ARC NETWORK
A STEM EQUITY BRAIN TRUST

Bringing the people back in: a meta-analysis of equity work(ers) in academic institutions

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About the ARC Network

Funded by the National Science Foundation ADVANCE Program, Awards HRD-2121468 and HRD-1740860, the ADVANCE Resource and Coordination (ARC) Network seeks to achieve gender equity for faculty in higher education science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) disciplines. As the STEM equity brain trust, the ARC Network recognizes the achievements made so far while producing new perspectives, methods and interventions with an intersectional, intentional and inclusive lens. The leading champion in North America to propel the inclusion of women in the field of engineering, the Women in Engineering ProActive Network (WEPAN), serves as the backbone organization of the ARC Network.

About the Virtual Visiting Scholars

The Virtual Visiting Scholars (VVS) program provides a unique opportunity for select scholars across disciplines to pursue research meta-analysis, synthesis, and big data curation on topics crucial to STEM faculty equity. VVS analyze existing research and data, synthesizing different, sometimes competing, perspectives, frameworks, metrics, and outcomes to offer new insights and applications to the broader community.

About the Author

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Executive Summary

This project investigates how equity workers in higher education institutions are represented in published literature, aiming to reveal trends and gaps in visibility. Analyzing metadata and text from academic journals, higher education news outlets, and national news sources, this study finds a marked increase in publications mentioning DEI (diversity, equity, and inclusion) workers since the mid-2010s, with a sharp rise since 2019. Despite this growth, the publications focus predominantly on institutional roles and entities, such as DEI office(r)s and senior administrators (presidents, provosts, and their associated offices). There is more limited coverage of individual faculty members and marginalized groups, including BIPOC people and women, who literature shows are heavily involved in equity work. This lack of representation in publications may reinforce the notion that equity efforts are uniformly distributed institutional priorities as they obscure the disproportionate challenges faced by marginalized groups. The findings underscore the need for more comprehensive recognition and support for the diverse individuals contributing to faculty DEI initiatives in higher education institutions.

Background

A vast interdisciplinary literature maps the multi-dimensional and intersectional inequities in the STEM professoriate. This includes well-known phenomena such as leaky pipelines and chilly climates, as well as multi-method examinations of biased evaluation metrics, epistemic exclusion, and institutional barriers to the advancement of women and scholars of color in STEM fields across the academic career (e.g. Branch 2016; Britton 2017; Charles 2011; Gonzalez and Harris 2012; Long and Fox 1995; Posselt et al. 2020; Rivera 2017; Settles et al. 2020; Stewart and Valian 2018; Turner et al. 2008; Xie and Shauman 2003; Zippel 2017).

However, knowledge of these issues and their causes, while critical, is not sufficient to produce actual change on its own. An emerging body of research examines the *practices* of moving toward equity, generally involving an explicit, or at least implied, examination of the people behind those practices (Ahmed 2012; Bilimoria and Singer 2019; Flood et al. 2017; Laursen and Austin 2020; Liera 2020; Parsons and Priola 2013). We are well versed in the *why* of equity in STEM, becoming better versed in the *how*, but to date, there has been no systemic analysis of the *who*.

As gendered and racialized institutions, diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) work in universities is inherently counter to institutional logics and systems of practice (Ahmed 2012; Bird 2011; Mihăilă 2018; Romero 1997), and can be conceptually understood as a form of protest from inside institutions (Kahn and Lynch-Biniek 2022; Katzenstein 1999; Laube 2010). As such, this kind of work is difficult, undervalued, and increasingly politicized (and even made illegal in some states). It is also most often taken on by individuals with multiple marginalized identities, putting them in potentially more precarious career positions.

There is evidence that women and faculty of color are more likely than their male and white counterparts to take part in equity work both at an individual level (mentoring, committee work), and at an institutional level (NSF ADVANCE teams, taskforces, townhalls, etc.) (Bell et al. 2021; Brunsma, Embrick, and Shin 2017; Culpepper et al. 2021; Kezar, Bertram Gallant, and Lester 2011; Laube 2021; Parsons and Priola 2013). Yet this type of work, when done by faculty, is often seen as service or care work, which is feminized, devalued, and does not count toward tenure (Kahn and Lynch-Biniek 2022; Misra et al. 2011; Thomas, Willis, and Davis 2007). Among faculty, the term "cultural taxation" was coined to refer to the invisible burden many women and faculty of color face when asked (implicitly or explicitly) to shoulder most of the diversity-related work in academic departments (Banks 1984; Joseph and Hirshfield 2011). Recent work using time diaries found that this kind of labor is done primarily by faculty at multiple axes of inequality including "faculty of color, queer faculty, and faculty from working class backgrounds" (Social Sciences Feminist Network Research Interest Group 2017:228). Additionally, for STEM faculty, engaging in equity work can be seen as " too

political," and delegitimize such faculty as scientists among their peers—with potential career consequences (Blair-Loy and Cech 2022; Cech 2013).

There is also evidence that non-tenure equity workers in DEI offices and elsewhere on university campuses are more likely to be female and non-white, and face much higher rates of burnout and job uncertainty than staff in other units on campuses (Ahmed 2012; Knox 2023). In diversity offices, Sara Ahmed (2012, 2018) showed that many of the staff working in such offices are women of color, and that these individuals both do diversity work and are seen themselves (and their bodies) as *being* diversity in universities. Her work also pointed to the invisible, devalued, and often precarious work of staff in such offices.

Finally, some research suggests that women involved in gender equity projects at universities are more likely to become administrators (Bilimoria and Singer 2019; Jean-Marie and Tickles 2017; Misra 2022) suggesting that DEI work can be a potential pathway to university leadership which has traditionally been predominantly male. Yet, as other sociological work in technology fields shows, pathways to leadership for women may only be a step-stool to mid-level management positions, and even then, only for white women (Acker 2014; Alegria 2019). Overall, these trends suggest that, despite efforts to recruit male advocates and allies (Bilen-Green et al. 2013; Nash et al. 2021), equity work is likely mostly done by those in universities who already face marginalization based on multiple, intersectional identities—and that doing such work may compound career inequality for such workers at all positions in the university system.

But across these levels of the university system, in STEM fields or otherwise, there is no synthesized consensus of who does equity work, how that has varied across time or geo-political context. Nor do we know, across these levels, how visibly doing this kind of work actually affects careers—both in individual perceptions of success and persistence nor in how career pathways are affected. In order to continue moving equity in the STEM professoriate forward, it is imperative to connect the *why* and *how* of equity work and practice to the actual people *doing* this work, both to understand the landscape of equity work in universities more broadly, and thus understand and support the people, often already marginalized in academic positions, to continue to have successful careers.

Research Questions

In order to create new knowledge understanding *who* does DEI work, this project aims to first synthesize the broader literature about DEI work that includes any mention of DEI workers for faculty equity in universities. To do so, I address the following research question:

- ✓ What do we currently know about the landscape of equity workers in academic institutions?
    - o What kind of publications directly mention (by name, title, or office) DEI workers; and has that changed over time?
    - o What positions do DEI workers mention occupy in the academic institutional space?
    - o Which institutions are mentioned in relation to DEI workers?

Analytic Plan

Addressing these questions required a three-part approach to produce a meta-synthesis and analysis of texts about DEI work(ers). First, I used a multi-targeted literature search to identify relevant publications in peer-reviewed journals, higher education-focused news outlets, and general national news outlets. These three sources are all likely places for articles about DEI work(ers) in universities, but from different perspectives, and published for different audiences. In practice, this was an iterative search, where I began with broad search terms, and as I pre-screened articles from the first searches, I then used narrower search terms to build the corpus of texts.

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The second methodological step was to use the publication meta-data to identify journals and publication years. I coded the journal names to broad fields based on journal titles and website descriptions. These data were used to descriptively identify trends over time regarding what kinds of journal-published work identify DEI workers.

In the third and final methodological step, I used a mixed-methods computational text analysis approach to identify what position in the academic personnel structure any DEI worker mentioned occupied (i.e., faculty, staff, administrator) and which offices at the institutional level were identified in the text.

This type of text analysis is indeed mixed methods, as the computational techniques require regular hand-checking and coding to improve model performance in correctly classifying text. As such, it involves an iterative process of coding and learning, both for the classifying algorithms, and for the researcher.

Publications were identified using multiple bibliographic databases and downloaded into Zotero for pre-screening. Documents .pdf full-text files were then read into the open-source statistical program R (version 4.4.1) and parsed to plain text. Document metadata was exported from Zotero and also read into R. Meta-data descriptive statistics were done using base R tools, and the R package "quanteda" was used to produce Keyword-in-Context (KWIC) output. KWIC analyses aimed to identify keywords that might indicate in the text where diversity workers were mentioned, along with a 15-word window on each side of the keyword to provide context. I coded each keyword window by hand to identify if DEI workers were indeed mentioned, and iteratively created a codebook for what identifying details were mentioned (ex: DEI office, President's office, dean of faculty affairs, woman, faculty, staff, etc.).

Meta-Analysis and Synthesis
Literature Search

Searches were conducted between September 2023 and February 2024 in the following bibliographic databases: 1) Google Scholar and 2) Northeastern Scholar OneSearch through the Northeastern University library (which includes common databases like ProQuest, EBSCOhost, Wiley, and JSTOR, as well as over 500 other area-specific databases). When narrowing down the search, I also specifically searched the following higher education and DEI peer-reviewed journals and higher education news journals: Journal of Higher Education, Journal of Diversity in Higher Education, Sociology of Education, Innovative Higher Education, The Review of Higher Education, Review of Educational Research, Studies in Higher Education, Equity and Excellence in Education, Gender and Education, Journal of African American Women and Girls in Education, Engineering Education for Social Justice, Policy Futures in Education, Journal of Higher Education Outreach, Journal of Further and Higher Education, American Journal of Education, Critical Studies in Education, Race Ethnicity and Education, Educational Philosophy and Theory, Inside Higher Ed, and the Chronicle of Higher Education. The Northeastern library search was particularly useful for this project as a high percentage of the publications found had easily accessible full-text through my institutional access as an employee of the university.

For the first round of searches in both Google Scholar and Northeastern Scholar OneSearch, I used the following broad search criteria:

university* OR college OR higher educat* AND
staff OR faculty OR administrat* OR professo* AND
diversit* OR equality OR equity OR inclusion* AND
work OR effort OR program OR project
(published between 2000-2023; only with full-text available; from articles, newspaper articles, magazine articles, and book chapters; in English

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This initial search included over 300,000 publications. I pre-screened the first 500 results in order to understand whether this search yield was relevant to this project, or generally not. About 10% of the first 500 articles were relevant in subject *and* mentioned diversity workers in some way. In reading the titles and abstracts of those that were relevant, the next search query terms also included (in addition to the original):

> AND faculty diversity OR faculty equity OR faculty DEI OR equity in the professoriate
> AND initiative OR program OR change agent*
> NOT student OR undergrad* or graduate

Followed by a series of follow-up searches that used the specific phrases as an AND only (one at a time):

> AND faculty equity
> AND faculty DEI
> AND faculty diversity initiatives
> AND faculty equity initiatives
> AND faculty diversity programs
> AND faculty equity programs
> AND faculty diversity change agents
> AND faculty equity change agents

For pre-screening results, I primarily used the title and abstract to check that 1) the publication was about faculty equity in universities, and 2) the publication was likely to mention either a specific program, initiative, office, or person(s) involved with equity efforts. If the title and abstract did not provide enough information one way or the other, I would skim the full text.

This lengthy process ultimately did not yield as many publications as anticipated, which is a limitation of this project and avenue for necessary future research. In total, the corpus included 533 publications. These were mostly from peer-reviewed journals and higher education-focused news outlets and less from national news outlets.

I then ran a separate search for national news outlet articles about faculty diversity initiatives and programs in academic institutions using two large databases for U.S. major news sources: Nexis Uni (formerly Lexis Nexis) and ProQuest U.S. Major Dailies. I started with similar search terms as I had in the peer-reviewed and higher education news outlet searches, starting broad and trying to get narrower as needed. The publications searched included: The New York Times, The Washington Post, The Chicago Tribune, The Wall Street Journal, and The Los Angeles Times. These were the U.S. major daily newspapers included in both databases. The searches here yielded 452 results, which were sorted by title and ultimately yielded only 25 articles that discussed diversity programs in universities and colleges and mentioned specific people, initiatives, or offices doing that work.

In total, the corpus included 558 publications, all of which were downloaded as citations and with full-text .pdfs into Zotero. I then searched for duplicate entries, which reduced the corpus to 383 publications.
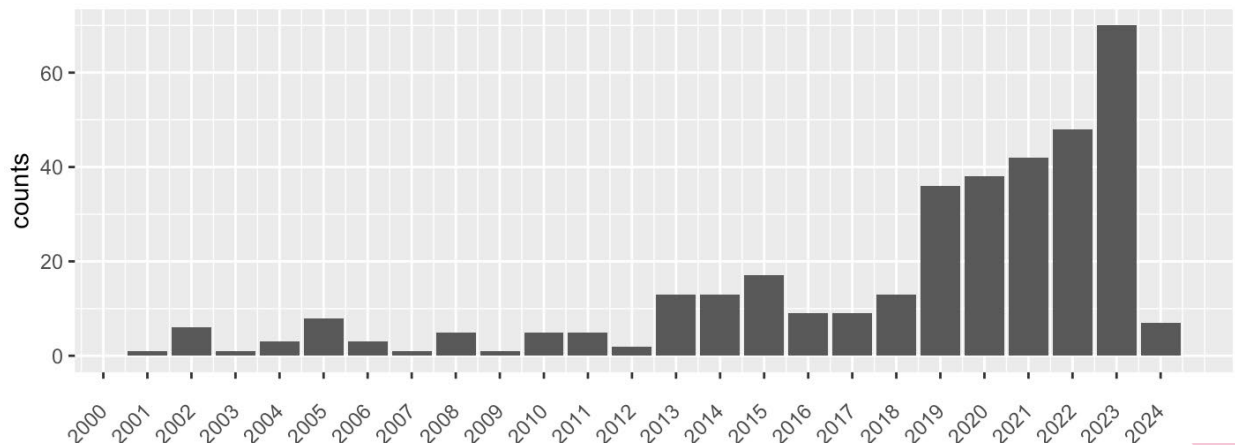
Publication Meta-Data

From Zotero, I exported the publication meta-data (title, journal/publication venue, authors, year, etc.) into a .csv file, which was read into R as a dataframe. I used basic text cleaning processes to remove punctuation and special characters from the publication venues and created an output .csv of all publication venues where I hand-coded duplicates (based on abbreviations or other issues). I then used the publication

venue title and Google searches describing the publication to determine the field(s) in which the academic journals were based.

There were 114 unique publication venues, with most only having one publication in the corpus. Publication venues with more than one publication in the corpus were mostly classified as higher education journals (including the Journal of Diversity in Higher Education, Innovative Higher Education, the Journal of Blacks in Higher Education, Gender and Education, and Equality, Diversity and Inclusion: An International Journal). Among the national news outlets, the Wall Street Journal had the most articles in the corpus, followed by the Los Angeles Times, the Chicago Tribune, and the Washington Post.

While there were publications in the corpus in each year between 2001 and 2024, there was a definitive uptick in publications in the early 2010s and a much more significant uptick starting every year in 2019 (see Figure 1). The low number of publications in 2024 is likely due to the literature search ending in February 2024, and there would likely be a similar number of articles in 2023 based on the current upward trend. I noticed this trend as I was constructing the corpus and included some target searches for 2000-2010 to see if that was a feature of the database searches or if that was truly a trend. The uptick in the mid-2010s and much more significant uptick post-2019 are likely associated with the much broader public and institutional attention to DEI in universities due to the current political climate in the US, including increased activism and increased backlash around equity issues. Not only has public interest and research on DEI in universities increased, but the specific nature of this corpus suggests that identifying actors and entities on campuses engaged in such work has been increasing over time.
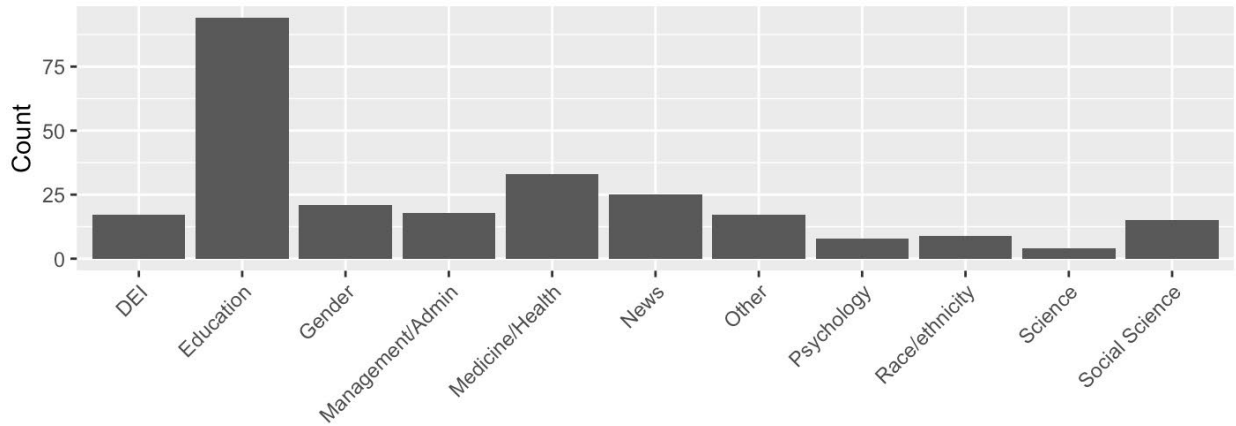
Figure 1: Publication Years

Note: 27 publications were missing year metadata.

Regarding the publication venue field, the majority of publications in the corpus were published in education journals (many in higher education-specific journals), followed by medicine/health journals and journals focusing on gender issues (see Figure 2). The publications in medicine/health journals were often in highly specific area journals, often describing a single intervention or departmental program. On the contrary, many of the publications in education journals were about institutional-level programs or initiatives.

Over time, these trends did not vary much, but in recent years (2019 onwards), there has been a noticeable increase in the number of publications published in Social Science journals (mostly Sociology and Communications journals) and Science journals (including general scientific journals and area-specific journals focused in fields like Biology and Engineering) (see Figure 3).

Figure 2: Publication Venue Fields

Note: 114 publications were missing field meta-data.

Figure 3: Publication Venue Field Over Time
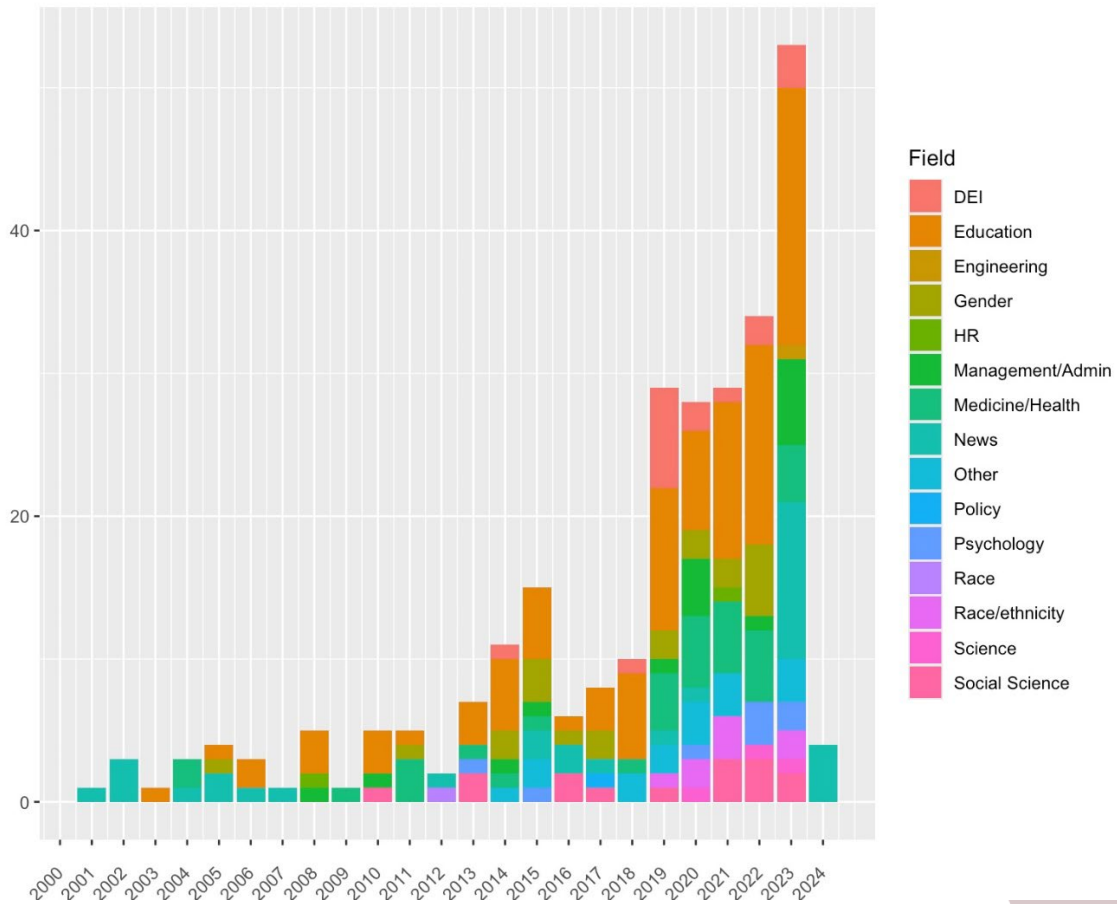
Note: 27 publications were missing year meta-data and 114 publications were missing publication venue information (and so had no broad field to code).

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Identifying the *Who* in Equity Work

For the computational text analysis, .pdf full-texts of the publications were read into R as plain text files. During the parsing process, approximately 30% of the documents' .pdfs did not have easily machine-readable text and were dropped for the computational analysis (remaining documents in the corpus=267). In future iterations of this project, I will use more robust (which are also more time-consuming) parsing tools, such as OCR, to include more of the original corpus in this phase of the analysis.

I extracted KWIC chunks of text from the corpus using 15-word windows on each side of the following keywords/phrases: advocate, change, change agent, diversity, dr, equity, equity work, he, his, her, initiative, ms, mr, office, officer, program, she, team, their, them. This process proved to be quite time-consuming as many of these keywords created over 1,000 KWIC text chunks to code. This project initially intended to include coding of institution and location, but for the purpose of this report will only include codes concerning the equity workers themselves. Later drafts and publications will include institution and location identification.

For each of these sets, each text excerpt was coded to indicate whether it mentioned any specific team, individual, or campus entity involved in faculty DEI work. This included the name of the team, individual, or entity so that overtime could be aggregated into group codes. In all, 47% of documents were coded as having a specific reference to equity workers. This included specific names of people or teams (ex: Dr. Smith or the ADVANCE team), names of campus offices (ex: Office of the Provost or the Office of Faculty Affairs), characteristics of individuals or teams (ex: black women, white women faculty, BIPOC faculty, or queer feminist), and references to DEI offices and officers on campus.

Table 1 shows the broad classifications of equity workers across the part of the corpus that mentioned any equity workers (47% of the full corpus). Mentioning administrators or administrative offices were fairly common, as 26.77% of documents specifically mentioned senior administrators (presidents, provosts, deans, etc.), and 32.99% of documents specifically mentioned administrative offices (Office of the President, Chancellors Office, Office of Faculty Affairs, etc.). These categories, together with other administrators were mentioned in nearly two-thirds of all documents that mentioned equity workers at all. Documents were also very likely to mention DEI Offices and Officers—together mentioned in about half of all documents.

When mentioning individuals involved in faculty equity work on campus, about a third of documents mentioned faculty involvement. Table 1 also includes categories that show categorical and intersectional breakdowns of when individuals were identified as BIPOC (13.4%) and women (22.68%), or as BIPOC women (8.25%). Other categories that had low mentions (below 2%) but were still important to note include characterizing equity workers as LGBTQ, disabled, community leader, and feminist.

Table 1: Percent of Documents with Any Equity Workers by Classification Groups

Classification	% Docs with Workers
Senior Admin.	25.77%
Other Admin.	2.06%
Admin. Office	32.99%
Staff	11.34%
DEI Officer	15.46%
DEI Office	35.05%
Other	
General Group	6.19%
ADVANCE	11.34%
ATHENA SWAN	1.03%
Medical School	1.03%
Community Leaders	1.03%
LGBTQ	1.03%
Disabled	1.03%
Ombuds Office	1.03%
Feminist	2.06%
Postdoctoral Fellow	1.03%
Students	3.09%

Classification	% Docs with Workers
Faculty	34.02%
BIPOC Faculty	13.40%
Latino Faculty	2.06%
Asian Faculty	1.03%
Women Faculty	14.43%
Men Faculty	11.34%
Women	22.68%
BIPOC Women	8.25%
White Women	2.06%
Women Faculty	14.43%
Men	14.43%
Men Faculty	11.34%
White Men	1.03%
BIPOC	13.40%
BIPOC Faculty	13.40%
BIPOC Women	8.25%

Note: Percentages are of the documents that had any specific mention of equity workers (47% of the full corpus). Classifications in the table on the left are mutually exclusive; classifications in the table on the right are not mutually exclusive. For example, 34% of documents mention faculty as doing equity work, and 13% of documents specify that those are BIPOC faculty; so about half of all faculty identified in the documents are BIPOC.

Across the fields of publication venues, there are several notable trends for which kind of publications were more likely to mention certain classifications of equity workers (see Table 2). Unsurprisingly, publication venues with fields directly related to some aspect of the diversity workers mentioned those classifications specifically. For example, Table 2 shows that of publications in the field of DEI, 44.4% mentioned administrators doing DEI work, but 66.7% mentioned DEI officers or offices. Similarly, 62.5% of publication venues concerning gender issues mentioned women as equity workers, a much higher percentage than any other publication venue field. The publications from national news venues that mentioned equity workers mostly mentioned DEI offices and officers (70% of publications), followed by administrators (40%). Interestingly, these venues had no coded mentions of BIPOC or faculty equity workers, and only 10% of the news publications referred to women engaging in equity work. This trend of a high percentage of publications in a field mentioning administrators and DEI officers and offices was true across most fields. This may indicate that published knowledge about equity workers in all fields primarily implicates administrators, administrative offices, and DEI offices/officers.

Table 2: Percent of Publication Venue Fields by Equity Workers by Classification Groups

		Classification of Equity Worker Mentioned					
		Admin.	DEI Office/r	Faculty	BIPOC	Women	Men
Publication Venue Field	DEI	44.4%	66.7%	44.4%	11.1%	0.0%	11.1%
	Education	48.9%	42.2%	37.8%	20.0%	31.1%	15.6%
	Gender	62.5%	25.0%	50.0%	12.5%	62.5%	12.5%
	Management/Admin	75.0%	75.0%	25.0%	25.0%	25.0%	0.0%
	Medicine/Health	45.5%	45.5%	36.4%	18.2%	0.0%	0.0%
	News	40.0%	70.0%	0.0%	0.0%	10.0%	20.0%
	Other	60.0%	60.0%	10.0%	10.0%	10.0%	10.0%
	Policy	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
	Psychology	66.7%	66.7%	66.7%	33.3%	0.0%	0.0%
	Race/Ethnicity	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
	Science	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%
	Social Science	50.0%	12.5%	50.0%	0.0%	12.5%	0.0%

Note: Neither Publication Venue Field nor Classification of Equity Worker Mentioned is mutually exclusive. The documents that had any equity worker code present can be classified in up to two publication venue fields (e.g., The Journal of Diversity in Higher Education is classified as both a DEI journal and an education journal). The documents with any equity worker code present can include up to six classifications of equity worker (e.g., a document mentions administrators and BIPOC Faculty as doing some sort of faculty equity work). For example, in this table, 44.4% of journals classified as DEI mentioned administrators engaging in equity work, and 66.7% of those same journals mentioned DEI offices or officers engaging in equity work.

Conclusion and Implications

This project sought to address the following research questions: What do we currently know about the landscape of equity workers in academic institutions? What kind of publications directly mention (by name, title, or office) DEI workers, and has that changed over time? What positions do DEI workers mention occupy in the academic institutional space? Which institutions are mentioned in relation to DEI workers? This project did not aim to survey faculty equity workers in higher education institutions but instead provide an overall understanding of whether and how equity workers are mentioned in published knowledge about this kind of work. Many articles on the topic of faculty DEI issues either investigate the depth and breadth of faculty equity issues, are calls to action for "someone" to address inequities, or, less often, detail equity programs or initiatives that are in practice or being proposed. Yet the "someone" on the other end of those calls to action and initiatives is seldom mentioned and their work can become invisible labor that institutions can overlook and undervalue. By understanding what the published knowledge about equity work says about the people and groups behind this work, we can begin to see the gaps in our knowledge and better understand how to support DEI work and DEI workers.

As proposed, a corpus of publications was collected from peer-reviewed academic journals, higher education news outlets, and national news outlets in order to 1) analyze the document metadata for trends in fields over time, and 2) use a mixed-methods approach to identify and code references to equity workers in the documents. So far, the volume of coding has not allowed for in-depth coding of the institutions mentioned in the corpus, but future work on this project will address that gap.

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The analysis of the publication metadata from the full corpus showed that documents likely to mention equity workers directly have increased since the mid-2010s and significantly so since 2019. This increase is likely driven by broader public attention (both positive and negative) to DEI work in universities in the last decade, and especially the last five years. Most documents in the corpus were from education-focused publication venues, followed by medicine/health venues and general news outlets. This pattern was fairly stable over time, although with the overall increase in publications in the last five years, there has also been an increase in these publications in social science and DEI-focused publication venues.

In the publications that were identified as specifically mentioning faculty equity workers or entities at higher education institutions, nearly two-thirds mentioned specific administrators or administrative offices. In contrast, about half of the publications mentioned DEI officers or offices. In aggregate, these were the most mentioned classifications. Across fields, DEI office(r)s were frequently mentioned in DEI, management/administrative, news, and Psychology publication venues. Administrators and administrative offices were mentioned most frequently in gender, management/administrative, policy, psychology, and social science publication venues. Some of these differences are unsurprising, such as DEI publications mentioning DEI office(r)s and policy publications mentioning administrators and administrative offices. Yet it is notable that when national news outlets specifically address the *who* in equity work, they focus on institutionalized DEI offices and officers and administrators, but are much less likely to mention faculty, BIPOC individuals, or women equity workers. In fact, none of the news outlet publications coded mentioned faculty or BIPOC equity workers, while between 35 and 100 percent of some publication venues (DEI, education, gender, medicine/health, and science venues) specifically mentioned these groups.

While previous research suggests that women and BIPOC faculty are more likely than their male and white counterparts to participate in faculty equity work, the published knowledge that specifically identifies who is doing this work focuses mainly on institution-level offices and individuals (administrators and DEI office(r)s). Research also points to equity work as being devalued among faculty and often seen as a "cultural taxation" for women, BIPOC faculty, and those at multiple axes of inequality in universities. This lack of visibility also seems to have been translated into the corpus of published knowledge about equity workers. It may contribute to the persistent struggle and lack of support many equity advocates face, especially when they are not already high-level administrators.

The precarity of engaging in equity work in racialized and gendered institutions can sometimes mean that invisibility and hyper-visibility can do more harm than good (Settles, Buchanan, and Dotson 2018). Yet the persistent omission in published knowledge of the *who* in faculty equity work may also continue the perception that this work is broadly done and that there is not an unequal load of cultural taxation on already marginalized groups and individuals in academic institutions.

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