommendations

From the time this study was conceived, it was hoped that administrators would find useful both the information gathered and the fact that it came from external institutions. In at least two cases, that is what happened.

Missouri State University

Missouri State University, the first institution whose report was delivered to them, moved immediately to make numerous sweeping and specific changes related to diversity. President Nietzel had, after receiving the VoD report, moved quickly to present those findings to Administrative Council (his leadership council), and he used those findings to strengthen their decision to propose to the Board of Governors the prioritization of diversity and the establishment of the Vice President for Diversity and Inclusion position.[k] MSU invited the VoD Project Director to speak at three meetings, so within three months after the report was delivered, she first met with the university president and all of his top administrators, including the general counsel, head of HR, etc.; then met with the City Council of Springfield, Missouri, where MSU is located; and finally met with the Provost and the academic

deans. MSU took further steps after these meetings. They redefined "diversity" to make it clear on campus that all "historically excluded" groups were included, and that included sex/gender, race, ethnicity, disability, age, religion, and social class. Administrative training began immediately, with Deans and Associate Provosts having discussions about Inclusive Excellence, and The Faculty Center for Teaching and Learning held a book discussion series about White Privilege and Disability Awareness.

Other changes included the following:

1. Proactively addressing the intense emphasis in their region on politeness, the "shadow side" of which leads to "silent suffering" by the targets of sexism and racism. This was done by leadership taking steps to ensure the hearing of experiences of students and faculty of color and of women.

2. Focusing on how to recruit and retain faculty/staff from African-American and Hispanic populations--an area in which they did not feel they had performed well.

3. Building stronger partnerships in the community, including by improving the climate for retaining faculty, staff and students; helping reduce incidents of microaggressions and stereotype threat; and taking a stronger role in educating the broader community about these issues. They considered these steps important expressions of MSU's official Public Affairs Mission, which has the three components of Ethical Leadership, Community Engagement, and Cultural Competence, and they promote the view that the first two are not possible without the third.

4. The University established an 'Office for Diversity and Inclusion" and hired a firm to conduct a nationwide search for a Chief Diversity Officer. The title of the CDO position was later re-named "Vice President for Diversity and Inclusion" to reinforce the importance and reporting level of the position and to attract a high-quality pool of applicants, and the office was made into the Division for Diversity and Inclusion. The Vice President coordinates efforts campus-wide and keeps these topics in view at the highest decisionmaking level by incorporating cultural competence into all evaluations of employees. The Vice President for Diversity and Inclusion provides leadership for diversity efforts campus-wide and ensures these efforts are included in senior-level discussions, planning activities, and employee reward processes. The VP also integrates cultural competence into his division model, "Paradigms of Inclusion", which entails four pillars of excellence: Cultural Competence, Research, Intervention, and Pedagogy. The division model provides the framework for developing campus leadership, academic and program reform, and composition initiatives.

5. Training facilitators to assist with the necessary "difficult dialogues" needed to educate themselves and the wider community. These facilitators can in turn train others so that leadership can be provided to the campus community and the larger [city] region. Three persons were sent to a week-long "Diversity Professional Certification" program, so they could train additional staff for university-wide sessions. This team began by providing eight hours of training focused on challenges illuminated by the Voices of Diversity Study and future inclusiveness initiatives to the President and his leadership team (Administrative Council), and additional training sessions have been held with faculty and staff. Diversity education will continue in anticipation of turnover at senior administrative levels. The new Vice President, Dr. Ken Coopwood, was credentialed as a Certified Diversity Executive (CDE) and provides leadership in concert with the MSU Faculty Center for Teaching and Learning for development of strategic mentoring, leadership and curricular programs.

6. Recognizing the importance of modeling a constant process of increasing their own awareness, the Vice President has worked with Human Resources to implement a diversity goal mandate for all personnel and created a response team to help supervisors identify barriers to engagement while carrying out the mandate.

7. Collaborating with the Springfield, Missouri, Chamber of Commerce leadership in sponsoring six "facing racism" intensive training sessions for a broad sector of community leadership and continuing to work toward diversity as an integral part of economic and workforce development. It was expected that these training sessions would utilize alumni, additional trainers and more interactive training components to reach more community stakeholders.

8. Having Division for Diversity and Inclusion staff work on web development, including newsletters from division entities and other features.

9. Using findings from the Voices of Diversity study to be used where appropriate to support an upcoming comprehensive climate study.

10. Implementing a Diversity Hire program to identify and take advantage of special opportunities to attract qualified persons who can also effectively advance goals related to diversity; requiring all professional searches to contain a diverse applicant pool to continue to the interview stage; identifying emerging talent internally and providing

assistance for further education in exchange for continued service to MSU; and improving a spousal hiring program to help ensure retention of new hires who increase the faculty's diversity.

11. Supporting Dr. Carol Maples in the Theatre Department, who developed a troupe of actors to illustrate "microaggressions" as a teaching tool in "theatre for social change." The troupe has assisted in numerous training sessions, including multiple ones in the community (Juvenile Justice employees, Leadership Springfield, and others) facilitated by the Interim CDO, as well as on-campus for faculty, staff and departments.

12. The University has partnered with four other higher-education institutions in the region to form a diversity consortium, "to coordinate efforts and to partner between institutions, serving parallel needs for our students, faculty, and staff and the community that surrounds and supports us. As higher education institutions, we recognize both the opportunity and the responsibility to take a leadership role with regard to diversity concerns in the larger community. " (Mission Statement) This group has recruited students from each of the five campuses and helped those students network together through social media such as Facebook and Twitter, so that students have support throughout the community and can attend each other's events.

13. The University, in conjunction with community partners, held a pre-Summit to build consensual interest in a proposed Economic Development and Diversity Summit that was held in April of that year. The Summit was an all-day event targeted for middle management with the focus of teaching skills to address microaggressions, handle difficult dialogues, and improve cultural competence of participants. The Executive Summary of the Summit reported that 228 people were in attendance from a total of 77 organizations (Faith, Education, Civic, Business). A a statewide Collaborative Diversity Conference was subsequently held, involving 200 community leaders representing 77 organizations across the four sectors of the community. Work was begun to assess the respective organizations for inclusive practices and teaching skills for improving cultural consciousness. Work has continued in the community with intensive "Facing Racism" and other cultural inclusiveness training sessions, which have included community leaders from all sectors. The city's police chief, after attending one of these trainings, contracted three trainers from MSU to develop and deliver an expanded 3-hour session to all officers of the police force, which will be updated and repeated this year. This goes well beyond the mandated requirement of just one hour every other year.

14. Following the events in Ferguson, MO, in 2014, the MSU campus mobilized immediately to hold dialogue sessions, panel discussions, and student-led activities in which student leaders crafted goals for their own community. One of these was to meet with the police chief and express their concerns about the community. This session resulted in the police chief asking to be contacted personally and directly if any of the attendees felt racially profiled in the Springfield, MO, community. Outreach and follow-up dialogue sessions were planned to follow the grand jury's verdict.

South University

At South University, the senior administrator in charge of diversity wrote that VoD

> was the first formal study of its kind with its methodological approach completed at our university. There had been more limited sampling of our students' attitudes with less scientific rigor. Moreover, because it was an "outside study," interest quickly surfaced as to purpose, content, and ramifications, …which created a dialogue with increased interest. This dialogue eventually led to creation of a [plan for making diversity work that went beyond] our standard model.

The administrator said that part of what motivated the plans was that some students in the VoD study expressed the wish for programs that the University actually already had in place. The students' lack of awareness of existing programs suggested the need for "more direct and redundant lines of communication," he said. Furthermore, top administrators in the university and several diversity committees discussed the VoD results extensively, and

> It was decided that a "top down, bottom up" University diversity plan would be pursued. The "top down" portion would come from the blessing of the [top university officials]. The "bottom up" part would come through [a group that was] in the early process of formulating university mission and goal statements for the next 10 years. Because every component of the University will flow through this process, and because resources will be allocated based on priorities resulting from the work of this [group], each component will be asked to include diversity considerations in their submittal. It is anticipated that this process will yield the beginnings of a university diversity plan that a subcommittee could then formulize into a complete diversity plan for the University.

Currently, we are in the process of verifying that all components of the University [have] a proper and comfortable channel for submission. It will be a long process and it will reach to the core of the University!

South University is implementing its plan for change.

Midwest University

A senior administrator at Midwest University reported that "Midwest administrators and staff have had extensive discussion on the [VoD] research. We have compared it to other research that has been done on the impact of diversity at [Midwest]." He noted that his university has done considerable research of its own about this topic but that the VoD study

> allowed us to examine whether earlier findings were still holding and it provided us with more current data. The information has been shared with others who work in units that deal with advancing student diversity initiatives at [Midwest]. These data and other also provided the impetus for [Midwest] with [a major foundation] to sponsor a series of symposia ... with AAU institutions in states that have been impacted by ballot initiatives or legal rulings that prohibit the use or race or gender in their recruitment and admissions process. These symposia will be held at [Midwest].

Ivy University

At Ivy University, we were told that they were considering our report within the context of a study that the university is itself conducting and that some of our findings and recommendations may be put to use once the university's research is completed.

It is clear from the rapid and rich responses and actions taken at Missouri State University and the comprehensive plans underway at South University that many steps can be taken at all levels and in all realms of universities to address and try to reduce on-campus racism and sexism, and it is heartening that administrators at South University have similar goals and a detailed plan about to go into action, as well as that those at Midwest have found the VoD reports to be helpful and that those at Ivy are involved in conducting their own study and may find our report to be of some use. It is hoped that administrators at not only the other universities in the Voices of Diversity study but also other universities will find ideas and inspiration from the current study about steps that they will want to take to make the process of acquiring an undergraduate education better for students of color and for women and thus, of course, for all students.

Conclusion

The Voices of Diversity project has highlighted the perspectives of students of color and women, in the first instance simply by making it clear that their views were central to the study, then by making them the basis of our recommendations to their institutions. As Jean Baker Miller has written, the actual feelings and needs of subordinates, as well as the wealth of information they have that is often unknown to dominants, tend too often to be invisible.[102]

It was the aim of this study to examine students' perceptions, experiences and perspectives about a wide range of current, on-campus factors that can enhance or interfere with their attempts to obtain an education. This work revealed in rich detail the manifestations of racism, sexism, and combinations of the two on current campuses. Thus, our work should make it easier for students to recognize that some of the problems they have on campus result from on-campus factors rather than to external factors in their past that are beyond their control. This study has the dual benefits of examining students' views and what institutions can do to improve, and the variety and depth of steps already taken by some of the institutions have powerfully demonstrated how that improvement can begin both at the four VoD campuses and elsewhere.

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Notes

[a] This monograph was slightly updated from the version published online as a Working Paper on the Carr Center for Human Rights Policy. Harvard Kennedy School website at http://www.hks.harvard.edu/centers/carr/research-publications/carr-center-working-papers-series/caplan-and-ford.-%22the-voices-of-diversity-%22

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[d] After consultation with organizations representing various racial/ethnic minority groups, and in light of the guidelines

we have followed in inviting participants (such as that we have not included international students), we have chosen in this report to use primarily the terms African-American, Asian-American, Latina/o, Native American, and white for the racial/ethnic groups. This is the case even though the terms "Hispanic" and "Black" appear on the questionnaire that our participants filled out. Furthermore, the reader will note that the groups' labels in Figure 1, which is based on data from Snyder, Dillow, and Hoffman (2009), differ somewhat from those we use in this paper. In addition, different students use different terms in describing their own racial/ethnic membership,

[e] Climate in this sense consists of "perceptions, attitudes, and expectations that define the institution and its members" (Peterson & Spencer, 1990, p. iii).

[f] "For more than 40 years, an astounding one-fifth of Harvard's students have received admissions preference because their parents attended the school… At Harvard, a legacy is about twice as likely to be admitted as a black or Hispanic student" (Larew, 2003, pp.136-7).

[g] President Nietzel subsequently ended his time as MSU President.

[h] In the Midwest report, we noted that interviewees gave mixed reports about the effectiveness and adequacy of such current programs as the required course about race that one of its colleges has, including the lack of long-term follow-through.

[i] Because of the way our thinking about recommendations developed, we had not included this recommendation in our first report, which was to MSU.

[j] Because of the way our thinking about recommendations developed, we had not included this recommendation in our first report, which was to MSU.

[k] Because Ivy was the last campus where we collected information, and it was the one where participants were most likely to describe sexual assault and sexism as serious problems, this addition was made to this recommendation but by no means should be regarded as relevant and important only for Ivy University.

[l] Leslie Anderson. Personal communication. November 26, 2012.

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APORIA
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Aporia is a peer-reviewed, bilingual, and open access journal dedicated to scholarly debates in nursing and the health sciences. The journal is committed to a pluralistic view of science and to the blurring of boundaries between disciplines. Therefore the editorial team welcomes critical manuscripts in the fields of nursing and the health sciences that include critique of dominant discourses related to the evidence-based movement, best practice guidelines, knowledge translation, managerialism, nursing and health care practices, ethics, politics of health care and policies, technology, bioethics, biopedagogies, biopolitics etc. Research results in nursing and health-related disciplines are also welcome. *Aporia* encourages the use of various epistemologies, philosophies, theoretical perspectives and research methodologies. In the critical analyses of health-related matters, *Aporia* embraces a wide range of epistemologies, philosophies and theories including cultural studies, feminism(s), neo-marxism, post-structuralism, postcolonialism and queer studies.

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Therefore, *Aporia* adheres to the following principles:

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-Critical pedagogy
-Recognition of local knowledge(s)
-Critique of dominant discourses.

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