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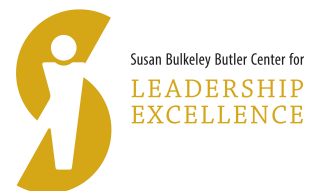
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Ideal Mentoring Behaviors: Perceptions of Latino International Students Enrolled in STEMM Disciplines

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Mentorship is a concept that has existed for thousands of years (Crisp and Cruz 2009). Some researchers have argued that the mentor relationship is the most impactful component of the graduate student experience (Crisp and Cruz 2009; Tuma et al. 2021; Wrench and Punyanunt 2004). When graduate students engage in quality mentoring relationships with faculty, those relationships that provide both task and emotional support, students experience more satisfaction with their graduate program, even up to 15 years later (Callahan and Watkins 2018; Clark, Harden, and Johnson 2000; Johnson 2014; Mangione et al. 2018).

The benefits of effective mentoring begin on day one with mentors guiding students' socialization. Research indicates that mentors play an important role in socializing students into their departments and fields (Green 1991; Weidman and Stein 2003). Mentor support in the socialization process may also include providing students with exposure to other faculty, professionals, and advanced students who can help them transition to and navigate graduate school (Paglis, Green, and Bauer 2006).

Effective mentoring also includes helping students manage stress and anxiety produced by the pressures of the graduate school environment as well as helping students develop strategies for balancing work and life spheres (Brunsma, Embrick, and Shin 2017). Mentors also play an important role in helping students manage and rebound from setbacks or other challenges (Stoeger et al. 2013). For example, effective mentoring may include helping students manage the common feeling and challenge of imposter syndrome. Without support from a mentor, graduate students may succumb to challenges and choose to leave their programs. It has been reported that mentoring is a successful method for increasing retention in graduate programs and predicting success in careers, particularly in STEMM programs (NASEM 2019; Stelter, Kupersmidt, and Stump 2021).

Li, Malin, and Hackman (2018) also indicate the importance of helping students understand the hidden and unhidden policies and politics of academic institutions. This is something that can be extremely beneficial for underrepresented and international students because their perspective of

their discipline and academic and social environments will not be the same as other students (Brunsma et al. 2017; Omar et al. 2016).

Graduate students who have an involved mentor are also more likely to receive better research-oriented training (Li et al. 2018) and to experience higher research productivity (Lunsford 2012; Paglis et al. 2006). Strong mentorship contributes to the solid formation of science or researcher identities, which means mentees have confidence in their abilities and potential to contribute as scholars to their fields (NASEM 2019; Stelter et al. 2021).

International Students and Mentoring
International graduate students may rely even more on mentorship and support from faculty mentors given the unique challenges they experience upon arrival in the United States (Hyun et al. 2007; Yang, Orrego Dunleavy, and Phillips 2016). International graduate students may encounter social isolation, discrimination, separation from family, lack of familiarity with academic culture, cultural adjustment, and language barriers (Ku et al. 2008; Omar et al. 2016; Yang et al. 2016). These challenges can lead to more stress, manifesting in physiological and psychological conditions (Mori 2000). It may also potentially lead to greater feelings of imposter syndrome, as well (Addison and Griffin 2022). Although effective mentoring may be a way to support international students enrolled in STEMM programs, researchers have identified challenges with effectively mentoring this population (Hyun et al. 2007). For example, international students are more hesitant to discuss problems with their mentors and mentors were also found less able to identify mental health symptoms in their international students due to cultural differences.

The United States is one of the leading countries for attracting international students for graduate school (Yang et al. 2016). One out of every five graduate students enrolled in a master's or PhD program in the U.S. are international (Okahana 2020). As of 2021, it was recorded that approximately 329,272 international graduate students were studying in programs in the United States (Duffin 2021). The Council of Graduate Schools (2020) reports that students from Latin America made up one of the three largest segments of international students in 2020. Not only do international students enroll in U.S. graduate programs in high numbers, but the majority are enrolled in STEMM disciplines (Bhojwani et al. 2020).

Although international students, and specifically Latinos[1], make up a significant portion of STEMM students in the U.S., we know little about their experiences, especially as they relate to mentoring (Ku et al. 2008). It is important that we investigate these relationships more thoroughly so that we can better support these students if we want them to succeed in our programs.

Effective Mentorship in STEMM
Recently, effective mentorship has gained more attention by academic researchers in the fields of science, technology, engineering, mathematics, and medicine (STEMM) because of its influence

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[1] In this article, we use the terms Latino and Latinos to refer to male and mixed-gendered groups with heritage in a Latin American country. We also use the term Latina to refer to a woman also with Latin American heritage (Comaz-Diaz 2001).

on developing the future STEMM workforce (NASEM 2019). This impact has spurred the National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine (NASEM), which is made up of experts in higher education and industry in these fields, to develop a robust report titled *The Science of Effective Mentoring in STEMM* (NASEM 2019) that outlines findings and recommendations for effective mentorship. It is important to note that this report was funded by U.S. agencies and while it establishes robust recommendations, it does not explore the experiences of international students and their mentoring relationships.

The NASEM report defines mentoring as a relationship between a faculty member and a graduate student as, "a professional, working alliance in which individuals work together over time to support the personal and professional growth, development, and success of the relational partners through the provision of career and psychosocial support" (NASEM 2019:37). As indicated in this definition, an emphasis is placed on the personal and professional growth and development of graduate students through both career and psychosocial support. The report outlines six specific behaviors that contribute to positive mentoring relationships: align expectations, assess understanding, communicate effectively, address equity and inclusion, foster independence, and promote professional development. This study explores the experiences of International Latino STEMM graduate students and their perceptions of ideal mentoring behaviors in relation to these six specific behaviors. The Ideal Standards Model (ISM) in close relationships is used as a guiding framework to help us understand if students' ideal behavioral expectations of mentors align with NASEM's recommended behaviors and if there are other ideal behaviors that are important to students. This study makes specific recommendations to faculty for navigating mentoring relationships with these students.

Theoretical Framework
The authors draw on the Ideal Standards Model (ISM) in close relationships (Simpson, Fletcher, and Campbell 2001) to understand perceptions of an ideal mentoring relationship for international students. ISM postulates that individuals' perceptions of consistency between their ideal standards and their perceptions of their current partner and relationship help to do the following three tasks. Make evaluations about the quality of their partner/relationship, explain or better understand both positive and negative aspects of the relationships (e.g. relationship conflict or satisfaction), and regulate or make changes to the relationship (Simpson et al. 2001).

People establish ideal standards in many different types of interpersonal roles and relationships (e.g. Christopher 2012; Sriram and Navalkar 2012; Sternberg and Barnes 1985; Tyler 1964). In Campbell et al. (2013), it has been found that relational partners who failed to match their partner's ideals were less satisfied with the relationship. Similar findings were found in the context of workplace mentoring, for example, Haggard (2012) found that negative mentoring and outcomes were more likely to occur when mentors failed to meet mentee's expectations or ideals. Mentees were also more likely to experience decreased loyalty to the organization and decreased job satisfaction. Therefore, the extent to which relational partners match each other's ideal standards can influence the relationship and outcomes.

Knowing that graduate students enter relationships with expectations of their mentor, as informed by Kram's (1983) stages of mentoring and ISM, and that international students may have more initial expectations of support from their mentors, it is important to know what the

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perceptions of the ideal mentoring relationship looks like for these students. International graduate students have been largely excluded from summative reports of effective mentorship and best practices; therefore, it is important to explore if their experiences and expectations of effective mentorship align with data from these reports, particularly the report by NASEM. We, therefore, posed the following research question: What mentor behaviors constitute an ideal mentoring relationship for international Latino graduate students in STEMM?

Methods
For this study, 30 semi-structured interviews lasting 30-60 minutes in length were conducted with Latino international graduate students in STEMM programs at a large mid-western university recognized nationally for STEMM excellence. The study was approved by the Institutional Review Board (IRB-2020-1612). The participants included 10 female and 20 male students from Latin American countries including Colombia, Costa Rica, Mexico, Venezuela, Ecuador, and Honduras. Students' time in their program ranged from first year master's or PhD students to late stages of a master's or PhD degree, having completed prelims or qualifying exams. Of the 30 students who were interviewed 22 were in PhD programs and 8 in master's programs. Additionally, the students who participated are enrolled in a variety of fields including engineering, food science, statistics, and medicinal chemistry and medical pharmacology. Recruitment for participants was conducted through snowball sampling as this network sampling method is considered an effective strategy for locating a few key initial participants who then refer other participants, who fit the criteria for the study (Merriam and Tisdell 2016).

More specifically, participants were recruited through social media and the first author's social network. During recruitment for this study, there was a high response rate from the initial group of participants who were recruited and the subsequent recommended individuals. All individuals who were recruited or recommend showed up for the interview. To minimize bias when selecting participants, the researchers set a clear inclusion criteria and the first author selected an initial group of participants that included not just close friends but also acquaintances, such that participants fit the study criteria but did not necessarily have a close relationship with the researcher. Further, when participants were asked to recommend individuals for the study, they were asked to do the same.

To qualify for this study, participants were required to be current graduate students in either a master's or PhD program and have an established relationship with a faculty member for at least a year for the relationship to have had time to evolve. Participants received a $10.00 Amazon gift card for their participation. Given the ongoing pandemic, the interviews were conducted via zoom in English and recorded for transcription. The recording tool on zoom allowed for verbatim transcription. Although confidentially was guaranteed, participants were also allowed to turn off their camera, they were given a pseudonym, and they were reminded that they could choose to exit the interview process at any point.

Once the interviews were finalized, automatic-generated interview transcripts were checked for accuracy and any information that might have been able to identify participants was removed before moving to coding and analysis. To help with this task, two undergraduate research assistants helped the authors verify the accuracy of the transcripts. The undergraduate research assistants were not involved in the coding or analysis process.

For the first round of analysis, and using NVIVO as a tool, the authors used a deductive approach such that the data was coded using NASEM's six recommended behaviors as initial codes. Some of the key interview questions that revealed the emergence of these themes included the following. How would you describe your relationship with your mentor? This question led to students describing the mentoring style of faculty members and how this worked or did not work with their expectations and preferences. We also asked: Do you experience struggles with your mentor? Does your mentor encourage open communication, why or why not? How do you communicate your academic or research needs to your mentor? Is diversity and inclusion part of the culture of your lab/work environment or relationship? These questions revealed several of the initial six themes.

During this round of coding, themes outside of the initial six emerged. These additional themes emerged primarily through careful probing throughout the interviews and by allowing interviewees to have some control on the direction of the interview so as to reveal themes the researchers had not considered. These additional themes centered on establishing a close interpersonal relationship or a "deeper relationship" and "feeling cared for" or seen by their mentor. The theme of "culture" and "cultural understanding" also emerged in relation to building a deeper and trusting relationship. Some interview questions that revealed these themes included: How do you communicate your personal needs to your mentor? What encourages or discourages you from discussing your personal needs and life?

Additionally, using ISM to understand students' perceptions of ideal mentor behaviors and how it affects their relationship, the researchers also asked the following questions. How did you come to work with your academic mentor? This question helped elicit the initial interest and expectations that students had for working with their faculty mentors. We also asked, how would you describe your relationship with your mentor? This question helped to compare students' initial expectations about the relationship with the actual relationship. Students were also asked, what is an ideal mentoring relationship look like to you? Would you say your current relationship is ideal for you, why or why not? What would you change about your relationship? These final questions revealed some of the discrepancies in the mentoring relationships, if any, and revealed specific behaviors that students would like from their mentors.

After a first round of coding, the authors re-read through the transcripts and initial codes and narrowed down the coding system. Narrowing the codes was done by eliminating codes that were originally thought to be more prevalent and combining those that were describing the same meanings.

Findings
According to ISM (Simpson, Fletcher, and Campbell 2001), when students initiate relationships with faculty mentors they will formulate expectations or ideals of that relationship, even prior to joining it. As the relationship develops, students will constantly compare their experiences with their initial ideal conceptualization. Interviews with Latino international graduate students revealed that students had established some perception of what an ideal mentoring relationship looks like.

In response to our research question: what mentor behaviors constitute an ideal mentoring relationship for international Latino graduate students in STEMM? Our findings revealed students' ideal mentor behaviors are in strong consensus with five of the six mentor behaviors described in NASEM's 2019 report. These behaviors are: align expectations, assess understanding, communicate effectively, foster independence, promote professional development, and address equity and inclusion. In regard to aligning expectations, students described being able to set realistic expectations and renegotiate them when necessary. Students also described an ideal mentor as one who can identify their "weaknesses" in terms of their abilities or skills and help to develop them, which aligns with the behavior of assessing understanding.

There was also a strong consensus about the importance of communication. Students described effective communication as the basis for a good relationship with their mentor. Fostering independence and promoting professional development were also identified as ideal mentor behaviors. Students described wanting mentors who can "show them the ropes" so they can become independent researchers. Regarding professional development, students described an ideal mentor as someone who cares about their career goals, provides them with resources, and helps them build their professional network. Our findings did not directly align with addressing equity and inclusion because students did not see themselves impacted by domestic issues of equity and inclusion as most do not identify as minority students. However, this does not mean that topics of equity and inclusion are irrelevant to these students, but rather they experience equity and inclusion differently.

For example, students expressed that it is important for a mentor to acknowledge that international students have unique needs, different learning preferences, and are affected differently by everyday events in the U.S. Cameron, a fourth year PhD student, described an ideal mentor as someone who has awareness of these differences among students.

> Ideally someone who understands the cultural differences. it would be nice to have a mentor that understands that I'm Latino, I'm from a different culture and country, and I care about different things. I'm in the U.S. but I'm affected by different topics compared to someone that is Black or White or Asian. It would be nice if these differences were understood. And I don't learn the same way compared to others, so you should have different expectations for me.

While there was strong consensus with five of the mentor behaviors previously identified for effective mentoring, our interviews also revealed additional behaviors beyond these that are unique to these students' experiences. There were two major findings. First, students described wanting to build a more meaningful mentoring relationship with their mentor. A meaningful mentoring relationship is an interpersonal relationship in which students perceive to be cared for and know that they matter to mentors. Second, students want mentors to be curious about their culture and incorporate it into their mentoring.

Interpersonal Relationship
Students described wanting a more significant relationship with their mentor, that is, an interpersonal relationship where students perceive care. Showing "care" means mentors

genuinely care about students' well-being, personal, and professional success and can empathize with them. Students said this may mean "checking in" on workload and stress levels, helping with issues related to their status as international students, helping them figure out how to buy a car, what credit cards to use or what bank to join, these topics being especially important for international students who may not have an established support system in the U.S.

Demonstrating care requires a delicate balance between care and professionalism. Students reported that a mentor should be caring and approachable, but this care should not feel invasive or unprofessional. Gabrielle, a fifth year PhD student, described this balance in the following way.

> I do think my mentor is this nice combination of warmth, but also extremely professional. He cares about my personal matters, but in a way that never felt invasive. For example, he cares a lot about my family, he's also an immigrant so he understood a lot and he empathized with the fact that you cannot always see your family. He was very considerate if you were sick. He balanced that with professional things very well. I do not feel any fear to share things. I feel comfortable sharing.

An interpersonal relationship is also one that is built on trust. One way students can build trust with a mentor is through normalizing setbacks. For example, mentors can develop trust when they show care by asking students about the challenges or setbacks they may be experiencing and helping them through those experiences.

Imposter syndrome is a common challenge that graduate students will experience at some point in their academic career, and international students can experience imposter syndrome in ways related to their status as international students. Kendal, a second year PhD student, says the following about how her mentor helped her through imposter syndrome.

> During my first-year evaluation, I was asked, do you feel you make any progress? And I said, no. Do you feel like you understand a concept? I would say, barely. I just put myself in a very low position. She [mentor] was like you feel you have made no progress because you are comparing yourself with people who were born here and had college in great universities. You just cannot do that because your progress is different from everybody else. That was a struggle for me because I knew she was mad at it, and I was scared of seeing the relationship change with her like, oh my gosh she's going to think I'm weak or I am a depressed person that is always thinking bad about herself or stuff like that. But then it was all right because we talked about it and she's like, your progress is yours and that's how I failed when I was in grad school. It's a normal feeling to feel like you're always behind but you're doing a second language and learning from zero. That helped a lot.

Failure is an inevitable part of graduate school. Mentors can forget to discuss failure as a normal part of students' academic experience. In an ideal relationship, mentors should care to ask students about the challenges they are experiencing and discuss failure openly. Kendal's mentor also reveals to her that she "failed" in a similar way when she was in graduate school, and this further helps the student normalize her experience and build trust with her. A third year PhD

student, Joshua, discussed how failure is an important part of graduate school and a mentor's role is to help students navigate failures successfully.

> You are working on something that has never been done before, it is research. It is something that is new and you need to learn through the process, you need to fail. You need to try new things, and the way I thought of a mentor was they have projects, they have funding for projects, and you must reach a goal. There are some ways of reaching that goal, but you are going to have to kind of figure it out by yourself and they are going to be there to help you out, give you advice, give you suggestions from their point of view, from their experience.

Students who can discuss feelings of insecurity in their abilities that surface when experiencing imposter syndrome and who can also discuss failure as a normal part of the graduate school experience with their mentors may rebound from setbacks more effectively.

Cultural Understanding
An important topic for international Latino students that is largely excluded from recommendations of mentor behaviors is the influence of culture on these students. For example, family is one of the most important cultural values for Latinos as it represents an unconditional support system. Not surprisingly, it is a factor influencing students' academic experience. One of the biggest concerns graduate students described was the limited time and opportunities they have to be close to family when they become graduate students. Students discussed the frustration of not being able to travel home during academic breaks. Students mentioned that often their mentors do not allow them to travel home during breaks because they feared students would not be productive at home. In the case of the students interviewed in this study, they were prepared to travel home and be productive as their work could be completed remotely. To the researchers' knowledge these students did not face additional barriers, such as readmission to the United States, if granted permission to travel home.

One student discussed missing out on important family events, such as her sister's pregnancy, because her mentor did not like it when she asked for permission to travel home, and how this was a once in a lifetime opportunity that she would have to miss, which affected her mental state. She felt her mentor did not understand, "that we have needs of resting and seeing our families." Students mentioned ideal mentors should prioritize their needs to be close to family, their support network, as this would promote students' feeling "happy," which would also enhance their productivity.

For students, their obligation to family also means that they expect mentors to be flexible or renegotiate expectations when they need to care for family concerns. However, some mentors do not accept personal or family obligations as appropriate reasons for adjusting expectations. Jack, a second-year master's student, said,

> I don't know he kind of doesn't accept… He expects results kind of regardless of whatever is going on outside of research. So, it's happened to me a couple of times that I had some personal things to take care of and I didn't really have a lot of progress that

particular week, and he got upset about that. So, I guess I wouldn't feel comfortable bringing it up or anything like that.

On the other hand, students who have the support of their mentors to take care of family or personal matters end up feeling a stronger trust in the relationship. Frank, a first year PhD student, recalls a family emergency he had where his mentor was supportive of him and his decision to travel outside of the country to care for his family. Frank recalled,

After that happened, I knew that I could share anything with her and that she was going to be understanding of the situation... after that I knew that I could tell her whatever I needed to tell her.

As in this example, mentors who support students in terms of their value for family foster trust with their students. Also, mentors who routinely asked about students' families were seen positively by students and this, too, seemed to help students trust their mentors and develop a deeper relationship.

One solution to acknowledging students' culture is to assign students like mentor pairs (e.g. international mentee, international mentor). While this match can create understanding it doesn't always have that impact. For example, some students who had Latino mentors identified culturally with them. The fact that they speak Spanish, had similar educational backgrounds, and had similar expectations in terms of personal closeness made the relationship more meaningful. Students who could identify culturally with their mentor, made it clear this made their experience more gratifying. These students felt they could talk about research in Spanish and understand each other better, as well as exchange experiences of how they experienced graduate school in similar ways. Anthony, a third year PhD student, feels he can have a close interpersonal relationship with his mentor because they can relate as Latin Americans.

I think that Latin American people are more open to talk about like personal stuff. So, for example, he [mentor] feels comfortable about asking, how's your family back in Mexico? How are you doing with your stuff, in general, here at school? Not work-related but, in general, how do you feel? And I feel comfortable talking about that with him.

However, not all students who have a Latino mentor felt that they could identify with them or had a stronger relationship due to their shared nationality or international status. Carrie, a second-year master's student, communicated that although her mentor is also Latina, they did not connect.

It's just weird, because I don't have anything in common with her. I've met different Latino professors or Latino students and I think somehow you connect or you relate culturally, but with her that's just not existing. You wouldn't think she is Mexican. And she doesn't even talk to me in Spanish every conversation we have is in English. We just never talk about it.

Mentors might want to keep the relationship culturally neutral if they perceive that they are helping students to acculturate to American culture and preparing them better for a future career

in the U.S. The key, however, is to communicate this intention clearly to the student, otherwise, it may create a discrepancy in ideal expectations for students.

To summarize, these students shared many of the same perceptions of an "ideal" mentor as detailed in the NASEM's 2019 report, however, there were some differences. The desire to have a close interpersonal relationship imbedded in cultural understanding with the mentor dominated the discussion with student participants.

Discussion
An ideal mentor relationship may not exist in reality. One person is unlikely to fulfil all of the needs of a student. However, students will form ideal standards of this relationship and they will seek to understand, explain, or adjust their relationship based on those ideals. Having a relationship that closely matches individuals' ideals is important because it has been shown that individuals with fewer discrepancies between their actual and ideal relationship are more satisfied, and they may experience more positive outcomes as individuals perceive they can more easily reach relational goals (Simpson et al. 2001). Therefore, this study aims to describe the experiences of 30 Latino international graduate students in STEMM and explores their perceptions of mentor behaviors that constitute ideal mentoring.

Overall, we found that Latino international graduate students agree with five of the six recommended behaviors presented in NASEM's report on effective mentorship. That is, students agree that the following behaviors are essential and ideal in a mentoring relationship: align expectations, assess understanding of their capabilities, communicate effectively, foster independence, and promote professional development. As far as addressing equity and inclusion, students said it was not important to them because they did not identify as minority students, but they did care about their mentor knowing where they come from and about their backgrounds. This indicates that although students may not want to address domestic topics of equity and inclusion, they do want mentors to see them as a unique individual with a different background and set of experiences compared to other students and may require a different approach to learning and being mentored, even when their mentor is from the same culture.

Beyond these mentor behaviors, however, students identified wanting a more meaningful relationship that demonstrates care. In most cases students reported being dissatisfied with the mentoring relationship when it failed to provide both task and psychosocial support. As noted in the definition of mentoring (NASEM 2019), both types of support are essential.

One possible explanation for why faculty members may not provide both kinds of support is that mentors hold competing roles when working with graduate students, that is, they are advisors, supervisors or principle investigators (PIs), and mentors (Rose 2005). These roles may blur boundaries and mentors may feel uncomfortable crossing into emotional territory because they don't feel prepared to offer that type of support.

Although our participants did not address equity and inclusion in conventional ways, it was extremely important for their distinct cultures to be recognized and adapted to. For example, students reported the value of family as extremely important in Latino culture. They wanted their

mentor to appreciate this aspect of their background and make accommodations for them when they needed to travel back home or adjust workloads.

Although we typically believe that mentor pairs who are matched on important characteristics such as background and social identification will have similar outlooks and understandings, our data indicated that this wasn't always the case. Several of the students interviewed reported that although they shared a cultural heritage similar to their mentor, it didn't feel like they did and this left students disappointed in the relationship.

As graduate programs in STEMM are likely to recruit more and more students from across the globe, it becomes important that faculty and administrators reflect on those behaviors that students believe are ideal for successful mentoring. Below we outline some specific applications of the findings presented here.

1. Meet with students regularly providing time for one-on-one conversations. If this is not possible, mentors should consider carefully how many students they can mentor.
2. Designate some lab meetings for work and others for building rapport with students.
3. Develop an individual development plan (IDP) and explore students' desired career plan. Take the opportunity to discuss strengths and weaknesses during meetings and make sure a discussion occurs at the beginning of the year and at the end of the year. This will facilitate an understanding of students' goals.
4. During meetings for building rapport with students, be curious about students' culture and background. Ask about: important cultural traditions or holidays, family well-being, and personal well-being.
5. Provide psychosocial support to students. If providing this kind of support is an area of weakness for mentors, bring in individuals whose role is to provide this support to students. For example, a lab coordinator, not a graduate student, who can check on students' psychosocial needs and be an expert on identifying resources and solutions to help meet their needs.
6. Learn in-depth about the resources on campus and be prepared to refer students. For example, be aware of relevant workshops or other programming on campus for international students such as ones that cover the topics of imposter syndrome, academic writing, financial preparedness, health insurance, mental health and wellness, international student services, etc.
7. Be an active listener. Listening has been identified as one of the most important skills of mentors by students and multi-tasking in meetings shuts down conversation. An active listener is more likely to create opportunities for students to disclose about their needs.
8. Don't assume that just because you share a similar background with a student that you shouldn't discuss culture and how it relates to the current tasks of the research.
9. Attend mentoring workshops on your campus. Get involved with a mentoring center and work to improve your skills.

This list of recommendations echo several of the NASEM report's recommended behaviors particularly on emphasizing effective communication, cultural understanding, and promoting professional development. However, these recommendations go beyond NASEM's report by including other essential behaviors and describing to mentors how they can enact the behaviors

in their labs. We emphasize how mentors can enact psychosocial support as this seemed to be the most difficult part for mentors according to students. Additionally, while there are differences between students, such as domestic, underrepresented minorities, and Black, Indigenous, and people of color, we believe these recommendations for effective mentoring may be applied to many not just international students.

This study is not without limitations, primarily, this study focuses only on graduate student perspectives. Future research can explore faculty members' perspectives in regard to their approach for working with international students. While studies have explored faculty members perspective, to the authors' knowledge, no one has asked faculty what their ideal mentoring relationship looks like. A comparison of both perspectives may reveal unique findings about ideal relationship match or mismatch.

Another limitation of this study is that our data was gathered from one academic institution. Therefore, there is potential of our data reflecting mentoring practices that are prevalent in this one institution and not necessarily as salient at other institutions with many international students enrolled. Further studies may seek to collect data from various institutions to see if there is any overlap in mentoring behaviors.

Additionally, this study focused on Latino international graduate students as the Latino population is one of the top three groups in graduate school and the university where this study was conducted has a large population of Latino students in STEMM. Originally this study was open to all international students, but Latino students were the primary group to respond to the call for participants, showing unique interest and motivation to contribute to the mentoring body of knowledge through their experiences. We aim to contribute to creating better conditions and opportunities for Latino graduate students in STEMM. Future research can be extended to include international students from various countries to support a larger community of international graduate students.

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A Collaborative Autoethnographic Platica:
The Multi-Layered Citizen in Academia

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As world and local events impact communities, from environmental catastrophes, to global pandemic, the attack on reproductive freedom, to wars displacing people around the world, notions of citizenship make its way into the classroom, research, and service activities. From the moment a professor walks into academic spaces, whether it be virtually or in-person, these contexts can lead to opportunities where belonging is fostered among colleagues, and between professors and students in the classroom. And for others, exclusions continually occur. When reflecting on academic exclusions it is important to recognize that for some (i.e., DREAMERS and immigrants), the societal rejections experienced are compounded by life-threatening and legally bound realities, resulting in having their sense of belonging denied or deferred, making them feel like second-class citizens. Resources, jobs, and other opportunities are oftentimes tied to legal status, where many resources prioritize citizenship as a requirement for access. Beyond legal notions of citizenship, there is a need to grapple with citizenship in all its complex manifestations and the way in which academia contributes to creating obstacles for the multi-layered academic citizen. The multi-layered academic citizen includes faculty, staff, and students – whose sense of belonging in academic institutions are informed by locality, ethnicity, national origins, age, class, and gender. In our *plática*, a conversation, we offer a collaborative autoethnography that manifests in the form of vignettes and specific examples exemplifying our lived experiences in academia during global pandemic. A collaborative autoethnography is a research methodology in which the researchers retrospectively and selectively analyze their experiences (Ellis, Adams, and Bochner 2011). In this article each vignette represents varying positionalities among three academics, an early career Chinese (Qi), a KoreXicana administrator and tenured faculty (Fukushima), and a Purépecha/Xicana tenured professor approaching full professor status (Alvarez Gutiérrez). To collect the vignettes that appear here, we enacted *pláticas* which enables researchers to engage in both the personal and the academic dialogue. To *platicar* (to have a conversation) is a legitimate form of methodology in ethnic studies and for

Latinx education scholars (Fierros and Delgado Bernal 2016; Guajardo and Guajardo 2008; Gonzalez and Portillo 2012; Valle and Mendoza 1978). In addition to vignettes, examples that appear throughout this article are reflections on our own lived experiences. We engaged in multiple conversations discussing our struggles and how we were and are experiencing belonging and citizenship in academic spaces in predominately white institutions (PWIs) in the mountain West and a Midwestern state.

Multiple global events such as the pandemic, yellow peril discourse, anti-immigration, the attack on reproductive health, ongoing racism, and gender-based violence impact belonging in academic life. These sociopolitical issues shape what it means to teach and research in PWIs where exclusions are rife. The authors discuss challenges experienced when institutional structures and interlocking oppressions impact research and teaching. A central analytic for this paper is intersectionality, where interlocking oppressions cohere and are met with resistance: race, national origins, and gender. We draw on Nira Yuval-Davis' (1999) notion of the multi-layered citizen, whereby women of color academics belong to multiple political communities. As diversity, equity and inclusion (DEI) efforts are abound, the multi-layered citizen is often excluded from such endeavors where DEI efforts in institutions oftentimes focus on limited notions of who belongs in academic spaces. To conclude, we illuminate how we create belonging through coalition and community, even in the face of exclusion.

Multi-layered Academic Citizens
A legal citizen is a person who has the rights in a sovereign nation, oftentimes connected to how communities create a sense of social life. An academic citizen is a person who has the freedom to engage in research, teaching and academic learning environments without constraint. The legal citizen and the academic citizen intersect where the history of belonging and legal citizenship in the United States is a fraught and riddled with exclusions. The passport as a legally authorizing document for entry in the twenty-first century invokes leisure, labor, wealth, and mobility and surveilling communities of color traced to a racial history where free papers and the slave pass are relics of U.S. systems of slavery and documentation as a means to belong (Fukushima 2019b; Pryor 2016). Instead, we offer a notion of citizenship as defined as a multi-layered one, recognizing that U.S. notions of citizenship have historically been and continue to be predicated on exclusions.

> My position on citizenship is both academic and political. As a Chinese scholar, I was able to study aboard and get to know the U.S. from both academic and cultural aspects. I came to the U.S. as an international student when I was 21; I was the first in my family to travel outside of China. I believed that a sense of belonging should unify within my professional and personal life for a very long time. Over time, however, I developed a deeper understanding of the distinctions between citizenship with a nationality boundary versus academic citizenship with a sense of justice and social activism. To me, the journey of being in the U.S. is a lonely and challenging one. However, over the years, I was able to use teaching and research to reconnect my multi-structured citizenship to others. Teaching and research are powerful tools for me to not only engage my students to reflect on their citizenship, but also allows me to become an engaged citizen in my own academic field to advocate for those who are marginalized and forgotten. I am also inspired to engage my students to think their own involvement and engagement as a

multi-struct citizen. I often incorporate my research and theory of intersectionality on victimization in my teaching. By doing so, I encourage my students, future criminal justice professionals, to serve the public with confidence, compassion, and knowledge to work with groups with diverse backgrounds. – Qi

Citizenship is a multi-layered construct in which one's citizenship has different layers meaning shaped by local, ethnic, national, state, cross- or trans-state and supra-state understandings of belonging constructed by the "relationships and positionings of each layer in specific historical context" (Yuval-Davis 1999:121). More specifically, multi-layered citizens' identities are embodied and linked to individuals' location and constructed by other intersecting social identities such as age, class, ethnicity, gender, and immigration status to name a few. The dimensions of citizenship are also gendered, where norms in academic institutions continue to illuminate who is seen as an authority, scholar, or educator (norms of white cisgendered men), even as changes and diversity efforts ensue. As illuminated by Fukushima during the plática, social identities of belonging as the multi-layered academic citizen is connected to identities and connections to other people in academic settings; but not all women academics are homogenous and have similar experiences. Additionally, "gender divisions" are socially, politically, culturally, and economically determined (Yuval-Davis 1997). These identities shape rights and obligations in local ethnic, religious, national, regional, transnational and international political communities (Alvarez Gutiérrez 2017; Yuval-Davis 2007). As described by Alvarez Gutiérrez, the multi-layered citizen is shaped by intersecting identities:

> My citizenship encompasses my various intersectionalities, including being Purépecha/Xicana, daughter of Indigenous Mexican immigrants, being first-generation, and being a scholar-activist and educator. Citizenship to me is more than a document I can use to "prove" to officials that I belong. Being a citizen includes being an academic citizen who strives to benefit and improve the circumstances of the communities which struggle educationally and socially. At the university level, I attempt to support and engage with students and colleagues who can use my support. In the community I work closely with young people of color and educators to transform their circumstances. I know what it feels like to be excluded and this exclusion continues in many ways as a university professor today. I attempt to include the voices and experiences of many young people and families who are often silenced. Being an academic citizen is not only to share their experiences but also to transform their experiences within school and communities.

For the academic citizen, inclusion and rights as a citizen are tethered to a particular kind of imagined community where the conversation about belonging and how to become an engaged citizen transcend national and state boundaries. Academic communities that foster a multi-layered citizenship allows for transformative and empowering connections, where identities, locations, and connections to a wide range of communities are viewed as an asset and a strength. The conceptualization of how one belongs even enters into the realm of memory, as described by Fukushima:

> My mother immigrated from Korea in the 1970s. She was sponsored through family reunification, where her oldest sister migrated through the 1945 War Brides Act. A family of migratory people with mixed status family members, my mother was the only

one of 8 girls to receive a high school education in the U.S. Her sister's exclusions from accessing an education meant many of the women in my family labor in intensive and low-wage work. I am the first of women in my family on my matrilineal side to earn a Ph.D. I do not know my Mexican family history as well, and know that there are many firsts for my generation there too. I am a KoreXicana who was raised in the UK until I was 8 years-old. I remember the first time I felt like I was not from somewhere, at 7-years old, in school, I was asked "what are you?" I said proudly, "I am Korean Mexican!" I was told, "No you're not, you're an American!" I later asked my mom what this American was – at the time, I had no recollection since the last time I was in the U.S., I was 3 years-old. It was my earliest recollection of race and national origins.

As academic citizens, our citizenship identities are intertwined with multiple communities: families, classrooms, the academic community which is part of an institution, and other communities outside academia (e.g., community nonprofits). And as institutions sustain the criteria of "inclusion," the consequence is that some are excluded. Therefore, the endeavor to create a sense of belonging, and a will towards all individuals having rights is incomplete and ongoing because "people who are constructed to be members of other ethnic, racial, and national collectivities, are often not considered 'to belong' even if formally they are entitled to" (Yuval-Davis 2007:563). We have described our own connections to multi-layered citizenry, what follows is a discussion of our pedagogies as sites where academic citizenry are constructed.

Multi-layered Citizenship and Pedagogy
Academic citizenship is multifaceted and emerges in teaching, research, and service. In this section,, we discuss how faculty academic citizenry intersects with student positionalities in the classroom, scholarship, and service activities. As faculty, we seek pedagogical strategies that encourage learning environments that encourage belonging while embracing equity, accessibility, and inclusivity. These pedagogical approaches are vital for all our students, especially given that the exclusionary and racist discourses that are so prominent across the country and spill into university classrooms. Additionally, students' roles in their communities begin with how they enact compassion and inclusivity towards each other in the institution and in the classroom.

The pandemic may be challenging, destructive, and devasting for many. However, it also provided many an opportunity to connect and share the triumphs and strengths we gained during this unprecedented time. I was able to understand students' struggles with learning and engagement inside and outside of the classroom and I learned to be attentive to students' trauma and struggles during this time. I also learned that showing vulnerability is a strength, and it was ok to take a break and take care of my mental health and engage with self-care. I also learned that student learning should be encouraged outside of the classroom where they could explore their passion and activism as engaged citizens. Building a learning community with students is crucial to facilitating creativity, self-growth, and a civic engagement environment. Working at a teaching institution, I found my daily connections with students inside and out of the classrooms. To a certain extent, my academic citizenship is established by showing my compassion, empathy, support, and encouragement for students and seeing their growth and shine through their learning activities – Qi

Notions of belonging within the classroom are impacted by national and local events and the role of the professor is vital in creating a safe space while critically engaging students with everyday topics. As Qi illuminates, the role of the professor is critical in creating connections during national crisis. During the global pandemic, we witnessed students, community, and family members, exposed to COVID-19, where for some, the effects were debilitating. The Utah legislature mandated 75% of university classrooms return to in-person, and this heightened students, we mentored, a fear for their lives. Fukushima recalls a Latina student of hers who was afraid to catch the bus because she feared exposing her vulnerable family members to COVID-19, however public transportation was her only means to get to campus. Similarly, Alvarez Gutiérrez vividly recalls that many of her students' family members worked on the frontlines and they were concerned for their health, but they had no choice but to go to work in order to survive. In a rural teaching institution (where Qi currently works), many students look forward to experiencing college life on-campus, which may include joining student organizations, attending sports, and other extracurricular activities. For many in academic settings, remote learning was and is difficult to make connections with others. Early on, students began to show and express signs of heightened stress. A student's sense of belonging is also impacted by the inequities in academic programming. For example, when courses were shifted online access issues became apparent. In particular, the digital divide became clear as some students had limited digital access and thus no access to class assignments. Furthermore, many students, experienced their home and school spheres colliding which meant the classroom was a home and this often interfered with the care for loved ones (e.g., children and younger siblings). For others, home is not a safe place due to poverty, violence, family struggles and systemic oppressions; however, for some, school is the only "safe" place.

The pandemic exposed inaccessibility and exclusions, and for some, it has also illuminated what Arundhati Roy (2020) has described as a "portal" towards opportunities. Pandemic teaching provided opportunities to radically reimagine what teaching could be, despite the various challenges. We used the pandemic to reimagine how to integrate justice into the classroom in ways that were not being contended with pre-pandemic – breakout rooms, utilizing Jamboard to work collectively, create sticky notes or blackboard activities via online, the ability to utilize mobile technological activities with photography and community sharing, and live-note taking, Twitter activities to modes of creating community events in the face of asynchronous distanced learning, and flexible deadlines with clear expectations. Alvarez Gutiérrez reflects on the entryways created during the pandemic for pedagogues of color:

> The disproportionate economic, racial and health disparities that were highlighted by COVID-19 were devastating for many culturally and linguistically diverse communities. Along with digital disparities, the emergence of COVID-19 brought to the surface the class and racial injustices that run through culturally linguistically diverse communities. But I saw this as an opportunity to transform difficulties into opportunities to re-think how I interacted with my students, especially given illness and death that many of us were experiencing with loved ones. Transformative were the relationships I was able to create despite remote teaching. I thought that I was not going to be able to build strong relationships while on remote teaching, however, I viewed this as an opportunity, a portal for me to transform the situation and still maintain strong relationships with students.

Thus, I took more time to listen to my students' everyday experiences, as well as integrate self-care into our course time. Transformative was also integrating some time to just take a break from the everyday stress and I found pathways to emphasize self-care, health, while being really flexible with timelines, and due dates. Most transformative were the assignments that I created that allowed/required students to do research about the impact of the pandemic on education and the teaching profession. They were able to integrate the experiences of students, teachers and families in the educational system and integrated their own experiences into the assignments. Students shared that these assignments were healing and that many of their professors didn't even acknowledge the pandemic in their courses. Besides creating a strong bond with my students, I encouraged students to develop strong relationships with one another. I did this through assignments, conversations and reflections.

While the pandemic may have served as a portal for radical forms of pedagogy, the accumulation of events and trauma, led many students and professors to experience chronic "Zoom fatigue" (Fosslien and Duffy 2020). In addition to the chaotic and devastating situations due to the pandemic, there were many hate crimes on campuses across the country and these sentiments often made their way into the classroom: Most notable and recent was the bomb threat to the Black Cultural Center at a Western University (Tanner 2022).

As threats to Black life are ongoing realities, international students too, faced multiple racial threats creating a deep link between anti-immigration and exclusions occurring in academic institutions. Recently, Zhifan Dong was murdered by her intimate partner (Pace 2022). While these events are the most visible forms of violence, other forms persevere. As described by Qi, "students still refer to [Corona Virus as a] China virus. We can see this...this is ongoing struggle." Soon after the Atlanta murders in 2021, Asian women at a Western University convened through the Women of Color Academics Collective (WOCA) facilitated by Fukushima, of which Alvarez Gutiérrez is also a member. Through coalitions and solidarity with other women of color, WOCAs spoke about their anger, fear, and grief as they reflected on what Hwang and Parreñas (2021) describe as the gendered racialization of Asian women that justifies disposability. The macro effects of violence ripples through our lives, where events removed a sense of belonging. WOCAs described feeling afraid to be out in public, and that these sentiments emerged more profoundly reflecting concerns surrounding rising anti-Asian violence (Yellow Horse Jeung, and Matriano 2020).

Women of color theories encourage entering into the "uncomfortable," where safety for women of color in the classroom is not guaranteed (Kishimoto and Mwangi 2009). Engaging students with equity focused topics in the classroom, regardless of comfort, offers opportunities for all students to consider just practices and perspectives, while also validating marginalized faculty and students who may find themselves at the center of content. Another way to create a sense of belonging is to foster community engagement by connecting learners and communities where civic participation fosters belonging (Alvarez Gutiérrez 2017).

Conclusion: Care to Support Multi-Layered Citizens
Academia upholds the notion of an ideal academic citizen. An "ideal" academic citizen in capitalist economies is a person who's individualistic, is producing scholarship in top tier

journals, and is the subject can work in a capitalist structure and keep it functioning. This definition excludes academic citizens who do not fit the archetype. Most often, academics who are women of color, gender non-binary population, individuals experiencing disabilities, immigrants, and scholars conducting research outside of the global north are excluded. The ideal academic citizen may also exclude faculty members who work at teaching intensive institutions, and adjunct faculty.

Narratives circulate about how academics are unable to write and research during crises which is in part true as gender inequalities impact research during global pandemic (Pinho-Gomes et al. 2020). However, for some scholars, especially those whose work delves into violence, crisis, and the uncomfortable on a regular basis, means that they are always writing in crisis. For Fukushima, writing during global pandemic did not lead to a decline in publications because, "we all survive and live differently, and it impacts our ability to think. It impacts our ability to write and to be in community. But for some of us writing in crises is how we write." Fukushima continues:

> During the global pandemic, I began in a new role as a director of the Office of Undergraduate Research and Associate Dean of Undergraduate Studies. Reflecting on what led me to shift from a "paragraph 5 writer" during my undergraduate academic journey to scholar, there was a vital component in my experience that I see in running undergraduate research: the vital role faculty mentoring has in creating a sense of academic belonging for students. The mentorship and experiences that fostered an opportunity for me to explore what it meant to do academic research included mentoring relationships with faculty and classmates alike – collectively, they helped me to journey into academic spaces, even when it was difficult. I learned to write by writing more, I learned to enter into academic spaces by taking risks of being a part of it, all the while recognizing that these spaces were never intended for our survival. It was through the mentorship of women of color across the generations that led to my arrival into academia and sustained engagement. To foster similar support for the next generation, I created women of color academics collective as a way to create a multi-level mentor model. It now structures how I view my role and responsibility as an administrator, pedagogue, and researcher. By creating connections of the self and community through the multiple.

Similar to the narrative of Fukushima, Qi and Alvarez Gutiérrez also engage in scholarship surrounding violence and trauma. During the pandemic, their research work stalled due to the restrictions of traveling and in-person meetings in the community. While Qi was fortunate to have a group of supportive team members and academic communities (e.g., professional affiliations) to support her work, such as funding and guest lecturing via online seminars, to create a sense of belonging, Qi reflects how research that is crucial impacts "the community members positively to share ideas and engage in conversation to support each other during the unprecedented time."

To radically alter the way institutions of higher education approach citizenship, and create belonging, requires engaging with a new ethic of care and pedagogy. In classrooms, this requires that educators foster learning and contend with students in holistic ways; including caring about what is going on in students' lives outside academia. One way to engage students is to provide

students with reflective spaces to share their own struggles, vulnerabilities, as well as aspirations. Instead of perceiving political discussions as insecurities, we encourage and engage students and communities to think critically on the issues, struggles, and challenges faced by marginalized communities.

Enacting a radical act of care to support a multi-layered citizen requires educators' commitments to enhance students' perspectives and develop self-reflection and critical awareness about their role in the world. To care for the multi-layered citizen also includes caring for the mental wellness of our students and ourselves. As we reflect on care, we cannot ignore mental health and wellness within institutions of higher education. During the 2021-2022 academic year, most courses have been delivered in-person; however, many students continue to struggle with the pandemic and its lingering effects, including stress and mental health. As institutions grapple with the lack of or limited services available to respond to students' mental health needs, the care for faculty and staff's mental and emotional well-being is further exacerbated by classed-based resourcing. The demand on faculty is to grow the number of majors, to expedite student completion rates, but all the while our schedules are filled with unreasonable research and service expectations and not reflective of care on part of the institution.

To speak about trauma and academic exclusions is to pay attention to how professors themselves are unable to fully participate in their own classrooms, avoiding, surviving, and working through their own trauma without bringing back into the classroom ourselves. Alvarez Gutiérrez reflected on how, her parents were really sick - her mother is on dialysis and hospitalized several times, and her father had a stroke. She often travels out of state to assist with the care of her elderly parents. Fukushima had recently visited an elder, her mother's eldest sister who is living with dementia - assisting her mother in travel and has been unable to visit her father who has skin cancer. Qi reflected on her own struggle with stress, and how her students too suffered, where it was described as "chaotic." All of us experienced loss during the pandemic. As universities contend with faculty retention, central to these endeavors requires situating them in their context and understanding faculty as people whose communities are extensive, wide and complex.

Teaching with care includes the interactions between students and faculty, even virtually. Qi asked students to document their learning journey during the pandemic as a class assignment, which also allows them to reflect on their own strengths and growth during this challenging and trying time. Qi states, "I incorporated activities that allowed students to share their personal narratives using talking circles… to discuss complex topics, such as mass incarceration, systemic racism, and gender-based violence." Alvarez Gutiérrez also had to be creative and find ways to include students' experiences with the pandemic, while also being aware of the struggles that K-12 students, their families and teachers were also experiencing. Students presented their analysis using various means, including multimedia productions, podcast, narratives, testimonios and written guide for families and teachers. Alvarez Gutiérrez received positive feedback and was told, "You made me feel like I mattered, you care! Other professors are ignoring the pandemic in class, thank you!" For Fukushima, care in the classroom meant fostering student interests with research – from creative research to familiar forms in the social sciences and humanities – her students authored drafts of novels, conducted oral histories, examined court records, collaborated with her to conduct interviews and focus groups, created podcasts, and surveyed community members through community-driven research. This care also included making recommendations

for policy and practice at the institutional level, where she published university memos encouraging collaboration with undergraduate students as part of research teams (Fukushima, Agutter, and Rothwell 2022a) and campus messaging on how faculty could foster and support "collective well-being" when working with undergraduate researchers (Fukushima et al. 2022b).

To care for students means that the pedagogue not only contend with the trauma students face, but also integrate our own humanity as educators who are also facing tremendous pressures with who we are in the classroom. And to leverage our roles in leadership, and wherever we may be positioned with some level of institutional power, to enact forms of care through collective well-being. By committing to the collective, all academic citizens, even those most financially, socially, or politically marginalized are cared for. To conclude we move towards reflecting on how we create belonging where trauma breaks our sense of connection to ourselves and community, to address trauma, one avenue is through creating connection.

Academics and students alike are not passive, and we have the ability to organize and create a sense of community, even if that community is connected across time and space. As communities took to the streets and their capitols to mobilize for Black Lives Matter, immigrant rights, and gender-rights during the pandemic, and even before, we recognize that resistance that is always happening. To be in coalition with other people, specifically those who are oppressed, is to commit to a decolonized form of witnessing (Fukushima 2019b; Lugones 1987).

Communities organize despite lacking resources. Therefore, to conclude we offer exemplars from our own work and lives where we have witnessed transformative ways of creating belonging even in the face of hostility, violence and erasure. To create coalition is to create a sense of belonging for people, it is the endeavor of the multi-layered citizen who wills to exist.

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What Are We Fighting For? Ending Crisis Thinking to Consider the Future of Higher Education

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Introduction

No one wishes for a crisis, even though it may sometimes work to highlight shortcomings that otherwise went unnoticed, or at least were conveniently ignored. The way COVID-19 continues to affect higher education is no different. It has amplified inequity and disparities among students. It also brought to light a growing rift between teachers and administrators with the development of two distinct narratives and perspectives on what the current crisis means and requires. While we understand each university is different and leaders are facing impossible decisions, we hope our words here will emphasize the urgency for coming together to create a future for higher education that aligns with shared values of equity, inclusion, and access.

In this paper, we interrogate the narrative that has developed over the last two years with the goal of using our own middling positions as a platform from which to appeal to decision-makers within our own university and the myriad others in higher education leadership across the country whose institutions face similar challenges. We make this entreaty as two individuals whose own professional roles leave us with a foot on either side of what feels like a widening cavern between "the administration" and "the faculty." We are tenured, women faculty in the humanities and social sciences who hold, or have recently held, elected and appointed leadership positions within our institution. Between the two of us, this includes chairing a large academic department and directing more than seven interdisciplinary academic programs, undergraduate and graduate. One of us is now an associate dean. Individually, we have chaired and/or co-chaired a range of university- and college committees, were appointed to different task forces, held multiple elected seats in shared governance, including the Executive Committee of the University Academic Senate before, during, and after the peak of the COVID-19 pandemic, and serve on our college's leadership council. We are the faculty managers charged with figuring out how to translate policy into practice for the teams of faculty and staff who work with our programs, without any appointing authority and often without a seat at the table where key decisions are made.

Our university does not define our roles - nor that of appointing officers, deans, or vice provosts - as being "administration" (Grand Valley State University 2022). This matters. As Kathy Johnson Bowles recently highlighted in a blog post for *Inside Higher Ed*, the perceived divide between faculty and the administration is often vague and rhetorical. "For some in academia," she writes, "'the administration' is defined as a shadowy, amorphous group of suit-wearing, exorbitantly paid employees…to be vilified for making knuckleheaded, illogical, tone-deaf decision that put the institution at risk, insult the faculty, demoralize the staff, enrage students and underestimate the power of the alumni" (2022). The problem with such caricatures is not only that they are dehumanizing; they also do nothing to pinpoint the real sources of power, authority, and decision-making. Without that precision, there can be no successful action or activism.

Who are we?
How we have experienced the COVID-19 pandemic is, of course, shaped by our own positionalities. As Phillippe Vincent-Lamarre, Cassidy R. Sugimoto, and Vincent Lariviére succinctly put it: "We are all in the same storm, but not in the same boat" (n.d.). Our employer, Grand Valley State University (GVSU), is a master's large, public institution with around 22,000 students, making it one of the biggest providers of undergraduate education in the state of Michigan. We represent two of total 928 women faculty here, making up just less than half (47.4%) of 1,704 total faculty at Grand Valley and 45.2% of the 670 faculty who are tenured. One of us is a full professor. Women at the rank of full professor make up only about a third of those who achieve that rank at our institution (37.6% out of 319 total faculty), a percentage that has declined since 2017 with real numbers also falling within the past year (Grand Valley State University Institutional Analysis 2022).

While we each carry other marginalized identities, as authors we share a great deal in common with a majority of our faculty colleagues: we both identify as being "white" (79.2%). Like many faculty at our institution, we were the first women in our immediate families to graduate from college and/or graduate school. We each came to Grand Valley a little more than ten years ago after amassing significant higher education experience at other national and international institutions, both public and private. For the vast majority of the time we have worked here, we have felt well-supported, forging close, collaborative relationships with faculty and staff colleagues, administrators, and students. Grand Valley is where we hope to continue to advance in our careers, giving back by applying our expertise to the betterment of our institution, not just the profession writ large. Here, too, we represent a majority of our colleagues - or we did as of the 2019-2020 academic year. At the time of the most recent HERI survey in 2019, Grand Valley faculty consistently reported much higher degrees of satisfaction with their working lives than faculty at comparison schools. This included "significantly more positive" responses about relationships with "administration," relationships with student affairs and institutional support staff, clarity of promotion criteria, and feelings of job security compared to faculty at other large, midwestern publics. Nearly 60% of Grand Valley faculty respondents said they were "satisfied" or "very satisfied" with their prospects for career advancement and institutional advancement, compared to half or just less than half of respondents at peer institutions (Batty 2020).

Our satisfaction with working at GVSU is tied strongly to the ways that the university has expressly supported women faculty and administrative professional (AP) staff. We have directly

benefited from this commitment. For decades, women have occupied many of the most high ranking positions within the university and enjoyed strong representation among all ranks of leadership. Its first woman provost, Gayle Davis, was hired in 2002; she was only the second provost in the university's history. Her two successors are also women. Women hold, or have held, a critical mass of vice presidencies within academic and student affairs and make up the majority of appointing officers. University-level support for women to attend national higher education leadership training programs, formal and informal mentoring programs to support women to advance professionally, and leadership succession planning that makes leadership by and for women and non-male faculty and staff a priority were made part of the fabric of the institution since well before either of us joined the university. To become a tenured woman faculty member at GVSU, then, is also to be reminded of the responsibilities one has to other women, queer, and non-binary colleagues on campus, being attentive to the particular combination of privilege and marginalization that marks our intersectional identities.

Our location in this long line of strong women leaders also compels us to speak up, joining our voices to a larger, national conversation about the impact of COVID on higher education. We need a way forward that does not sacrifice equity. Acknowledging the growing chasms that now divide our campus has never been more important. There is urgency in our appeal. The very life of our institution - and others who face parallel circumstances - depends upon it.

A Shared Narrative
In July 2019, Grand Valley welcomed its fifth president, Dr. Philomena Mantella, the first woman to occupy this role. Mantella had previously served as Senior Vice President and CEO of Northeastern University's Lifelong Learning Network where she worked for nearly two decades, and promised to lead Grand Valley to "embrace the opportunities technology brings...touch[ing] thousands of learners of all ages -- those in front of us, and around the globe….shap[ing] education to learning styles that are as numerous as individuals are different" (Mantella 2019). In addition to an emphasis on technological advancement, Mantella revealed an agenda that would increase the institution's national profile and promote a "growth mindset" with respect to enrollments and revenue streams and immediately began creating "accelerator teams" to plan and carry forward ambitious actions in a variety of areas that included K12 charter schools, health care education, and graduate education (Dawes 2019). Many saw this promise as stretching GVSU in new and exciting directions. Still, the primary story that GVSU leadership and faculty alike told about the institution focused on providing an accessible, high-touch, high quality educational experience to students across West Michigan. Faculty saw themselves as central characters and drivers within this plot line even while they disagreed with each other, and the university's leadership, about some of its finer points. There was always some narrative tension. But fundamentally, the majority of actors recognized they were reading from the same script and occupying parallel or complementary roles.

Roughy nine months later, a state-level Executive Order compelled all Michigan schools to close their doors and move to fully remote instruction within days due to the COVID-19 pandemic. In the face of this new and unprecedented situation, President Mantella wrote in an op-ed piece, published in April, "Let's move from remote and distance delivery of education to intentionally shaped high-engagement online learning, virtual experiences and forms of hybrid learning that recognize as essential what we are all longing for today: community and connection" (Mantella

2020). Her views aligned with an overwhelming majority of presidents who took a similar stance nationally. According to Hanover Research's 2021 Survey of College and University Presidents, nearly 80% of the 433 individuals surveyed from public, private nonprofit, and for-profit institutions expressed even more confidence in their institution's financial stability as a result of the pandemic with many citing specific innovations around technology, finances, and campus operations to back up their optimism (Lederman 2021).

Most Grand Valley faculty, staff, and students did not view Winter 2020 as a time of innovative disruption so much as a period of mounting costs: educational quality, intellectual community, health and well-being of faculty, staff, and students, racial and gender equity among them. Some, like philosophy professor Andrew Spear who published a swift response to Mantella's op-ed in early May 2020, understood the call for innovation as a push for online learning as a panacea (Spear 2020). Others at Grand Valley, as at institutions nationally, expressed fears that the pandemic could become a convenient mechanism for pushing through a variety of cost-cutting measures and policies that had previously been blocked because they were seen as running against long-held institutional values. It is this type of thinking that Anna Kornbluh described as "Never let a crisis go to waste," in her much cited, "Academe's Coronavirus Shock Doctrine" (Kornbluh 2020).

Still, despite the tensions between these perspectives, the core issues were not new (Carlson and Gardner 2020). Grand Valley had long maintained a network of regional campuses across the state and several departments had been early adopters of online and hybrid learning, winning national awards for outstanding adult learning and accelerated online programs. Yet many faculty teaching in traditional disciplines were skeptical about online learning and preferred working with on-campus, FTIAC students. Shrinking budgets, course caps, and faculty salaries were also difficult topics. Nevertheless, most senior faculty could recite the reasoning that drove Grand Valley's budgetary decision-making and institutional history by heart. Although the Grand Valley's financial stability was A1, senior leadership had warned of mounting budget concerns for at least a decade, tied primarily to projected declines in FTIAC enrollments resulting from Michigan's decades-long population decline, sometimes described nationally as the "demographic cliff" (Feather 2020; Guarino 2021). A drop-off in enrollments would mean less in tuition revenue, a lifeblood for the university. One of the newer, large publics in the state of Michigan, Grand Valley historically has received far less in state appropriations than its older or better politically connected cousins (Hodge 2015). Nor has it generated significant revenue through patents or external contracts like more heavily research-focused universities. In essence, disagreements about budgets and online learning were longstanding but complicated with a variety of competing viewpoints among, not just between, faculty and administrators.

Faculty were often nearly as likely as those in administrative leadership to propose ways to streamline academic budgets or cost-saving measures that could serve as compromise solutions, viewing those in leadership as well-intentioned and sharing many compatible values with themselves. Administrators, in turn, celebrated faculty as teacher-scholars, supported in this work through a host of institutional efforts that included robust internal funding initiatives to incentivize sustainable scholarly and creative efforts and innovative, highest quality teaching. Tuition and living expenses for students - whether on campus or through a robust array of study abroad opportunities - were kept as low as possible, recognizing the economic vulnerability of

the institution's heavily first-generation-to-college student body. Good value liberal education was a lifeblood that required little internal discussion or justification.

The tradition of shared governance at Grand Valley was equally robust, with faculty leadership and administrators working mostly hand-in-glove with one another through the University Academic Senate and its various standing committees. When problems arose, they were often resolved interpersonally, by picking up a phone or walking across campus. The prevailing institutional culture was strongly collaborative and conflict averse.

A shared script about institutional values and ways of working still held together despite these mounting tensions. Through the first months of the pandemic in Winter 2020, then, most teaching faculty responded not by questioning leaders' decision-making but by "suck[ing] it up, [doing] the hard work, and put[ting] in the time that it took," to use a phrase from Andrew Spear's May 2020 response, moving all instruction remote, supporting students in crisis, and trying to salvage whatever learning was possible through the end of Winter 2020. This prevailing view of shared struggle persisted into the first months of Spring, even as the prediction of significant budget cuts became a reality. Already exhausted by renewed waves of last-minute planning to rework the scores of experiential and community-based learning required by most of the university academic programs, as well as all spring/summer courses university-wide as stay-at-home orders were extended, faculty and staff kept their heads down, focused on doing the needful.

Most Grand Valley faculty are employed on nine-month contracts and paid from August-April. Unlike in past years where, after annual contracts had ended faculty tended to focus full-time on their scholarship or sought paid overload to do a little additional summer teaching, through Spring-Summer 2020, dozens of faculty volunteered to serve on committees and working groups unpaid in order to support re-opening the university's main campuses and plan for a financially difficult fall semester. Others readily joined the university's racial equity efforts, announced by President Mantella in the wake of large-scale demonstrations protesting police brutality and riots that rocked the Grand Rapids metropolitan area through May and June -- bringing to campus work many had long been performing off campus as part of community-based organizations. Teaching faculty were encouraged to devote time to professional development activities to supporting online learning prior to fall start-up. Unit heads and professional support staff busied themselves reworking fall and winter class schedules to support social distancing. Administrative leaders also saw their working hours and responsibilities balloon that spring and summer, sometimes stretching well beyond previous understandings of their job descriptions. Assembling an internal "Virus Action Team," physically reworking the campus to support social distancing, developing large-scale testing and tracking systems, and reworking both internal and external communication mechanisms were just a few examples.

The Narrative Splits
It was at this point when everyone was working their hardest, that the institutional narrative describing Grand Valley's pandemic response began to splinter, ultimately splitting in two by late August 2020. On May 1, President Mantella convened a Town Hall for incoming students and their families in which she announced that the university would return to face-to-face learning in August (Barnes 2020). No public mention was made of the university's fiscal worries. Internally, however, fed by a great deal of national press around similar issues at other

universities, many GVSU faculty speculated that the decision to begin Fall Semester face-to-face was directly tied to fears that a remote start would negatively impact enrollments, resulting in substantial job losses for faculty and staff (Jaschik 2020). Meanwhile, Grand Valley leadership increased expenditures in a number of strategic and/or new essential areas: creating multiple new, full-time upper level administrative positions to support digital infrastructure, adult learning, and enrollment development, building physical infrastructure necessary to support a return to face-to-face learning with social distancing, hiring external consultants to help design a COVID surveillance, tracking, and testing plan, run a COVID call center, and ultimately create its own surveillance testing laboratory. Mirroring patterns nation-wide, some essential workers in areas like food-service and facilities at Grand Valley were laid off or let go (Barnes 2020; Carlson and Gardner 2020).

For faculty, the greatest upset came when in May they were told that tenure-line faculty teaching loads would be increased for the 2020-2021 academic year and that a majority of sabbaticals which had previously been approved would be delayed for one year. As at other universities around the country, full-time faculty and staff were also told that they would need to apply to be able to work remotely and have their cases evaluated individually, even if they were already scheduled to teach fully online (Pettit 2020). These forms required employees to make specific health declarations about COVID-19 related risk factors that would be reviewed by deans and unit heads or supervisors. Compared to the types of large-scale demonstrations and lawsuits that accompanied similar announcements at places like Northern Arizona University, University of North Carolina, or Ohio State University, to name just a few, conditions at Grand Valley looked relatively calm (Marris 2020). But behind closed doors, in social media, and in shared governance settings, tension flared.

Teaching face-to-face safely required either large-scale changes to campus classrooms or greatly reduced class sizes to keep students and faculty at least six feet apart. Faculty raised a host of concerns about how they would adapt their pedagogies to these conditions. For an institution that prided itself on smaller, more intimate classroom spaces focused heavily on discussion-based, high impact learning practices, the socially distanced settings imposed by the pandemic greatly limited students' ability to work in small groups or engage in most types of active learning. Faculty also questioned the logic of how the university could expect significant financial savings if class sizes were also dramatically reduced to meet face-to-face social distancing capacities - resulting in the need to increase section offerings if enrollments did not decline. They also questioned the administration's continued push to maximize face-to-face instruction even as community numbers of COVID infections continued to rise county-wide (Frick 2020).

While on the ground, then, there were still pockets where the complexities of large-scale responses were acknowledged on all sides, by late August, the loudest narratives had clearly divided into two, becoming so bifurcated that they were essentially incompatible. To some, most publicly the senior leadership team, the six months from when the pandemic first forced the university to shutter its doors to the start of Fall 2020 semester, was a time of disruptive innovation, persistence in the face of difficulty, and ultimately of creativity and resilience winning the day. For others, including at least one particularly vocal group of faculty, it seemed that university leadership had ultimately committed itself to chasing dollars in the form of enrollments, power, and control over principles of shared governance, intellect, quality

pedagogy, and even human life and well-being. Both narratives largely ignored staff interests, including significant numbers of administrative professionals (AP) like those in advising, residence life, and admissions, as well as others in housing, dining, and facilities, to name just a few (Cohn 2021; Kim 2020; Selingo 2020).

As these bifurcated narratives became more entrenched, dialogue across roles and lines of responsibility petered out, in some cases quite publicly. Distrust among and between individuals in both camps ballooned. At the same time, attempts to lump all administrators or all faculty or all staff into one narrative camp or another masked a host of micro- and macro-level decisions and disagreements. Where at other universities both in Michigan and nation-wide, faculty brought "no confidence" votes against their presidents or on-campus tensions boiled over into the national spotlight, by the time Fall Semester 2020 commenced, nearly all of Grand Valley's faculty and those staff who had not been furloughed or chose early retirement quietly returned to work -- amassing ever more hours, battling illness and fatigue, telling themselves that the most important thing was to put students first (Burke 2020; Pettit 2020). Those in administrative leadership positions kept working, following up what for many had already been one of the most intellectually, emotionally, and physically exhausting periods in their professional lives.

Classes began as scheduled on August 31, 2020. The number of COVID positive cases began climbing almost immediately (Managan 2020). Two weeks later, the county health department issued an emergency stay-at-home order for all Grand Valley students living on the Allendale Township main campus (Frick 2020). The order cited the significant uptick in COVID cases among Grand Valley students and staff as well as the impact of spread to local families and businesses across the county (Hubler and Hartocollis 2020). As Nick Moran, editor-in-chief of Grand Valley's student paper, told the *New York Times*, for many students the order "felt like an eternity" at best (Reporting Live 2020). Hundreds of students were put into quarantine or isolation in both on campus and near off campus housing - in some cases multiple times, as successive waves of COVID exposures shut down sororities and fraternities, stopped athletic practice, and otherwise disrupted students' ability to do much on campus other than log onto computers for classes and remain in their dormitories or apartments. For others, the experience of one disruption after another though fall semester took a major toll on students' mental health, with an unprecedented number of students struggling with anxiety, depression, and suicidal thoughts. County officials issued a second order soon after the first, keeping students in place through mid-October. After a few weeks' respite, cases began rising again both on campus and regionally (Frick 2020). On November 15, the Michigan Department of Health and Human Services issued an order suspending face-to-face learning two weeks earlier than the university had planned (Gordon 2020).

The remainder of the 2020-2021 academic year passed for many in a sepia toned haze. Eighty-five percent of Grand Valley's courses remained online through Winter 2021, with the campus often feeling like a washed out version of itself. Then came the successive waves of resignations, lay-offs, and early retirements (Kelderman 2020). Although the university has not made numbers publicly available, in all colleges across campus, faculty, staff, directors, and deans can easily list scores of GVSU employees who left for other jobs. This also included many in leadership. At the same time, the university also created a significant number of new administrative professional

and Executive Administrative Professional (EAP) positions in areas including student life, enrollment, and lifetime learning.

A breakdown of resignations and retirements by sex and/or ethnicity was not available at the time of this writing. But the university's "Diversity Dashboard" provides a glimpse into these larger trends: among executive and administrative professionals at the university, the percentage of individuals of color increased by less than 1/100th of a percent while the overall number of AP/EAPs declined by more than 6% between 2019 and 2021. The percentage of female AP/EAPs declined by .3% over that same period while the overall number of AP/EAPS declined by just over 4%. Among tenure-line faculty, the percentage of men rose from 51.7% to 52.8% even as the overall number of faculty declined by nearly 5%. The percentage of white faculty remained the same even as the total number of tenure-line faculty declined by 6%. These numbers would appear to indicate that women made up the majority of the executive and administrative professionals and tenure-line faculty who left the university since the start of the pandemic, with little real increase in the overall number of non-white AP/EAPs or faculty.

In short, then, by the start of Fall 2021, there was a strong perception among many faculty and staff that the number of highly paid administrators had grown while faculty and staff on the frontlines of directly serving students and supporting essential campus operations had shrunk. As faculty and students returned to launch the 2021-2022 academic year, frustration over breakdowns in basic university functions were amplified by other obvious labor shortages in student employment, housing and dining. In a letter sent to members of the GVSU community in early September following widespread criticism on social media about the lack of available dining options, long lines, and similar barriers to basic on-campus services, university leadership noted that they had 30 full-time job openings (out of about 100 total positions) and 502 vacant student employee positions in campus dining (Lovern 2021).

Elsewhere across Michigan, and nation-wide, other public universities faced similar challenges (Gardner 2021; George Washington University 2021). GVSU responded by offering significant bonuses to students who stayed in on-campus positions through the academic year and boosted hourly pay. This, too, was reflective of larger state-wide and national trends, where starting wages at light industrial, warehouse, general labor, and other semi-skilled positions jumped by more than 42% between Fall 2021 and Winter 2022, contributing to inflation and increasing other costs, including with student tuition, housing, and dining (Sanchez 2022). As far as the waves of resignations among GVSU's faculty and AP staff members, senior leadership largely gestured to national trends such as those cited by *Inside Higher Education* - which noted that well over half of college provosts said that faculty were leaving their institutions at higher or significantly higher rates than previously (Flaherty 2022). Among higher education employees more generally, according to a 2022 survey taken by the College and University Professional Association for Human Resources, more than half of employees working in higher education said they were likely to leave their current jobs within the next year, citing a desire for better pay, more flexible hours, and greater possibilities for remote work (Bauer-Wolf 2022).

Looking back: from togetherness to 'the great resignation'
While the specifics may vary, what we have seen at Grand Valley over the past two years reflects a larger, national story. The crisis brought on by COVID-19 first elicited a sense of solidarity and

desire to all work together. After the March 2020 disruption that shuttered physical campuses nationally and what could best be described as operating in triage mode to finish the semester, educators quickly proposed new, bold solutions for adapting teaching practices, often reinventing our systems and ways of operating. Innovating together in order to privilege teaching seemed to be a common goal. For example, as early as in April 2020, Rebecca Barrett-Fox's essay, "A plan for saving the fall semester" shared a compelling vision for Fall 2020 where all resources would be (re)directed to support faculty and students. On May 11, 2020, Cathy Davidson reminded administrators and instructors alike that online teaching in these extraordinary times required an approach focused not on technology but rather on students, ways to help them regain agency, and move beyond trauma. In a powerful conclusion, she wrote:

> We need to be human first, professor second. We need to design as humans for humans in a global crisis. We need to design our courses with the awareness of pain, dislocation, uncertainty, and trauma now central to all our lives. It's a lot to ask. It is the one and only essential as we design our courses for this disrupted fall.

In their June 2020 essay, "Stop bailing and build a better boat," Kate Brennan and Kristen Cerelli called on universities to account for the current challenges by innovating and letting go of habits that lead us to retrofit current models instead of building anew. Though different, what these essays all shared in common was a refusal of business-as-usual solutions and a resolute attention to the fact that universities are and must be spaces designed for learning and teaching. In other words, they each powerfully argue that what was happening in the classroom should inform the design of the system supporting it, not the other way around.

As at our home institution, unfortunately the response at most colleges and universities was primarily reactive. Faculty across the country watched anxiously through summer 2020 as schools announced one reopening plan after another, often moving from a push to fully return students, faculty, and staff to face-to-face learning toward increasingly online models. They continued to watch, advocate, and frantically adapt through the 2020–2021 rollercoaster of an academic year with calls to embrace a "new normal" and return to full on-campus operations even as the pandemic raged.

The 2021–2022 academic year was hailed as a turning point with a "return to the full experience campus offers" (Barnes 2021). However, the body of the institution had not begun to recover from wounds that a vaccine alone could not address. The severity of these injuries became starkly clear in the first limping, lurching weeks of Fall 2021. Reductions in essential areas like housing, dining, and facilities management made it difficult for those on campus to meet basic needs with hour-long lines, traffic snags, supply shortages, and kindred infrastructure issues greeting those who returned to campus. Recruiting for clerical and technical positions was challenging. Student absenteeism reached an all-time high. Enrollments continued to decline. Staff and faculty morale reached an all-time low. In addition to the resignation of faculty and executive administrative staff who found other opportunities, early retirements further shrunk the ranks of experienced faculty and staff, dulling institutional memory, and feeding insecurity and grief among those who remained. While the particulars may differ, what we have experienced at our home institution represents what has played out at many colleges and universities nation-wide. As the much-cited 2020 *Chronicle of Higher Education* survey of faculty showed, 35% of

faculty nationally are considering a change of career, 31% are considering a change of role, and 38% are considering early or not previously planned retirement. "The era of the great resignation" became a descriptor for current times in higher education (Shroeder 2021). These conditions are not sustainable. Our institution and the larger communities who rely on us deserve better, however much we may be struggling right alongside our regional and national peers.

At the heart of the matter: crisis or opportunity?
We are not naive enough to think that these two narratives are mutually exclusive — one focused on revenue generation, embracing change, and innovation, the other on scarcity, exhaustion, and loss. Attention to financial stewardship does not inherently mean a lack of focus on teaching and learning. Similarly, posing teaching and learning as the premise does not mean ignoring budgetary realities. What we caution against is losing sight of what should be the guiding focus of institutions like ours: meeting the needs of the communities who rely on us. This is one part about ensuring that those who want and need it have access to high quality, higher education. It should also be about longevity: not just getting students in the door but retaining them to successful graduation and beyond while also cultivating a committed workforce of employees who see their current and future well-being reflected in the success of the institution.

If we forget that expanding access to high quality teaching and learning are the heart of public education, the decisions we make now may well inflict long-term harm. In medicine, when the heart is in danger, all efforts are directed toward saving it. These steps are taken even if that means losing something else, or at least delaying care for another part of the body. Why? Because without the heart, all is lost. There is no sense in saving a kidney if the heart fails in the end. This is not to say the heart is the only essential organ. But if the heart quits, all other vital organs will ultimately fail and the patient will die.

From early in the pandemic, specialists from a wide range of fields began sounding alarms, noting that academic workload increases risked irreparably setting back achievements by women and faculty of color. In one of the first published recommendations, Leslie D. Gonzales and Kimberly A. Griffin called on higher education systems to not "let go of equity" (2020). They appealed for colleges and universities to "acknowledge and affirm a slow-down" in research productivity to "center faculty learning in the evaluation of teaching." Reasserting the central value of teaching and learning is what set these recommendations apart from others that proposed remediation primarily based on temporarily scaling back scholarly expectations or extending tenure clocks. By December 2020, more than 50 scholarly societies had endorsed calls to temporarily adjust review and reappointment processes for tenure line and contingent faculty. These measures underscored the disproportionate burden of care work born by women — particularly women of color — within their universities. Even though one recent study called into question whether the pandemic ultimately compromised women's scholarly productivity (Jemielniak, Sławska, and Wilamowski 2022), there is broad consensus that the pandemic amplified gendered inequalities with women reporting far greater working hours, greater volumes of care work in their classrooms and at home, and kindred responsibilities that have long gone unrecognized and under-valued within professional structures. This has been documented in the United States and Western Europe and has been even more pronounced across the Global South (Regulska and Lin 2022).

Universities need faculty and staff who are committed to care work because ultimately it makes the biggest difference for students. As Melissa Ezarik noted in a recent piece for *Inside Higher Ed*, now more than ever, students cite personal connections to faculty as one of the most important factors in how satisfied they are with their college experience. "Many students want more from professors than content knowledge," she writes. "Over half want introductions to people working in fields of interest or advice on choosing a career direction, while nearly half want help landing an internship or first job or for instructors to listen to them about personal issues" (Ezarik 2022). Students also catch on quickly when university systems become heavily impersonal, or infrastructure breaks down. Staying competitive in higher education is maximized when students perceive high quality teaching, timely and useful feedback is provided by instructors, teaching styles of instructors are engaging, learning experiences are rewarding, and class sizes are kept smaller. These elements have been shown to be every bit if not more important as important as easy access to student services, level of infrastructure support provided by an institution, and facilities such as classroom spaces, leisure and sports facilities, IT facilities, and study areas (Wong and Chapman 2022).

Recognizing how the choices made by colleges and universities throughout the pandemic have grown gendered divides is thus critical. This inequity does not just impact working mothers or result from changing factors within women's personal lives; it is directly tied to the ways that women's work remains gendered within the academy. As Kirsty Duncanson, Natasha Weira, and their co-researchers recently documented in a study of Australian research institutions, before the pandemic, female, queer, and non-binary researchers were more likely to cite resource constraints and disproportionately high teaching and mentoring responsibilities as constraints impacting their ability to research and write compared to male-identified colleagues. With the shift to predominantly online teaching and greater service expectations, non-male faculty reported routinely working 50 or more hours each week, including through many nights and weekends owing primarily to their being "employed in the teaching-heavy, casualized levels of the academic hierarchy" (Duncanson et al. 2020). Studies conducted in the United States highlight similar patterns, amplified by institutional choices made by university administrators.

Women's presence in key leadership areas is also not itself enough to guarantee that a working environment is truly supportive of gender equity. Fuller measures include women's representation among the tenured professorate across all disciplines as well as in areas of leadership and fields like technology, data analytics, and finance where women are much less likely to be represented or given a direct hand in upper-level decision-making (Rosa and Clavero 2022). Other scholars have noted the extent that universities may rightly be considered "women serving institutions" given that female and non-male students make up the majority of college students in the United States (Ahluwalia and Riemer 2022). At Grand Valley, women make up 56% of entering transfer students and 64% of entering FTIACs, percentages that have been steadily increasing over the last several years (GVSU Institutional Analysis, Incoming Class Profiles, 2019-2021). Access to childcare support for students, faculty, staff, and administrators and flexible work options are additional steps institutions may take to ensure that they are indeed meeting the baseline needs of their largest constituencies. But we also must protect against going backward: ensuring that harassment and bullying behavior against women does not reassert itself in our workplaces, actively addressing violence against women and non-male identifying members of the campus community, making intersectionality a key part of anti-racist efforts to

more fully support women of color at all levels. Those in leadership must give voice to these efforts, making women's equity a priority in public rhetoric and in day-to-day operations.

These choices also directly compromise racial equity. As at least one university leader put it, we have been overwhelmed by two pandemics: one being COVID-19 and the other, racism. "Scanning the landscape of both pandemics, I cannot help but think that too many of us are plagued by an overabundance of individualism and an inadequate sense of collectivism," wrote Vassar College President, Elizabeth Bradley, in an op-ed published in *Forbes Magazine* (2020). Quoting Audre Lorde, she continued, "Difference must not merely be tolerated, but seen as a fund of necessary polarities between which our creativity can spark a dialectic. Only then does the necessity of interdependency become unthreatening." Justified by a need for expediency or the practice of divorcing financial decision-making from more collective efforts like shared governance, the process by which academic institutions have made many of their most important decisions in recent years has not been equitable, eroding the trust of faculty, staff, and students.

As in so many other contexts, both public and private, individuals and communities that are already vulnerable are the most likely to become even more vulnerable in a crisis. In a powerful editorial, Shaun Harper recently outlined at least 12 direct, material threats to racial equity posed by the pandemic on college campuses (2020). Among those, were: disproportionately placing essential workers at risk, sending infected students home to vulnerable families and communities, placing black men's football and basketball players at disproportionately higher risk due to players' reliance on scholarships and university's reliance on them to generate revenues, barriers to digital access, off campus housing and food insecurity, and increasingly racialized input and stakeholder feedback amplified by breaches of shared governance. As Harper argued, "seemingly color-blind" decisions about re-opening campuses, budget allocations, and policies that were made primarily by "well-intentioned white institutional actors... have unintended consequences on communities of color." It is not enough for institutions to gesture toward racial equity efforts, appoint committees to study the issues, or rest that work in the hands of select individuals. Racial equity must be directly tied to university budgets, structural and cultural institutional changes, and collective not just individual benefit.

A Way Forward
What have we learned in the past two years? And what must we do differently in the months and years ahead? Here we offer seven specific suggestions targeted to those with the greatest amount of decision-making power within our institutions, those in senior leadership including provosts and presidents.

1. Build trusted relationships with faculty and staff at all levels.
Members of senior leadership would benefit by cultivating more trusted relationships with faculty at all levels as well as with deans and unit heads. While the president, senior leadership team, and provost may hold most of the decision-making power, it is those of us charged with operationalizing those decisions who ultimately shape what form those directives take. Valuing the social capital, local and systemic know-how, and experience of long-time employees (both faculty and staff) is just as important as recruiting faculty and staff who bring fresh perspectives and new ideas. Without local experience, it can be very difficult to get things done. Cultivating broader networks also means administrators benefit from critical faculty "friends" who show

their support by asking difficult questions, giving candid feedback, and ultimately improving communication across all levels of the institution.

Building such honest, trusting relationships not only takes time but can be difficult - all the more so, because of the hierarchies in which we operate and the degree to which COVID has changed our patterns of physical interaction with each other. One approach employs radical listening. The concept of "radical listening" was first coined by Joseph Kinchloe in the early 2000s and has been employed as a form of critical pedagogy and social justice engagement for decades. It refers to a disciplined way of hearing that suspends judgment and questioning when listening as a way of valuing collective knowledge and implementing community-designed solutions. It is the opposite of a defensive posture (Kincheloe 2005). It requires setting aside the more siloed, hierarchies of specialization which govern so much of what we do and say within academe. It also means dispensing with clear answers, dichotomies, singular explanations, and positivity - all trappings that dominate the culture of academic leadership and managerial strategy. Radical listening recognizes that getting people to honestly share what they need or want must go beyond feedback surveys and Town Halls; truly engaging in radical listening means building trust — including with those who may have the greatest number of reasons not to trust the radical listener in the first place.

What does this look like in practice? It can be loud, messy, and vulnerable. At the same time, it is equally loving and practical, drawing people in and building real connections with each other that point a way forward. At its best, it is the epitome of good leadership because it results in honest feedback that empowers leaders to move their organizations forward. Three approaches that administrators might consider:

1. Make sure your questions significantly outnumber your assertions. One way to do this is to follow up on feedback when it is offered. Asking questions is both an effective way of demonstrating a leader's commitment to listening but it can also elicit how committed others may or may not be to engaging in the exchange. This type of exchange goes beyond rambling discourse, empty platitudes, and giving opinions. It provides a way for both speaker and listener to show their commitment to the exchange, creating a foundation to move forward together.

2. Recognize your filters. Successful, intelligent people consistently use filters to process large volumes of information. Yet these filters also twist what we are hearing and may prevent us from connecting with others, seeing possibilities, or fully understanding what we are being told. Examples include confirmation ("I know that…"), assessment ("I agree" or "I don't agree"), utility ("how can i use it?"), time-saving ("cut to the point"), and resignation ("tried this and it will never work"), among others (Heneghan 2015). Performing well in front of others is also a regular part of these exchanges for most people, heightened in larger groups or in spaces where professional stakes may be high. Being mindful about how you are listening, including what filters you may be listening through, will help you to set those aside to more fully hear what is being said.

3. Provide lots of low stakes opportunities for conversation. Building trusting relationships takes time. The best way to promote honest communication and minimize performance

by lowering the stakes, is to offer many opportunities to have a real exchange. This also allows you as a leader to hear not just the loudest voices but to look for those who are committed to the exchange by showing up. It also creates avenues to draw out those individuals who may ultimately prove to be your greatest assets.

2. Provide more support for inclusive and equitable teaching innovation.
There is a critical difference between "crisis-informed pedagogy" (Mintz 2020), which compels faculty to be aware, connected, and supportive of the very real struggles facing students who are trying to learn in the middle of a global pandemic, and "crisis pedagogy." Crisis pedagogy is the direct result of continually pressing faculty to rework their teaching to fit needs that are neither student-focused nor learning-driven nor ethically sound. These pandemic years could be a period of great opportunity that not only puts learning first but is also forward-looking. Those of us who occupy mid-level faculty leadership positions see our colleagues working each-and- every-day to embrace these possibilities.

Administrative leaders can help support inclusive and equitable teaching in several ways: Cultivating a culture of Open Educational Resources (OER) has never been more important. Providing infrastructural and technical support, in partnership with teaching faculty, to create classrooms without walls, support high-impact learning opportunities, and give students flexibility to optimize their learning is key. This suggested approach is fundamentally different from compelling faculty to do more with less. We are fortunate to work at an institution that has made tremendous strides to increase support for initiatives like these over the past several years. Still, we need to do more. Envisioning the future of our institutions requires going beyond siloed, emergency management decision-making to support truly innovative, collaborative pedagogy. This also requires a shift in how we think about and reward academic work. Collaboration is not often counted in the types of key performance indicators that institutions use to assess or determine how resources are allocated. But it should be.

3. Expanding the boundaries of liberal and professional education within an ethic of care for students.
Wealth -- specifically how much an individual student must pay for a college education -- plays a significant role in shaping whether education is seen as contributing to the betterment of society as a whole, supporting personal growth, or preparing individuals for the labor market (Gupta 2021). Trying to separate discussion of teaching and learning from economic structures sets up a false dichotomy. The people we teach face competing demands that cannot just be pushed aside. They are balancing care issues, unprecedented levels of financial insecurity, and battling exhaustion. As highlighted in a report by the Brookings Institute (Austin and Hershbein 2020), our home state of Michigan suffered the steepest employment losses in the nation between March and April 2020 due in no small part to political battles that disproportionately worsened the impact of COVID-19 on working-class communities. Michigan suffered the fifth-highest death toll as a result of the pandemic, with the vast majority of those deaths within communities of color in the Detroit metropolitan area.

Academic administrators need to resource even more wrap-around support if we are to effectively retain students facing these challenges to graduation. This includes additional academic, mental health, community-building resources for primarily and exclusively online

learners. Greater access to high impact practices in online spaces are also needed. This is particularly true with respect to community-based learning, undergraduate research opportunities, internships, and practicum. These efforts will do the most good if they support students to successfully accomplish challenging and innovative work. Faculty willingness to teach where they are most needed, to support working adult learners, and to adapt high impact practices to online and hybrid learning spaces has never been more sorely needed.

Meeting these needs also compels faculty to think in more interdisciplinary and cross-sector ways. In states like Michigan, manufacturing-intensive regions face significant workforce reductions. The pandemic has also accelerated the collapse of production-oriented jobs and businesses that are not likely to return. This is changing the skills demanded by regional employers. One hope is that institutions of higher learning might support retraining workers who lag behind in postsecondary education. Institutions of higher learning can have the greatest positive impact within the communities we serve by staying anchored in guiding values of democratic education. This means teaching the so-called "soft skills" of critical and creative thinking, resilience, persistence, collaboration, ethical reasoning and complex problem-solving alongside the latest technologies. This melding of liberal and professional education supports our students to not only enjoy greater confidence, but also to make more meaningful contributions within their communities. This kind of training will also never become out of date. In this way, we will teach students not only the skills they need right now, but also ensure they have the tools to continue to learn across their lifetimes. That is quality education.

4. Make time to think and plan.
Planning has fallen out of fashion in many higher education circles, dropped in favor of strategy (Eckel and Trower 2019). In spirit, moving away from prolonged planning sessions is not a terrible idea, as anyone who has ever sat through weeks or months of arguing over the proper wording for goals, objectives, and measurable outcomes can attest. Where these strategy efforts may go awry, however, is in their reactivity on the part of both faculty and administrators. For administrators, reactivity may take the form of persistently exigent decision-making where everything becomes a crisis demanding immediate action. Acceleration, quick pivots, and "building the plane while flying it" have become familiar refrains across a range of industries from health care to higher education in the past two years. Among faculty, reactivity is more likely to take the form of disengagement, obfuscation, or resistance to change altogether. Both approaches are equally problematic because they prevent meaningful work from getting done and are likely to harm collaborative relationships.

To be sure, higher education is notoriously slow-moving. A host of recent articles and op-eds have highlighted the extent to which colleges and universities fell behind nearly all other industries technologically, creating greater levels of chaos for students, faculty, and employees in the pandemic's wake. For some, like Sean Gallagher and Jason Palmer (2020), these delays mean that AY2020-2021 "is likely to be remembered as a critical turning point between the 'time before,' when analog on-campus degree-focused learning was the default, to the 'time after,' when digital, online, career-focused learning became the fulcrum of competition between institutions." Maybe. But reactive decision-making and stand-offs between faculty and administrators have also compromised fuller adoption of user-centered design choices. As a result, it seems equally likely this moment will be remembered as a crossroads when persistent

inequalities amplified by digital divides and those institutions that truly moved to the cutting edge maximized the benefits of technology to increase access and provide flexibility for students and faculty without forsaking the high-impact, high-touch signatures of quality education. In other words, the moment amplified that more progressive and hopeful outcomes can only be possible if faculty and administrators keep talking to each other, making time to plan forward constructively together.

5. Prioritize equity and inclusion as an extension of care for each other.
The pandemic will have lasting effects within academia. Acknowledging that faculty's gender, race, ethnicity, and standing within the institution impact their working lives is only the first step. Many of our shared governance bodies, unit heads, deans, and provosts took additional positive, emergency steps during the pandemic to automatically extend tenure clocks, temporarily suspend and revise practices surrounding student evaluations of teaching, and to provide faculty with proactive guidance on how to effectively document their pandemic-era work in order to make lasting changes to policy and practice.

How do we extend this momentum while building lasting institutional transformation? For one, efforts taken by administrators to promote equity and inclusion must prioritize employee and student retention, not just recruitment. Administrators, faculty leaders, and the faculty rank-and-file need to acknowledge that women and minoritized faculty were already disadvantaged before the pandemic. While important, emergency steps alone are not enough to level the institutional playing field or bring about a lasting cultural change. This gap is what Dessie Clark, Ethel Mickey, and Joya Misra (2020) have called "institutional short-term memory loss." By focusing only on forward-looking action steps, institutions may actually reverse progress made by women faculty and faculty from marginalized racial groups over the past decade by ignoring the impact of long-standing patterns, practices, or cultures — both positive and negative — on faculty career trajectories, eroding successful structural and individual supports. Warning signs that an institution may be losing its positive supports for equity and inclusion could include: significant resignations and/or previously unplanned retirements by tenured women and minoritized faculty as well as those in leadership or administrative positions, low morale among high performing faculty, and/or a belief among mid-career and senior women and/or faculty of color that advancing in their careers will require leaving the institution. It would behoove equity-minded administrators to be attentive to these warning signs.

The proactive steps to move equity forward must address both individual and collective needs. Fostering cultures of support by designing tools that give language to faculty to formally document the impact of COVID-19 in review and promotion processes is one of these steps (Riley and Subramaniam 2020; Riley and Subramaniam 2021). One constituency worth supporting are the individuals Clark et. al. (2020) call "organizational catalysts": faculty leaders and others who press their institutions to remain focused on equity as an extension of core mission and also "serve as bridge builders to leverage change" across "different domains and levels of the institution." Who exactly are these catalysts? Among faculty, they are the university's middle managers: associate deans, unit heads, shared governance leaders, program coordinators and directors. They are the individuals who must, by the very nature of their jobs, bridge different constituencies within the institution. These individuals serve as connecting nodes that relay information across hierarchies and divisions about the concerns of other faculty, staff,

and students. Catalysts play a critical role in identifying needs and advising about best practices for addressing concerns. They can also implement direct action steps needed to yield positive, demonstrable results that will ultimately make our institutions more equitable.

6. Without trust, very little good work ever gets done.

For nearly a decade, public commentators and scholars have pointed to the declining public trust in higher education, amplified by growing political divides and economic instability. This trust gap widened dramatically after 2019. One 2020 study noted that as many as half of all college students lack trust in their college and university leadership, with as many as four in 10 college employees expressing similar distrust with their administrations (Calderone and Fosnacht 2022). Race and ethnicity also impact these divides. According to NSSE, students of color are far less likely than white peers to trust leadership, academic advisors, and faculty at predominantly white institutions. To address these concerns, leaders in higher education are guided to be transparent, strengthen communication, and amplify voices of students and employees. Many have done this to extremes: social media campaigns, slogans, and strategies abound.

Faculty and administrators alike need to remember that the loss of trust that many are currently feeling includes how our students perceive us. At the same time, this reality is also a primary reason why so many faculty are demoralized. There are few things worse for conscientious faculty than being stretched so thin that it becomes impossible to do justice to students' needs. The feeling of not being seen or supported to do one's job well, further erodes faculty trust in leadership. This extends to all ranks of leadership, reaching crescendo with the administration. Isolation and fragmentation of workplaces through COVID has also stripped away the softer dimensions of human interaction over time, leaving behind mostly sharp edges. The only solution, as McClure and Fryar have underscored, is "rebuilding relationships, and the foundation of that project is trust" (2022).

Administrators can build back trust with faculty by re-investing in strong shared governance structures. They can work shoulder-to-shoulder with faculty on meaningful efforts that directly support classroom-based efforts. They can listen to more than the loudest or most persistent voices, building trusting relationships with organizational catalysts and others outside their immediate realm of influence. They can acknowledge hard work done well and meaningful results without prompting or asking for more. Faculty, in turn, can remember that administrators are human, too. They also face competing pressures, steep learning curves, and incompatible demands often under the harsh and unforgiving light of a public spotlight.

7. We will be stronger if we struggle together.

Now is not the time to retreat into our separate corners. Those who occupy administrative leadership positions within the university are responsible for the overall health and well-being of the institution. They are privy to information and material realities that are not necessarily available to or within the purview of faculty or faculty leadership. This is true even in the context of shared governance. By the same token, those who are interacting with large volumes of students on a daily or weekly basis, teaching in classrooms, and carrying out the day-to-day operations of the university also carry a wealth of knowledge that may not be known to those in leadership. As scholars and researchers, faculty carry additional specialized knowledge that could be used to the benefit of the institution if only those faculty were asked.

Rather than falling prey to the allure of simple binary narratives and caricatures, we would all be better served if we strengthen our ability to acknowledge and shift between close and distant readings of our institutional realities. To borrow a quote from Franco Moretti: "Reading 'more' is always a good thing, but not the solution." Faculty provide the close reading of university business, with all of the attention to specific details and highly specialized knowledge that entails. This is a good thing. There is also value in the much broader gaze, one that encompasses the full reach of university effort within its regional, national, and even international context. Working together, through honest, straightforward, and respectful communication, has the potential to yield far greater benefit than either approach alone.

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Surveillance, Discipline, and Regulation: Understanding Black Women's Experiences in the Academy

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Introduction

Race shapes a range of knowledge systems within the university, and it is important to identify how racism functions as part of this system. One such example of racism is the way that Black women's actions, attitudes, and responses are surveilled and regulated within campus spaces. In this working paper, we provide a preliminary analysis from a year-long study conducted with Black women students on their perspectives on discipline, surveillance, and regulation in higher education. We draw from Foucault's (1979) discipline theory and Collins's (2002) Black Feminist Thought to highlight the unique experiences of Black women students, and to critique the university's social structure as a type of disciplinary network. The purpose of this paper is to offer faculty and staff working with Black women students' insights into disrupting surveilling and regulatory behavior faculty and staff may be unaware of.

In this qualitative study, we aimed to make sense of the ways in which Black women students are socially disciplined by the academy's policies, everyday interactions, and traditions. We conceptualized that real-life channels of surveillance and regulation are key factors of discipline that do not allow for critical Black feminism to flourish within white institutions (Collins 2002). To do this, we emphasized the epistemic agency of Black women students through storytelling that elucidates how faculty place discursive boundaries on Black women students through regulation and surveillance, in part because of normative values of whiteness related to femininity and academic ability. Given that Black women student's epistemic agency is limited because schools/universities were built with racialized power dynamics within its policies and practices that continue today (Collins 2002; Ray 2019), addressing this head on is important for Black women students to feel like their knowledge has a place in higher education. However, actual inclusion cannot occur until faculty and staff are aware of how systemic racism informs our social practice on campus. For example, Black women students are trained by their professors to fit within the bureaucracy of their academic discipline for continued success. Our research is important because forms of discipline, such as surveillance and regulation, are understudied aspects of research involving Black women students. Consequently, faculty and staff often lack resources regarding proper support of Black women students, and do not have the

skills to disrupt certain disciplinary behaviors as described within this paper. To address this, we provide faculty and staff with ideas to think about how they might modify and eliminate practices that surveil and regulate Black women students on campus. Our work is particularly timely given the revived call from racial social movements in the United States demanding change concerning the systemic disciplining of Black people that happens in many overt and covert ways.

Literature Review
Universities are situated within a sociological context that informs the disciplinary practices of the school that prevent infusion of Black epistemology (Collins 2002; Felder, Stevenson, and Gasman2014; Vickery 2020). The push toward diversity, particularly within university initiatives, means that faculty and administrators want an increase in Black graduate and undergraduate student enrollment, but will also continue to engage in acts of surveillance against Black students once they arrive to campus (hook 1989; Rodrigues, Mendenhall, and Clancy2021). Social surveillance of Black women students is done through increased monitoring that materializes as rewards and corrections when acting in accordance with or outside of dominant social standards on campus (Robinson 2013). Increased surveillance requires Black students to negotiate their positions within the power structure of the university through acceptance of the surveillance or resisting the surveillance by regulating (adjusting based on social control/discipline) their behavior, work performance, and appearance in classes and workspaces on campus (Phelps-Ward 2020).

Black women always exist within a web of racialized and gendered power networks (Collins 2002; hooks 1989, Overstreet 2019) where the critical knowledge of Black women is often stifled or ignored. Oftentimes challenging the status quo is dangerous for reputations and therefore, something faculty or staff are unlikely to enact. Related, universities and colleges are examples of racialized organizations where race itself is not an "object," but race is a defined relationship or social contract (historically and presently bound) made up of the people in a society (Ray 2019). Organized places in society discipline in several ways through formal and informal punishment, and the disciplinary power sustains dominant culture's status quo within a stratified society (Foucault 1979). Thus, people model their identity within a sociological context and learn acceptable responses to our cultural setting (Angod 2015; Galič, Timan, and Koops 2017; Gould 2021). Additionally, the image of a properly functioning human is already given to us by disciplinary power (Foucault 1979). Thus, Black women students cannot define for themselves what a "good" university student is for themselves because disciplinary power (e.g., surveillance and regulation) dictates the standards and expectations, which do not honor or account for Black life (Angod 2015; Gould 2021).

For example, Mayorga-Gallo (2019) found that many diversity frameworks are missing key elements of how to address systemic power and historical marginalization, and those missing elements of inclusion make institutional inequity impossible to fully achieve. However, while diversity commitments and statements perpetuate nice optics, these initiatives do nothing to improve education for the benefit of Black women students (Gould 2021; Matias 2016). Black women students (undergraduate and graduate) at white[†] institutions are low in number, making

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[†] We intentionally do not use the term "predominately-white" because this implies that most colleges and universities are spaces where whiteness is not the default expectation (see Masta and Holly 2021).

the social part of academic study very isolating and their experiences of marginalization are passed over (Gay 2004; Grant 2012). Thus, when Black women students explain social problems within the academy, they receive quick fixes that do not address the root causes of a racialized discipline within higher education (Felder et al. 2014; Overstreet 2019; Phelps-Ward 2020). Therefore, when researchers theorize about Black women's experiences of discipline and act in support of Black women students based on our work, we also must acknowledge the multiplicity of Black women student's identities and experiences (Collins 2002).

The Current Study
Within our project, we made theoretical connections to Foucault's discipline theory while listening to stories shared by Black women students. Foucault's concepts are useful for understanding Black women student's experiences on campus because discipline theory critically examines systems of power. Black women students are bombarded with advice and correction, which insinuates that they must behave in a prescribed/normative manner. Although Foucault's discipline theory is viewed in terms of discursive boundaries, it is imperative that researchers and educators acknowledge the concrete effects of power within the social structure of a university, to facilitate a positive and educative experience for Black women students on campus. For example, when Black women students are in spaces where they feel their identities as Black people and women are valued, they feel freer to be themselves. However, when Black women students feel these identities separate them from others, Black women students do their best to seem nice, gentle, and proper. The participants' display of personality was also dependent on the social setting. Black women students are aware of stereotypes as part of surveillance, and actively try to brand themselves as the opposite of those stereotypes (opposite as in being gentle, dainty, quiet, studious, well-dressed) because Black women students feel that they represent all of Black women students, and their behavior will influence how their peers and professors might interact with other Black women in the future. Consequently, Black women student's proximity to whiteness influenced their personality at school (and beyond) because of the white norms related to valued white femininity around them.

Black women students also explained that the discipline they received was based on white heteronormative values of femininity that related to dialectical images of Black women students. Thus, there are different behavioral presentations for various social contexts in higher education. Participants felt they have cultivated many personalities to fit in on campus. Participants did this because Black women students receive messages and "advice" about what a proper college graduate should look like to receive accolades and employment (Collins 2002). Techniques of discipline are varied and often disguised through what is considered normal or "natural" (Foucault 1979).

Theoretical Framework
We apply Foucauldian disciplinary concepts to theorize, name, and then critique university norms applicable to socially disciplining Black women undergraduate and graduate students. Disciplinary surveillance and regulation results in Black women students on campus having "practiced" norm adherence (Collins 2002). We identified Foucault's (1979) discipline theory as giving critical insight into the various veiled materializations of discipline in social orders. Notably, Foucault is clear in stating that techniques of discipline are historically linked, shift throughout time, and are context dependent. We also drew from Collins' (2002) *Black Feminist*

Thought interpretation of Foucault's discipline theory. Collins' theoretical interpretation of Foucault's theory gives context and guidance for studying how Black women are "trained" to act a certain way to be "successful" in higher education. Collins' (2002) interpretation of Foucault's discipline theory gives context for how Black women are trained to act a certain way to be "successful" in higher education. In other words, Black women students receive messages insinuating that they must behave in a prescribed manner that allows everyone to feel comfortable within white institutions.

We examine surveillance and regulation as key factors of discipline that do not allow for Black feminism to flourish within white institutions. In this paper, we define surveillance as a tool of disciplinary power that ranks, orders, and normalizes individuals, and regulation as a process where one's actions and behaviors are modified based on surveillance either by themselves or others (Foucault 1979). Even though Black women are recruited to campus (often via several types of diversity initiatives), systemic biases do not allow Black women students to be themselves. Foucault's (1979) discipline is a theoretical view unearthing the way society and its networks discipline a collective body of individuals. For this theoretical perspective, the collective body of individuals was Black women students. Foucault would argue that universities, as imbued by larger society, are amenable to disciplinary surveillance and regulation. Collins (2002) furthers this theorization by explaining that power over Black women student's expressions, presentations, and responses is accomplished through constant inspection, correction, and rewards.

Surveillance. Surveillance works as a disciplinary method based on its ability to have an unverified presence, like an invisible ever-present authority effect (Foucault 1979). For example, given that faculty and staff cannot always carry out the punishments and explicitly enforce a regulated or controlled learning environment, the automation of surveilling effects makes any explicit punishment from faculty redundant (Galič et al. 2017). Thus, faculty serve as a comprehensive "inspector" of academic relationships, experiences, and milestones, and faculty view aspects of higher education from their own standpoint epistemology or understanding, which is rooted in white patriarchal norms of education (Grey and Williams-Farrier 2017). Not only is physical isolation a factor, but the academy cuts off Black women's standpoint epistemology—the unique knowledge that Black women have about social inequity (Collins 2002). Therefore, Black women are well-versed and are quick to understand what faculty at white universities require for academic success and social networking (Collins 2002; Gay 2004).

Regulation. Regulation is the process experienced by others who try to control their behavior and action. Regulation, whether it stems from social norms or surveillance, remains because societal norms and the power that enforces those norms goes unnoticed. Norms, and the discipline to sustain them, is unnoticed because they are woven into society's organizations (Foucault 1979; Ray 2019). Accordingly, schools developed endogenously with panopticism (Galič et al. 2017). For example, teachers observe, punish, correct, and indoctrinate students while school administrations, parents, and politicians monitor teachers to be a mechanism within the panopticon. Schools are a place where teachers are easily surveilled at any time (Callendar 2020). As Galič, Timan, and Koops (2017) write "when everybody can potentially be under surveillance, people will internalise control, morals and values" (p. 16). Significantly, Black teachers are under increased expectation to internalize, model, and correct in accordance with

dominant U.S. cultural norms. This means that sharing emotions and truths about systemic violence against Black people are disallowed in their pedagogy.

As Foucault (1979) theorizes, the reach of disciplining behaviors extends beyond a school or university because people are constantly being disciplined, and the discipline and subsequent normalized behaviors are reproduced, modeled, and sanctioned. Surveillance and regulation are upheld through many interactions in organizations that reinforce a racialized structure (Ray 2019). Most of the participants explained that they were expected to act like a "white girl" to do well in academia. This version of discipline, automated responses, is a form of self-discipline that is aligned with organizational norms that are infused with racial constructions that dictate credentials (e.g., "whiteness" as a character trait is achieved), and rules (e.g., social orders that leave Black women without much agency to learn on their own terms)

Methodology
As noted in the introduction, this paper presents preliminary findings from a year-long qualitative study that we conducted between September 2020 and May 2021. The research team consisted of two women professors (who identify as Native and white) and two doctoral students, who are Black women. We spent considerable time discussing how our positionalities informed study design, data collection, data analysis, and drafting of manuscripts. The study design for this project was based on research conducted by the Native professor on the experiences of Native women, whose study highlighted the intersectionality of race and gender. Since both professors did not share a racial identity with the participants, the professors provided administrative support during data collection, while the Black doctoral students conducted the interviews with participants. We all participated in the data analysis stage, but the professors deferred to the doctoral students if there was misalignment in the interpretation. Both professors made significant effort to not let their experiences supersede that of the Black women doctoral students, who approved all the preliminary findings discussed in this paper.

We conducted a series of open-ended interviews with 22 Black undergraduate women and 19 Black graduate women attending a white Midwestern university. The Black undergraduate women and Black graduate women represented a range of colleges at Purdue University, including the College of Engineering, the College of Liberal Arts, and the College of Health and Human Sciences. However, given the few numbers of Black women students in certain majors and disciplines, we cannot provide more specific details without the risk of revealing identifying information about the participants. Each interviewee participated in three interviews, with each interview ranging between 30-75 minutes in length. Our study was approved by Purdue's Institutional Review Board. The first two interviews centered on understanding participants' experiences in education, with specific emphasis on discipline, surveillance, and regulation actions that occurred. The third interview involved interviewees reviewing initial findings and providing the research team with any feedback or additional insight. After we transcribed the first two interviews, participants had the opportunity to review their transcripts for accuracy. Participants chose pseudonyms that were utilized from the point of transcription.

We analyzed the interview data in multiple steps. The initial step involved reviewing the transcripts from the first interview. After we reviewed the transcripts, the research team met to discuss any patterns or trends we identified in the data and identified additional questions to pose

in the second interview. The second step involved reviewing the transcripts from the second interview. The researchers drafted analytic memos for each interview that were reviewed by the research team. After we reviewed the second set of transcripts, the research team met to discuss additional trends or patterns in the data. The third step involved reviewing the transcripts again, along with research memos and meeting notes. From this, we created preliminary findings. The fourth step involved sharing the preliminary findings with the participants during the third interview to gain their perspective and insights into the data and conduct a form of member checking. We then took their feedback and identified the following themes to understand how Black women students experience discipline, surveillance, and regulation with higher education.

From these narratives, we pinpoint significant moments and places of discipline that Black students experienced from their faculty. The stories Black women students tell subvert hegemonic power structures, and the critical knowledge is used to challenge racism that is present in society's organizations (hooks 1989). For example, the norm on a university campus is tied to valuing white heteronormative femininity (Collins 2002). From participants' stories we noticed that Black women students experience surveillance and regulation by observing outcomes of what happens when acting according to, or in contradiction of, that dominant social standard. Black women students all recalled that this surveillance and regulation began at an early age that extended to university life. Although the experiences of Black undergraduate women and Black graduate women differ in significant ways, this working paper focuses on findings that represent their shared experiences as Black women students.

Shared Insights for Awareness
In this section we present our preliminary findings, renamed as insights, to offer perspective to faculty and staff who might be unfamiliar with the experiences of Black women students.

Insight 1: Teachers enact discipline, surveillance, and regulation in K-12 settings, which informs Black women student's experiences in college.
From an early age, Black women are set apart *from each other* based on both the location of their K-12 school and their performance in these schools. Within the K-12 environment, Black girls are labeled as either "good" (e.g., taking Advanced Placement coursework, seeming approachable, living in suburban areas) or "bad" (e.g., taking no Advanced Placement coursework, seeming "rude" and loud, living in urban areas). This sorting/ranking of Black girls from an early age ends up reinforcing an unspoken rule that there is only one type of Black girl who can succeed in society. Sorting causes Black women students to regulate their own behavior, as well as evaluate other Black women students based on the unspoken rules of "good manners." The sorting experienced by Black women students in K-12 schools informs how Black women students experience colleges and universities.

Liana[‡], an undergraduate student, reflected on experiences of teachers in the K-12 schools watching her behavior and navigating the subsequent regulation:

> Yeah. It's like, do they assume that we're all poor or that even if we aren't poor, we just have a lack of something? That's why for me personally, I have a hard time with the idea of like "professionalism," talking so professionally, and changing my tone of voice. I'm

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[‡] All names are pseudonyms

just a Black person. Like, and if I talk like this, then that should be respected because I
can do what I can because I'm in the same room as everybody else.

The regulation that Liana discusses is sometimes labeled as important career and/or academic
advice. However, the advice itself is based on problematic assumptions on race. When
professionalism is defined as using and behaving in ways that reflect whiteness, Black women
can never meet those expectations.

Insight 2: Black women are both invisible and hyper-visible in academic settings.
The everyday experience for Black women students involves the dialectic between invisibility
and hypervisibility. Invisibility involves the exclusion of Black women student's perspectives
and the failure of non-Black peers and mentors to recognize the time and effort required to
understand the unwritten rules. Black women students experience a form of hyper-visibility.
Black women students are watched constantly, and therefore regulate themselves
(physically/emotionally) to anticipate and manage the perceptions of others. Hyper-invisibility is
fostered through the numerical underrepresentation, making Black women students "stick out" in
spaces where there are only one or two Black women students present. Janice, an undergraduate
aspiring to work in higher education student affairs shared a story about watching a Black
woman who advocated for minoritized students in STEM. Janice said,

She's doing the work, but her salary is not equating to all the work she'd done…Like
they need us for whatever is wrong with the university, or they need us, whatever, to fix
the diversity work in the university.

Janice also has a campus job with residence life and sees the dynamic between visibility and
invisibility often related to diversity, but she notices that Black women's ideas rarely get the
compensation or appreciation deserved. For example, university administration might seek out
Black women's knowledge and suggestions for diverse appearances, but then do no work within
the university to include Black women.

**Insight 3: Black women student's understanding of stereotypes informs their behavior in
the academy.**
Black women students understand how stereotypes work—Black women students recognize that
stereotypes about Black women inform the people around them, they recognize the regulatory
regimes associated with these stereotypes, and they acknowledge that their understanding of
stereotypes influences their behavior inside and outside of class. For example, Black women get
praise if they are viewed as "nice," "proper," and "professional." However, if they are viewed as
"unprofessional" Black women get advice to alter their personality and/or appearance. For
example, several participants noted that Black women should aspire to be like Michelle Obama,
who represented (in their minds) what proper Black womanhood looks like. Rachel, a graduate
student, acknowledges the possibility that the people she works with might think she was
accepted into the university because of her minority status, and not her skills. Rachel states,

I worked over the summer and one of the faculty has actually kind of talked to me about
it and he was like, 'You did such a great job over the summer. You worked really hard. I
really appreciate you.' I think that they liked me. I don't know. I do think though that

there is, I don't know, that little sense of like, 'Oh, maybe she isn't good enough to be here or maybe she only got in because you know she's a minority.' I think that they know that I have a lot of clinical experience, just experience in the field, but maybe not as much research experience…I definitely try to use bigger words and not use slang or anything like that. I always say yes for the most part. Like if they ask me to do something, I'm not going to say like, "Oh, I don't have time." I'm like, "Okay, yeah! That sounds great. I'll get to it." Even if I know I already have a huge list of things to do.

Rachel also points out that this extends to stereotypes related to physical appearance:

I think it [the way I come to class] would be a little chaotic, I guess, not as presentable. I straightened my hair, most mornings. I get ready for class. I want to look professional, but if it was real me, it would be my hair all curly and frizzy.

In addition to the regular burdens of being a graduate student, Rachel has the additional burden of anticipating stereotypical perspectives and determining how, and if, she should modify her behavior to prevent someone from aligning her with their negative stereotypes of Black people.

Insight 4: Being in the academy requires the additional burden of identity negotiation for Black women students.
Black women students recognize that their academic work requires ongoing identity negotiation. This extends beyond just their performance in undergraduate and graduate milestones—it informs every part of their daily lives in that they must negotiate their own perspectives on race to learn when and where it is (or is not) ok to bring up racialized topics, and that they frequently try to find ways to distinguish their behaviors from those that are considered "racialized." For example, Liana shared feeling safe around other Black friends as well as the Black Cultural Center on campus:

Feeling safe [around Black friends and at the BCC] was feeling like I could just be myself, like nobody was going to look at me crazy if I was talking in a certain way or if me and my friends were talking to each other in a certain way.

Lizzie, an undergraduate student, shared,

We're the only two Black people in the lab to begin with. And a lot of times you can't participate as an experiment or in a lot of studies because we bias the information. So, if anything was going to be isolating.... That doesn't really make me feel any type of way, but I know that those are some things we can't do because we bias the information. They're testing for things like that, and you can't be Black and be the experiment because you're going to upset the veil or the collection process or whatever.

The additional burden of identity negotiation for Black women students reinforces that their being is not the "standard" for campus norms.

Insight 5: The academy disciplines, surveils, and regulates Black women students through various policies.

Colleges and universities regulate and surveil Black women students through various policies within all levels of the organization (Ray 2019). These multiple prongs of regulation occur formally and informally. Regulation and surveillance are pronounced in graduate spaces, which tend to be small and have few Black people present. Within graduate spaces, regulation and surveillance is especially noticeable in relationships with faculty and with peer interactions. For example, graduate programs often have a series of expectations or milestones used to assess the progress of students. Navigating these milestones is more complicated for Black women students for two reasons. First, Black women students are held, both internally and externally, to a higher, unattainably perfect, standard. Second, Black women students are often assumed to be "wrong" or deficient by their faculty and/or peers. Black women students then depend on these milestones to help mitigate the regulation and surveillance they experience when trying to navigate between these two sets of expectations. Stryker, a graduate student, highlighted this in her own experience:

> I saw our milestones or the sheets that we agreed upon on expectations. Once I saw that and I saw how many more things I had listed [than white peers] and how many more like the weight of the fact that I was trying to apply to like three external fellowships and like an, a supplement, a diversity supplemental grant, something that she invited me here for, and really was like set on rather than my goals of the external fellowships to independently fund me. Um, there are the issues of the trajectory of my thesis in terms of the brainstorming ideologies that I had in the collaboration. I was suggesting it to her…and she just was not really trying to have those types of discussions with me. And then eventually she [the professor] really threw me against the wall when she wanted to say that I wasn't being cooperative or trying to, I guess, share…she felt like I wasn't being as inspirational during lab meetings.

At the end of the study, a graduate student participant mentioned that "none of this is new, but it feels good to have it on paper." Black women students throughout time have expressed comparable stories and alarm regarding the limitations placed on Black women students through social discipline. Still, nothing has significantly changed. This means that our studies cannot solely be based on theorizations but also refined by actions, such as how we disseminate our work and provide suggestions/insights for awareness to the academy of how to be inclusive of Black women students. The stories of Black women students trying to fit in and graduate without making waves sounds like Black women students are just expected to push through pain for the promise of a decent job that might even the playing field—the above insights offer guidance for the social norm of accepting institutionalized oppression to change.

Implications
The goal of this study was to make sense of Black women's experiences in colleges and universities through the lenses of discipline, surveillance, and regulation. Making sense of discipline within the university's social structure is significant; the process of discipline reinforces white, patriarchal norms and limits inclusion of Black women student's identities in academia. Discipline restricts their identities through surveillance and regulation. Even though Black women students are brought on campus to fulfill diversity initiatives, systemic biases do not allow Black women graduate and undergraduate students to be fully included.

Black Feminist Thought and Foucault's theory of discipline is an important and unique combination as a theoretical lens. Foucault's goal of understanding discipline is to make what was obscured to society seen, and that is done by accepting and knowing critical truths. Narratives elicited from the Black women student participants in this study provided that critical and noteworthy truth that is necessary for university administrators and educators to validate and make change based on the recommendations. Moreover, forms of discipline, like surveillance and regulation, are understudied social disciplinary networks of power involving Black women students that must be named to challenge the racialized and gendered hierarchical power organization of higher education. Collins' (2002) theoretical take on the everyday discipline of Black women in higher education asserts that technical differences have been made (e.g., diversity), but no foundational changes have been made in larger society that would affect the inclusion of Black women in education, correlating with Foucault's conceptualization of a controlled society that does not challenge the hierarchical status quo. Investigating discipline within the university's social structure is critical; the process of discipline reinforces white, patriarchal norms and limits inclusion of Black women student's identities in academia.

The findings we present in this paper represent our initial analysis of the data. We will continue to analyze the data more deeply, looking for detailed nuance about the everyday ways the academy disciplines, surveils, and regulates Black women students. Further analysis allows us to understand how faculty interact with Black women students and can provide insight into useful interventions. We also plan to develop a narrative study focused on faculty reflections on their engagement with Black women students. However, our current findings allow us to provide several suggestions for faculty and staff to consider as they engage with Black women students on campus. Our first suggestion is to evaluate how program policies/milestones might implicitly privilege white students. Are faculty adding additional milestones to Black women students for no discernable reason? Are Black women students expected to do more service and committee work at the expense of their own academic progress? Department chairs should pay attention to the experiences of Black women students in their departments. Our second suggestion is for faculty and staff to make space for, and listen, to Black women students when they share their struggles with stereotypes and identity negotiation. Faculty and staff should not dismiss Black women's concerns as "this is just how it is"—attention should be paid to the context shared. The messages Black women students receive about professionalism and academic behavior derive from white patriarchal norms. Faculty and staff should ask themselves if their mentoring of Black women students involves reinforcing whiteness. Lastly, faculty and staff should recognize that Black women students have experienced discipline, surveillance, and regulation for the entirety of their experiences in K-12 schools. Black women student's past experiences inform their current understanding of colleges and universities—therefore, faculty and staff should build trust with Black women, knowing that the trust building process for Black women students takes time and should be encouraged and fostered—not ignored or hastened.

Our goal is to continue to refine our suggestions and offer more nuanced ways for faculty and staff to support Black women students in colleges and universities. We recognize this is demanding work and requires constant dedication. However, if colleges and universities are committed to the goals of diversity and inclusion, and want Black women students to thrive and succeed, institutional change is paramount.

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