Dialogue in the University

A Case Study

By

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DISSERTATION

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to the memory of my mother, Darnel Elaine Hicks, an exceptional educator in her own right. Without the guidance of her spirit, this journey would not have been possible.

It is also dedicated to my family- both given and chosen.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to that my dissertation chair and committee members, Drs. Pauline Lipman, Dave Stovall, Celina Sima, Adrienne Dessel and Michelle Boyd for their boundless knowledge, patience, support an encouragement.

I would also like to thank the faculty and staff of the Dialogue Initiative at the University of Illinois at Chicago, and the Program on Intergroup Relations at the University of Michigan. Without them, the purpose and passion for this project would be lost.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

DI – Dialogue Initiative: University of Illinois at Chicago collaboration between the Office of Diversity and the Office of Student Leadership Development and Volunteer Services that incudes dialogue-based diversity and social justice credit-bearing courses and co-curricular program

DSTP – Diversity Strategic Thinking and Planning: University of Illinois at Chicago strategic planning project spearheaded by administrators the highest levels of the university and established committees of faculty, staff and students. Produced the documents *Through the Lens of Diversity* and *Mosaic for UIC Transformation*

IGD – Intergroup Dialogue: pedagogy primarily for undergraduates that brings students from various social identities (race, ethnicity, gender, class, religion, citizenship/nation of origin, ability status) together for sustained, facilitated dialogue sessions designed to build relationships across difference for social justice

IGR – Program on Intergroup Relations: University of Michigan collaboration between the College Literature, Science and Arts and Student Life that, since the 1980s has developed and housed Intergroup Dialogue courses and co-curricular programs for the University. Place from which the first and majority of research on Intergroup Dialogue for higher educated has emanated

JADE – Justice, Access, Diversity and Equity: critical document written as a response to *Through the Lens of Diversity*

NDRU - Network of Diversity Related Units: Collective of faculty of color at UIC, mostly from inter-disciplinary departments, who produced the critical *JADE* document

SCEP – Senate Committee on Educational Policy: "…the primary [UIC] instrument for enabling the Senate to contribute to the development, maintenance, and evaluation of educational programs which are of the highest quality and which conforms to the stated scope and mission of the Campus and the University. Accordingly, it shall make recommendations to the Senate concerning Senate action on educational policy matters over which the Senate has legislative jurisdiction…" (Policy, 2007).

SUMMARY

Research on Intergroup Dialogue (IGD) has typically focused on its effectiveness as an intervention in higher education classrooms designed to increase students' awareness of social diversity and encourage their positive interaction with students from different social identity groups (race/ethnicity, class, sexual orientation, religion, gender, citizenship/national origin) (Gurin, 1999; Gurin, Dey & Hurtado, 2003; Zuniga, Nagda, Chesler & Cytron-Walker, 2007). IGD was first developed and implemented on the University of Michigan's campus in the late 1980s. However, in the 25 years since IGDs inception, the demographic makeup of undergraduate student bodies has changed significantly, as have universities themselves.

This qualitative case study sought to identify and contextualize the theoretical underpinnings of a dialogue-based diversity and social justice curriculum initiative based on Intergroup Dialogue (IGD) theory and pedagogy at the University of Illinois at Chicago. Specifically, this study asked: What theories and values underlie the Dialogue Initiative (DI) process at UIC?
By focusing on the development and implementation of a dialogue-based diversity and social justice education program at a large, urban, public research university with a predominately working-class student body that has no racial/ethnic majority, this study investigated whether IGD had been incorporated into the neoliberal university in a way that disciplines minority student difference (Melamed, 2011; Ferguson, 2012), or whether it challenged power. Through data gleaned from interviews, participant observation and policy analysis, this study uncovered values embedded in the policy discourse (Ball, 1993), pedagogical practices and instructor/student interactions with the Dialogue Initiative.

In UICs written, public policy documents on diversity, we see a discourse of neoliberal multiculturalism, which is most evident as the documents attempt to sidestep race while promoting diversity.   Any attempt – either through policy, or through the curriculum – to make the diversity/IGD policy process one that promotes material antiracism is placed outside of the official policy, whether it is virtually erased from the policy through revision, or allowed to exist in the curriculum in places not surveilled by the most powerful at the university.
Dialogue Initiative instructors are most responsible for naming and creating this "break" from policy where the dialogue curriculum is concerned. This break, which is evident in the ways that instructors especially interpret the values of diversity, social justice and the relationship with the City of Chicago, supports Ferguson's claim that different sites of the inter disciplines can be spaces for critically re articulating the relationship between minority difference and the academy.

Chapter 1 - Introduction

This qualitative case study seeks to identify and contextualize the theoretical underpinnings of a dialogue-based diversity and social justice curriculum initiative based on Intergroup Dialogue (IGD) theory and pedagogy at the University of Illinois at Chicago. Specifically, this study asks: What theories and values underlie the Dialogue Initiative (DI) process at UIC?

Research on Intergroup Dialogue (IGD) has typically focused on its effectiveness as an intervention in higher education classrooms designed to increase students' awareness of social diversity and encourage their positive interaction with students from different social identity groups (race/ethnicity, class, sexual orientation, religion, gender, citizenship/national origin). IGD was first developed and implemented on the University of Michigan's campus in the late 1980s. However, in the 25 years since IGDs inception, the demographic makeup of undergraduate student bodies has changed significantly, as have universities themselves. By focusing on the development and implementation of a dialogue-based diversity and social justice education program at a large, urban, public research university with a predominately working-class student body that has no racial/ethnic majority, this study will investigate whether IGD has been incorporated into the university in a way that disciplines minority student difference, or whether it challenges power. Through data gleaned from interviews, participant observation and policy analysis, this study will uncover the values embedded in the policy discourse, pedagogical practices and student interactions with the Dialogue Initiative. Finally, it will suggest what, if any, transformative possibilities there are for the Dialogue Initiative in the university.

Problem

Although public schools in the United States were required to racially integrate their student bodies following the landmark 1954 Supreme Court case *Brown v. Board of Education*, and the 1964 *Civil Rights Act*, the unwillingness of many Whites to do so prevented integration from taking place speedily, if at all, in many states. By the late 1960s, the Supreme Court had made it clear that individual states were required to design and carry out desegregation plans, forcing them to do more than simply remove the legal barriers that upheld segregation in public schools. While some states, and thus their schools, began to actively desegregate, public universities still saw low enrollments in their most selective programs and colleges. In order to combat this, many of these schools (particularly ones containing selective graduate and professional programs) adopted affirmative action policies to help identify, admit and enroll students who had not previously been able to gain admittance because of "unjust societal discrimination."

One such school was the University of California at Davis, against which a lawsuit was brought by Allan Bakke, a white man who claimed that his denial of admittance to UC Davis' medical school in the early 1970s was discriminatory. The case received widespread attention and sparked much public debate. Though the Court ended up delivering a plurality opinion (meaning that no justice had the support of a majority), it was ruled that the decision to deny Bakke admittance to the medical school at UC Davis was discriminatory, and a lower court's decision to demand his admission was upheld (Jennifer Gratz and Patrick Hamacher v. Lee Bollinger, et al, 2003). At the same time, it was decided that race *could* be used as one of many factors to determine admittance to a program, though the practice of granting "slots" of admission to racial groups (quotas) was curbed (Regents of Univ. of California v. Bakke , 1978).

As one would imagine, this was interpreted as both a "win" and a "loss" for proponents of affirmative action (Gurin, 1999; Gurin, et al., 2004).

Decades later, in the mid-1990s, the University of Michigan found its undergraduate and law school's affirmative action admissions processes under scrutiny when lawsuits were brought against both in the *Gratz v. Bollinger* and *Grutter vs. Bollinger* Supreme Court cases. The *Gratz* case questioned the use of a system that granted significant points to Black, Latino and Native American students towards the School of Literature, Science & the Arts' 150-point scale for admittance. (One hundred points were needed for an applicant to gain admission to the School, and 20 points were given to Black, Latino and Native American students.) In the *Grutter* case, which was argued along with *Gratz*, law school applicant Barbara Gutter claimed that Black and Latino applicants were given a significant advantage in the admission process because of their race, and that the law school had no compelling interest that made granting that advantage justifiable. In the *Gratz* decision, the Court ruled that the predetermined point allocation prevented those who made admissions decisions from being able to fully assess the range of meaningful contributions that individual students could make to the University, and thus it was unconstitutional (2003). However, the *Grutter* decision upheld that the University *did* have a compelling interest in achieving and maintain racial diversity on its campus (2003). The Court stated that the Law School at Michigan could consider - very limitedly - a student's race when considering them for admission because the University had an interest in "obtaining the educational benefits that flow from a diverse student body," but *not* in undoing the effects of "unjust social discrimination", as was the case decades earlier (Gurin, 1999)**.** This marked a significant shift in the way race, difference, and affirmative action were understood in higher education. No longer was granting educational access to students of color to be seen as righting a

social or economic wrong done to them, it was to be seen as an advance for *all* students, because they benefit from learning in a diverse environment.

Dr. Patricia Gurin, a prominent psychologist at the University of Michigan, submitted an expert report to the Supreme Court during the *Gratz* and *Grutter* trials (which were decided in 2003) entitled *The Compelling Need for Diversity in Higher Education*. The report contained much of the information that was used to write the Majority Opinion**.** Gurin analyzed data she collected from several universities including the University of Michigan, and grounded analysis in established psychological theory.

She began by citing Erik Erikson, the psychologist noted for introducing identity theory to the US post World War II. Erikson theorized that people develop an identity in their late adolescence and early adulthood. This identity is marked by a "persistent sameness with oneself and a persistent sharing with others" (Erickson, 1946) (Gurin, 1999). To fully develop this identity, Erikson argued, young people should be given the time and space to experiment with different roles prior to committing to occupations, social circles and the like. Ideally, this period of exploration would take place in a setting filled with "diversity and complexity," so that young people would be exposed to a range of expressions of identity, and be challenged to think critically about the aspects of identity to which they would commit (Erikson, 1946, 1956; Gurin, 1999). A prime space for this kind of identity exploration would be colleges and universities, at which adolescents from different backgrounds could come together to gain both academic and personal knowledge.

Expanding on Erikson's theory, sociologist Theodore Newcomb argued that young people's socio-political ideas (which are of primary importance to one's identity, Erikson

stressed), are quite flexible during late adolescence. In his study at Bennington College, he found that the social and political ideas of students were heavily influenced and changed for those who came into contact with ideas and stances quite different from the ones they experienced in their hometowns. What is more, the social and political attitudes they developed in college held constant for decades after their undergraduate experience ended (Newcomb 1943; 1967) (Gurin, 1999). Many other psychologists' studies support the assertion that critical thinking and deep learning takes place in diverse environments. As Erikson and Newcomb suggested, the experience of diversity allows people to critically reflect on who they are and make important decisions about who they would like to be. Other prominent psychologists like Piaget and Ruble argue that not only does critical development of the self occur in diverse environments, cognitive development is also greatly improved by exposure to, and engagement with, diversity (Gurin, 1999).

Gurin used these theories to argue for admissions practices that would promote and protect diversity, and also to suggest that exposing students to diversity would equip them to participate fully in the increasingly heterogeneous democracy that they would be entering. She wrote,

> Education plays a foundational role in a democracy by equipping students for meaningful participation. Students educated in diverse settings are better able to participate in a pluralistic democracy. Democracy is predicated on an educated citizenry. Students educated in diverse settings are better able to participate in our democratic process (1999).

Gurin also stressed that in order for optimal development to occur, cognitively or otherwise, young people on college campuses must do more than simply co-exist in a diverse environment. Achieving *structural diversity*, the proportional representation of students from

different racial and ethnic backgrounds in the undergraduate population, was only the first step

towards creating the kind of campus environment that would provide students with the

opportunity to learn about and from diversity. For many students, the first year of college is their

first experience in a non-homogenous setting, as many students come to university from places

in which people are racially and ethnically similar. Once students are on campus, *classroom*

diversity, the incorporation of curriculum about diverse groups to the heterogeneous students

body, can occur. Classroom diversity depends upon structural diversity in the student body, and

the presences of faculty and staff that can present this kind of curriculum to students and the

larger campus community. *Informal interactional diversity* occurs when students can connect

and share with students from different backgrounds in the broad college setting (Gurin, 1999).

All of these forms of diversity are necessary in and of themselves, but they are dependent on

each other to produce the conditions that result in critical learning and growth. Indeed, Gurin

explained in her expert testimony,

> This conclusion from recent research literature on diversity in higher education conforms to a richly supported conclusion from many years of social psychological research on social contact. Contact between groups is most likely to have positive effects when contact takes place under particular intergroup conditions: equal group status within the situation where the contact takes place, common goals, intergroup cooperation, support of authorities for group equality, and opportunities for group members to know each other as individuals (Allport, 1954) (Pettigrew, 1998) (Gurin, 1999).

> Taken in conjunction with the results of the analysis that Gurin performed at the University

of Michigan and other universities, the literature on the benefits of diversity in higher education

became infinitely stronger. Indeed, it needed to, for the decision that the Supreme Court reached

would, as it had with each previous case, affect access to higher education for generations of

young people in the United States.

But noticeably missing from Gurin's testimony was the reasoning that race should be an admissible piece of criteria when determining college admission because students of color *had been historically discriminated against*. Instead, she used decades of social scientific research to demonstrate that students get the most out of their university experience – academically and socially- when they live and learn with students whose backgrounds differ from their own. She further argued that years of research on a diversity and social justice-focused pedagogy in higher education, Intergroup Dialogue (IGD), suggested that students who have the opportunity to learn about and from social difference among their peers are more committed to democratic ideals, and remain committed to those ideals long after they have left the university. In order for students to be able to take part in programs like Intergroup Dialogue, however, there must be significant representation of students from diverse backgrounds in the student body. Therefore, if colleges and universities want to produce students that hold the democratic values IGD can engender, they would need to admit diverse students.

So what does it mean that diversity in higher education is no longer argued for by using the language of redistribution, but of social and educational benefit for all students? And what are we to make of the proliferation of educational programs like Intergroup Dialogue - which bring together students from diverse backgrounds to learn about race, class, gender, sexuality, difference, power, privilege and oppression – against the backdrop of affirmative action rollbacks?

The development of diversity policies in higher education, particularly around dialogue curriculum, is definitely a contemporary issue. In the past 25 years, over 100 colleges and universities have adopted some form of dialogue-based education program for diversity and/or social justice. Most have come into existence in the past 15 years (Stephan & Vogt, 2004)

(Gurin, Nagda, & Zuniga, 2013). The University of Illinois at Chicago has been involved in a Diversity Strategic Thinking and Planning (DSTP) since 2008. Led by high level administrators, this process brought together constituents from all parts of campus to assess the diversity initiatives already happening on campus, and to chart a diversity course for the future. It was through this process that UICs Office of Diversity was created, and the decision to implement IGD was made. At the beginning of the Fall 2011 semester, the Chancellor of the University of Illinois at Chicago, Dr. Paula Allen-Meares, charged the implementation of diversity initiatives in faculty hiring, community engagement and curriculum. Describing the portion of the initiative concerned with curriculum, Chancellor Allen-Meares wrote, "The … initiative is to provide all students with an experience in the principles of Intergroup Dialogue (IGD) as part of our initiative to promote student success." (Allen-Meares, 2011).

Much has been written about the rationale for diversity in higher education, as well as the effectiveness of IGD as pedagogy. However, there is not a lot of information about how IGD is argued for, the discourse that shapes it, and the policy processes through which educational institutions incorporate IGD programs into their offerings. Nor has there been much written about these processes that contextualize them in a specific location, at a specific university. Examining IGDs recent iteration at UIC will provide insight into the values and theories that shape its current implementation and its potential to challenge power.

    This study asks, "What frameworks underlie the Dialogue Initiative policy and implementation processes at UIC? What theories and values are embedded in the policy text, conversations among administrators, faculty and staff, and implementation practices of Dialogue Initiative instructors? How does the discourse around the Dialogue Initiative reshape its meaning?"

Contribution to the Field

In carrying out and completing this study, I hope to have contributed to the growing body of literature on Intergroup Dialogue in two ways:

1)   Most research on IGD is quantitative, focusing on the effectiveness of IGD as a classroom pedagogy/intervention to reduce racial prejudice. There is a need for more qualitative studies of IGD, and I hope my study demonstrates that rigorous qualitative study of this pedagogy can be done, and that it can answer questions that quantitative studies cannot.

2)   Research on Intergroup Dialogue has primarily been done with students, with little attention paid to the specific context in which they experience dialogue. By carrying out this study, I hope to have expanded the study of dialogue from the classroom to the university, carrying out research that deepens the conversation about the ends the university is trying to achieve when implanting dialogue, and the values to which those ends correspond.

Chapter 2 – Literature Review

The Values that Underlie IGD Theory and Practice in Higher Education

Intergroup Dialogue has years of research to support its effectiveness in increasing students' awareness of social inequality (Gurin, Dey, & Hurtado, 2002; Gurin, Nagda, & Zuniga, 2013). But why and how does it do that? It is important to clarify the values that underlie IGD pedagogy because they will be compared to/contrasted with the values that UIC claimed to hold when choosing and implementing IGD. Administrators from the University of Illinois at Chicago could have chosen any diversity educational program, but they chose this one.

It is also important to understand the values of IGD so that we can better understand some thoughtful critiques of the pedagogy.
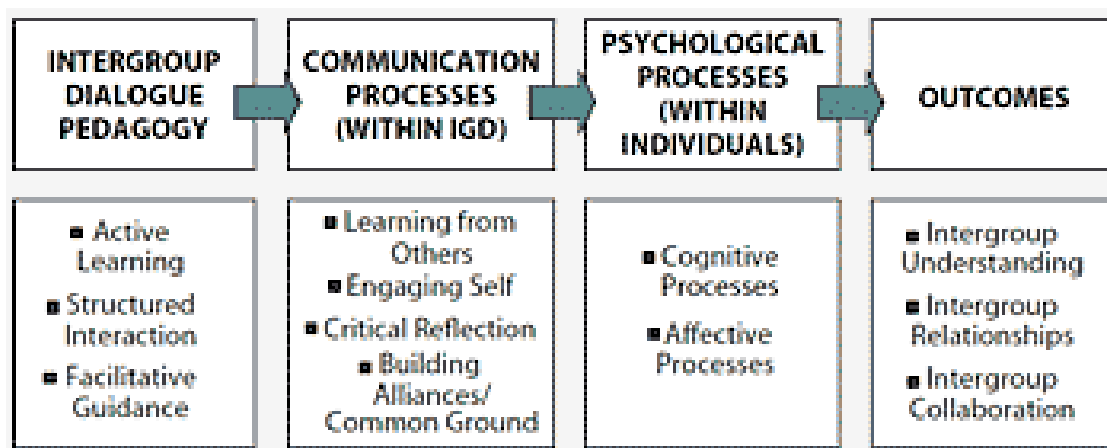

Figure 1. Theoretical Framework of Intergroup Dialogue

(Nagda B. , Gurin, Sorensen, & Zuniga, 2009)

Intergroup Dialogue for higher education was developed at the University of Michigan, and is currently being implemented on over 100 campuses around the country (Gurin, Nagda, &

Zuniga, Dialogue Across Difference: Practice, Theory Research on Intergroup Dialogue, 2013).

The University of Michigan's Program on Intergroup Relations describes IGD as

> "…a pedagogy in which "courses are carefully structured to explore social group identity, conflict, community, and social justice. Each intergroup dialogue involves identity groups defined by race, ethnicity, religion, socioeconomic class, gender, sexual orientation, or national origin. Each identity group is represented in the dialogue by a balanced number of student participants, usually 5-7 participants from each group. Trained student facilitators - one from each represented identity group - encourage dialogue rather than debate. Students examine and discuss reading materials that address issues and experiences relevant to the groups in the dialogue, in relation to both the University setting and general society. Facilitators and participants explore similarities and differences among and across groups, and strive toward building a multicultural and democratic community. Past dialogues have included gender, race & ethnicity, socio economic class, white racial identity, religion, Arab/Jewish relations, international/US relations, sexual orientation, and ableism" (2011).

IGD is rooted in the assumption that intergroup and interpersonal relationships are affected by the histories and current realities of intergroup contact in the US and that this conflict can be explored through dialogue (Zuniga X. , Nagda, Chesler, & Cytron-Walker, 2007). Its pedagogical practices incorporate "philosophical and cultural traditions that have valued dialogue as a method of communication and inquiry" (Zuniga & Nagda, Design Considerations in Intergroup Dialogue, 2001). IGD follows a rich tradition of practices that scholars concerned with democratic education hailed as useful. John Dewey, while at Teacher's College 1930s & 40s, purported that having students work on real-world problems in a democratic way (through dialogue) would result in a better society (Zuniga X. , Nagda, Chesler, & Cytron-Walker, 2007).

He thought that the democratic process in the greater society would be nourished by democracy in the classroom. More critical theorists later argued that the classroom practices should push harder, so to speak, that democracy in society requires creating speech situations that allow people to speak across cultural and status differences. Dialogue based learning, it seems, would be just that kind of praxis.

Unlike many academic courses, IGD uses a critical dialogic approach, as opposed to the "banking" model found in courses across disciplines. In the banking model, students are thought to be like empty vessels that teachers fill with knowledge. It is assumed that the only bearer of knowledge is the teacher, and students know nothing until they are given information by said teacher. In the critical dialogic model, however, students are thought to enter the classroom with a vast amount of knowledge that they have gained from their experiences inside and outside of the classroom (Friere, 1970). They have something to teach, and teachers also have something to learn from them. IGDs developers write, "…intergroup dialogue fosters a critical examination of the impact of power relations and social inequality on intergroup relations" (Zuniga X. , Nagda, Chesler, & Cytron-Walker, 2007). In this course, teachers do not just give students knowledge about the various "isms" that exist in society and expect students to accept it unquestioned. Rather, facilitators help students process the content knowledge about the historical and social factors that shape their social identities. What is more, the students use that knowledge, along with knowledge of their own personal experiences, to engage in dialogue as a means of challenging themselves and others to create more just environments.

Following this, it is easier to understand that communication in IGD does not just flow from teacher to students. Facilitators communicate with each other, they communicate with students, students communicate with each other and they communicate with facilitators. There is a

multiplicity of ways in which communication flows in IGD, and it requires significant time and attention to gain the rich knowledge that the process produces. In IGD, students are not just using their intellect, they are engaging other parts of themselves, emotions, attitudes, dispositions, etc. The information they discuss requires not only attention to "fact", but they must use their listening and empathic skills in this course, and confront their own identity as well. This is not a course in which students and facilitators are "disconnected" from the material they are engaging with; success in IGD requires an engagement of the self with the material and with other participants. Students have to pay attention to not only content, but the process of the course. They must reflect on their participation the activities, individually and with each other. Without this reflection, there is little chance that students will understand how they fit in to the larger cycles of socialization, and how to process that understanding (Nagda, 2006; Zuniga et. al., 2007) (Nagda B. , Gurin, Sorensen, & Zuniga, Evaluating Intergroup Dialogue: Engaging Diversity For Personal & Social Responsibility, 2009).

Intergroup Dialogue draws upon many disciplines. In social psychology, theorists have spent much time and effort attempting to understand the nature of intergroup conflict and ways to reduce it. Divido and Gaertner (1999) specifically have focused on conflict between groups who have historically been at odds with each other. Members of these opposing groups, because of their social identities, understand themselves and those in their group as "ingroup" members, and those with opposing social identities to be "outgroup" members.

The two subgroups in Intergroup Dialogue hold different amounts and kinds of social power in the "real" world. The dialogue space is designed to give the subgroups equal status, meaning that they have the same rights to be heard and responsibility to actively participate in the dialogue. The two groups also have common goals in the dialogue, educational goals which

revolve around the content that is being taught, but also goals for intergroup understanding and collaboration, even after the dialogue ends. IGDs developers claim that by engaging in the dialogue, members of the two groups are cooperating for the purpose of better understanding themselves as individuals, but, just as importantly, together they are learning about the historical and social forces that shape their interactions and contribute the conflict they have experienced (Zuniga X. , Nagda, Chesler, & Cytron-Walker, 2007).

There are three outcomes that the developers, facilitators and researchers have their eye towards when moving through or evaluating Intergroup Dialogue: intergroup understanding, the building of intergroup relationships, and the fostering of intergroup collaboration.

Intergroup Understanding is the awareness of social group membership and its relationship to structural problems (educational inequality, for example). It is also manifested in the ability to learn about one's own social identity and relate that identity to the perspectives that they hold (i.e. because of my social identity, I may understand this problem this way, while someone of another social identity may have a different perspective) (Zuniga et al, 2007; Dessel, 2008; Nagda et al, 2009). To use an example from my experience as a dialogue facilitator, during dialogue on gender and sexuality, students discussed the ideas of disclosing one's identity as a transgendered person, versus "passing" and the implications of each. As the dialogue went on, some cis-gendered students – those whose gender identities match the sexual identities they were assigned at birth - began to acknowledge that their insistence that transgendered people "disclose" that they are transgendered stems from wanting to be able to categorize and confirm strict notions of gender and sexuality with which they have been socialized. At the same time, transgendered students focused on the ways "disclosing" and "passing" are, for them, issues of safety and visibility. Dialogue is structured in such a way that when students are able to see their

identities shape their perspectives, they can move towards a deeper understanding of oppression and contemplate how thy might collaborate and resist.

Intergroup Relationships are the result of the empathy that students build as they move through the dialogue process together. Through the IGD process, participants begin to integrate notions of structure and agency, meaning they take into consideration the structural forces that shape individual actions and realize that society is not only made up of individuals. At the same time, they realize that a more just environment depends on individuals taking responsibility for their own actions. The problems of social identity are not only to be taken up and solved by disadvantaged groups, but by all of society's members. (Zuniga et. al., 2007; Pettigrew, 1998).

Another critical result of the IGD process comes from exploring commonalities and differences (Gurin, Dey, & Hurtado, 2002) (Gurin, Nagda, & Zuniga, 2013) (Nagda B. , 2006) (Zuniga X. , Nagda, Chesler, & Cytron-Walker, 2007). While the dialogue encourages members of different social identity groups to recognize experiences and thought patterns that they share, it pushes participants toward the understanding that social inequality is real and has been so for a very long time, though it is manifested differently in different contexts. Simultaneously, IGD does not teach about difference only for marginalized groups to learn how to preserve cultural their identity in the face of assimilation. It fosters an understanding of the cycle of socialization (Harro, 2008) so that students can understand their group cohesion in terms of socio-historical occurrences, meaning that group identity is understood not as essential and fixed, but as an ever-changing position based on social and historical happenings. In the Fishbowl activity, for example, target and agent groups explore commonalities and differences in their groups, but they can also explore how the primary identity that they are exploring in dialogue intersects with other identities (Nagda & Zuniga, 2003). Most often, this activity is done with white and non-

white students taking turns being inside and outside of the fishbowl. While "inside" students are asked to talk amongst their group about their experiences of race. The outside group cannot interrupt or ask questions. (This happens later when the experience is debriefed with the dialogue facilitators.) While students talk about how they've experienced race in their lives, their personal experiences and what they know of group experiences, they often end up talking about what it means to be a raced person, with a particular gender identity, or a raced person with a specific class background, or sexual orientation, or religion. Just as race is not experienced in isolation, students cannot articulate it without talking about its relationship to their other social identities (Case, Miller, & Jackson, 2012) (Case, Iuzzini, & Hopkins, 2012) (Cole, 2009).

Other precursors to what we now considered to be social justice education, multiculturalism and social reconstructionist education, are incorporated in to IGD work, although it is specifically aligned with neither body of work. Human relations approaches in multicultural education seeks to build relationships (acquaintances and friendships), but they do not pay sufficient attention to larger structural forces (Zuniga et. al, 2007; Dessel, 2011). The social reconstructionist approach holds inequality central to its pedagogy, but does not incorporate much of the relationship building that is of primary importance in IGD. As a potentially *critical* multicultural pedagogy, IGDs curriculum includes knowledge building around structural forces and provides a space for students to build relationship across different levels of social power.

To state this point another way, IGD is not only concerned with consciousness-raising, though it is an important aspect of the process. Consciousness-raising is defined as realizing social identities and their relationships to advantage, done through readings, reflection, activities, analysis (Zuniga et. al, 2007; Dessel, 2008; 2011). Usually, consciousness-raising means moving those who are oppressed [closer] to an understanding of their oppression (Adams, Bell, &

Griffin, 2007) (Bricker-Jenkins, 1986) (Collins P. , 2000). However, in IGD, it means that everyone, target and agent group, has their consciousness raised. Everyone must grapple with the effects of privilege and oppression and understand that we are all "in trouble" in these dominator/dominated relationships.

Intergroup Dialogue is a form of social justice education, as noted by its founders. Many of IGDs underlying assumptions are reflected in it values.
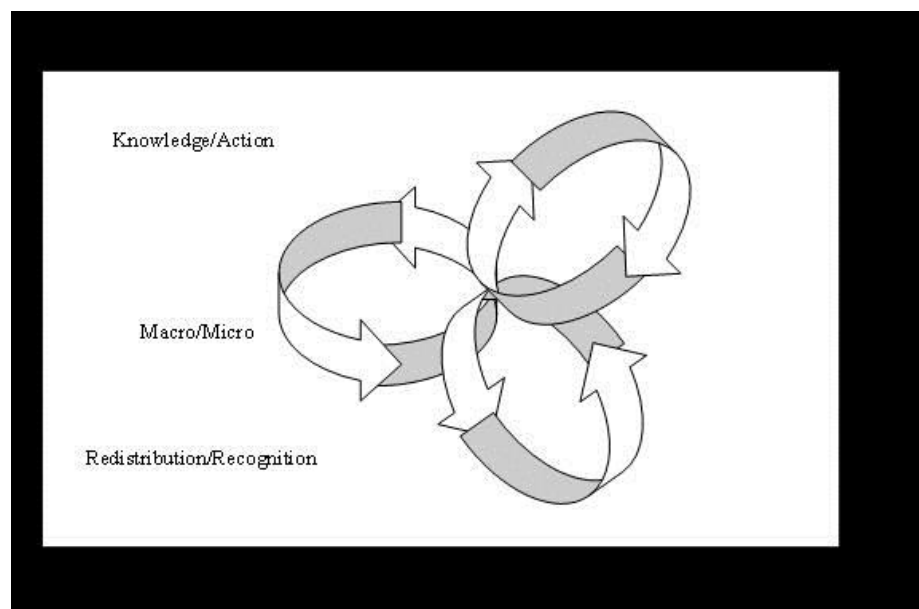
Figure 2. Social Justice Education Spheres

(North, 2006)

In the above chart, the three Social Justice Education Spheres that Connie North (2006) developed are given visual representation. The spheres not only show the interrelation between forces that were thought to be on opposite ends of the ideological spectrum, but they suggest that the three spheres *together* inform the practice of social justice education. A discussion of the ways a social justice education pedagogy like IGD is implemented in a college or university that either highlights or obscures the interrelation between redistribution & recognition, macro- &

micro- level educational problems and knowledge & political action is important. Why? Because the relationships between these components are some of the core values in question when considering whether IGD as a program that maintains the status quo or subverts it. That discussion will appear in the findings and conclusion. However, at this point we can say more about the significance of the relationship between redistribution/recognition, which will provide more context for the research questions.

The Educational Precursors to IGD
And
The Values that Underlie the Choice to Implement Dialogue

Understanding IGDs genesis on the Michigan campus in the 1980s helps situate it in the longer, more nuanced history of the struggle for educational equity. The 80s saw the backlash against affirmative action policies that activism of the 1960s and 1970s was instrumental in creating, and the University of Michigan experienced great racial strife on its campus. Out of the tumult, social psychologists and sociologists began to devise a program that would bring students together to talk about the nature of the conflict they experienced, and how they might work together to transform their campus community (Zuniga X. , Nagda, Chesler, & Cytron-Walker, 2007). IGD was an effort to institutionalize an approach to diversity that has as one of its goals the increased capacity of students to create a more socially just community and society. But over time, less critical goals of IGD – a "warming" of the campus climate for underrepresented minority students, the enhancement of students' communications skills, the improvement of students' capacity to work in diverse groups – have taken precedence in some dialogue programs. It is helpful to consider the way American universities as a whole responded to the

student movements of the 1960s - which produced much of the foundational knowledge about oppressed groups that pedagogies like IGD depend upon. There, we can see the dangers of incorporation; one is the previously mentioned "warming" - that some critics point out. But we can also see the critical possibilities of wide-spread implementation of programs like IGD.

In response to the social movements of the 1960s, Roderick Ferguson suggests that relations of power disciplined social difference in ways that they had not done previously to such a large degree. As anti-racist and other social movements put pressure on the government, the state responded by using a strategy called "absorption." Describing Omi & Winant's theory of the racial state, Ferguson writes,

> "…state institutions within the Unites States responded to political pressure of antiracist movements by, in part, adopting the politics of absorption…."Absorption reflects the realization that many demands are greater threats to the racial order before they are accepted than after they have been adopted in suitably moderate form. What Omi and Winant refer to as "absorption" we might understand as the gestures and routines of archival power" (Ferguson, 2012).

The movements of the time had become untenable for the state, and absorbing them made them less of a threat than they were as pure opposition.

The University of Illinois at Chicago is a public university, and as such it functions as an arm of the state. Thinking of the University this way is useful in that it gives a framework for understanding the University's approaches to diversity policy and programming as state-driven and/or or state-sanctioned actions. In *The Reorder of Things*, Ferguson also argues that the United States function as an "archival entity" concerning social difference. In trying to achieve the ideal of a united nation-state comprised of many diverse groups, it must recognize difference even as it disciplines difference.. Put another way, the US "catalogs" political moments and social movements, adding them to the growing collection of "documents" that make up the

States' history and identity. In so doing, those moments and movements become a sanctioned, legitimized part of the state. As different groups of people, at various times, make claims to citizenship in this increasingly heterogeneous nation, the ways in which the state deals with those claims redefine who belongs and who does not. They also expand and add complexity to the boundaries of the state. These groups of people and their movements are "catalogued."

One example of absorption was the entrance of students of color and women into institutions of higher education in record numbers. With that came the inter disciplines: Black and African American Studies, Native American Studies, Women's Studies, Asian American and Latino studies, departments and programs that rejected the notion that traditional western disciplines were the only path to knowledge. The inter disciplines necessarily brought new and subversive knowledge to predominately white, male-dominated, middle- and upper- class institutions. These new departments and programs incubated scholars who would produce invaluable knowledge about and for those previously denied acceptance into these schools, much less legitimation. But just as the inter-disciplines challenged previous knowledge production, they at once became part of the institutions that determined what was "worthy" of knowing, and what was not. The entrance and development of the interdisciplines, along with federal affirmative action policy and new hiring practices at universities did not mark the end of racist patriarchal, homophobic power in the academy, it fundamentally changed power itself: decentralizing, complicating and diversifying it. While gaining the power necessary to teach the history, language and culture of those groups who had, until that moment, been barred from the academy represented a triumph of recognition and institutional change, it also meant that the state, with the help of the academy, could discipline those newly recognized groups in the name of statehood. Ferguson quotes Lisa Lowe, stating,

Institutionalizing such fields…still contains an inevitable paradox: institutionalization provides a material base within the university for a transformative critique of traditional disciplines and their traditional separations, and yet the institutionalization of any field or curriculum that establishes orthodox objects and methods submits in part to the demands of the university and its educative function of socializing subjects to the state" (Ferguson, 2012).

The University of Michigan began its Dialogue program in the late 1980s, at the historical moment in which academic incorporation at many schools (through curriculum, formalized departments and faculty positons) was all but complete, and strife among students as a result of the backlash to affirmative action was raging. The University of Illinois at Chicago implemented *its* Dialogue program in 2010, as a result of an administration-led effort to implement interactional diversity among its racially, ethnically diverse student body, and to improve student success. At some colleges and universities that have implemented their own Intergroup Dialogue programs, there are clear connections between inter-disciplines and IGD, be that through faculty collaboration and/or student overlap. At other schools, the development of the Dialogue program has signified the university administration's attempt to institute curriculum that focuses on a range of forms of difference because diversity is a buzzword. In either circumstance, Dialogue courses become a recognized, resourced part of the university. And though the goals of IGD are to bring diverse groups of students together to work towards social justice, the Dialogue program, because it has been incorporated into the university, potentially submits to the demands of the university, which are primarily to socialize students for the state. And if the state is fundamentally racist, sexist, homophobic and classist, we must ask: what role do dialogue courses have in socializing students (or all involved) for that landscape?

This question is more than its implication, however. The proliferation of dialogue programs could *also* be thought of as an opportunity for minoritized difference to re-negotiate its

relationship with the university, and by extension the state. About the proliferation of

interdisciplinary programs, Ferguson says,

> "Hence the institutionalization of difference becomes a question much larger than any single institution but becomes a logic of practice that establishes a network between all institutions in the United States. As interdisciplinarity constitutes difference as a site of contradiction, it also designates the institutions that are rearticulated in terms of minoritzed differences as active locations for contradictions.
>
> In addition to fostering new conditions for the expansion and multiplication of power, interdisciplinarity also provides new circumstances for the potential critique of that expansion and multiplication. The critique of institutionalization, therefore, provides a new condition for, rather than the termination of, critical deployments of race, gender, sexuality, and so on. Instead of representing the confirmation of power's totalizing character, interdisciplinarity connotes a site of contradiction, an instance in which minoritized differences negotiate and maneuver agreements with and estrangements from institutionalization, The extent to which interdisciplinary sites work up a critical suspicion of institutionalization is also the measure by which they alienate the American ethos that surrounds institutionalization" (Ferguson, 2012).

If we consider IGD to be a current iteration of interdisciplinarity (indeed, the argument that

social justice education in this form draws upon the inter disciplines is strong) it is possible, then,

that IGD could be implemented at UIC in a way that makes it part of network of university

spaces that are rearticulating difference.

Whereas social movements – and thus student movements - in the 1960s and 70s focused on

the downward redistribution of wealth and other resources, 1980s and 90s saw the "struggle for

recognition" become the defining feature of political conflict (Fraser, Justice Interruptus, 1997).

Until recent iterations of social movements, the struggle for recognition of difference – of racial,

ethnic, gender, sexual and religious groups, or "identity politics" – seemed to displaced the

struggle for redistribution of material resources. In *Justice Interruptus,* Nancy Fraser describes

this shift, stating,

> "… the most salient social movements are no longer economically defined 'classes' who are struggling to defend their 'interests,' end 'exploitation,' and win 'redistribution.' Instead, they are culturally defined 'groups' or 'communities of value' who are struggling

to defend their 'identities,' end 'cultural domination,' and win 'recognition.' The result is a decoupling of cultural politics from social politics, and the relative eclipse of the latter by the former . . .This, then, is the 'postsocialist' condition: an absence of any credible overarching emancipatory project despite the proliferation of fronts of struggle; a general decoupling of the cultural politics of recognition from the social politics of redistribution; and a decentering of claims for equality in the face of aggressive marketization and sharply rising material inequality (pp. 2–3)" (Fraser, 1997).

The "decoupling" that Nancy Fraser takes note of suggests that people are either engaging with one kind of politics or the other, leaning heavily toward the politics of recognition, thus abandoning calls for a tangible redistribution of resources in society. The result is a decentralized social movement; not a broad-based coalition of groups attempting to eradicate fundamental societal sources of inequality, but many small groups working to be recognized for the cultural value that they bring to society, which was the case until the a resurfacing of movements that combined demands for recognition and redistribution following the Great Recession. While this is a necessary effort, the "decentering of claims for equality" in favor of cultural politics can pacify some groups as they see their cultural contributions recognized and conflate that with actual redistribution. It also gives the state no impetus to take responsibility for (and change) policies that increase material inequality and further the subordination of classes of people, because cultural politics do not make those kinds of demands of the state. In terms of education, this means that groups could, under the politics of recognition, accept curriculum and/or political gestures that seem to recognize and celebrate their cultural contribution, without continuing to push for a redistribution of resources that results in actual educational equity. Thinking about dialogue curriculum and policy, this translates into implementing coursework that focuses on race, gender, class, power and oppression, without actually changing the policies of the university to recruit, admit and retain students who have historically been kept out or pushed out, or otherwise shifting dynamics of power.

In addition to noting the potential of dialogue to quell demands for equity as opposed to

bolster them, critics also point out Dialogue's presence in the neoliberal university as a whole. In

the present political moment the university, as either part of the state, or partner with it, has an

ever increasing role in economic development. This development - capitalist expansion -often

takes place at the expense of the oppressed groups that dialogue centers around (Hamer & Lang,

2015). While discussing structural violence that plagues communities displaced by the neoliberal

university, Jennifer Hamer & Clarence Lang define neoliberalism.

> "…we generally understand "structural violence" as the conditions and arrangements, embedded in the political and economic organization of social life, that cause injury to individuals and populations, or put them in harm's way. Examples include the human dislocations caused by economic disinvestment, community displacement, or metropolitan redevelopment … the systemic denial of civil and human rights, including quality education and health care, safe and affordable housing, clean water, and nutritious foods; and collective inequalities perpetrated and experienced on the basis of race, ethnicity, socioeconomic class, gender, or sexuality. These relations are not the result of individual actions or interpersonal interactions, though both are involved. Rather, structural violence issues from institutional, often economically driven processes that supersede individual will or agency. Nor is structural violence experienced indiscriminately across society. To the contrary, it is visited primarily on groups whose social status denies them full access to legal and political protections (Farmer, 2004; Galtung, 1996; Gilligan, 1996; Scheper-Hughes, 2003).

> The forms of structural violence prevalent today reflect longstanding histories, but they also stem from more contemporary changes in U.S. and global political economies, most especially the turn toward neoliberalism. By "neoliberalism," we mean the economic and social philosophy that imposes free-market fundamentalist values on all human interactions. Emergent in the 1970s, neoliberalism was an imagined return to the "pure" tenets of classical liberalism – namely, uninhibited markets, a laissez-faire national state, and the individual liberty to wield personal property in the manner of one's choosing as a private citizen. Both ideologically and politically, the neoliberal turn has reflected a shift from an industrial economy to one driven by speculative finance capital; market deregulation and the privatization of public goods; the corporate demand for higher profits at the expense of livable working conditions and pay for working- and middle-class people; the rolling back of social welfare protections in order to render all labor contingent and insecure; the denial of social compassion and shared civic responsibility in favor of a social Darwinist politics of disposability; growing accumulations of income and wealth among a few, facilitated by regressive tax cuts, anti-union laws, and other subsidies to the elite "1 Percent"; debilitating household debt for the "99 Percent" majority, and heightened socioeconomic class stratification; the creeping debasement of political life through the

purchasing of electoral candidates and legislation; and a politics of austerity and punishment reinforced through state-sponsored surveillance and brutality, as with the militarization of police, new forms of black criminalization, and underlying both, the rise of mass incarceration (Dawson, 2011; Giroux, 2008; Harvey, 2005; Lang, 2015).… communities of color have borne the brunt of the neoliberal turn.

The neoliberal *university*, then, features

" University medical centers, student housing, and other campus expansion projects have physically displaced working-class communities of color who already face diminishing access to institutions of higher education...higher education itself has been refashioned intoa marketized good rather than a public right… such measures lend themselves politically to an assault on liberal arts education – and public higher education more generally – as socially impractical and economically wasteful investments. This cost-benefit orientation conflates the worth of a university degree with a good or bad purchase, limiting its usefulness merely to meeting workforce needs. Consistent with neoliberal logic, this outlook also reinforces the substitution of citizen-based values with consumer-based identities….".

Katherine Cramer Walsh (2006; 2007) draws upon two models to hypothesize why communities choose to utilize dialogue. In the first one, called the *Post Materialist Urban Policy* model, the economic development of the community (or, in our case, the university) is the main goal of political leaders. In urban settings that are rapidly developing and have a population of people who are relatively materially secure, leadership can focus on "lifestyle" concerns of residents. Those concerns have mostly to do with private wealth accumulation, but they coincide with issues such as environmentalism, reproductive rights, LGBTQ rights and other lifestyle concerns. These issues are thought to take precedent over class and race, which are seen as passé. And as the populations of post-materialist settings are usually less racially and socio-economically diverse, the goal of dialogues tends to be about intergroup understanding inasmuch as it can give the residents psychological assurance that they are grappling with issues of power and privilege. It also legitimizes leadership's claim that the community is actively working on intergroup relations and is amenable to business and tourism. According to Walsh, if intergroup dialogue is post-materialist, it would be found in a community that has a younger, well-educated

population with more individual/family wealth (2006; 2007). Historically, UICs student

population could not be characterized this way, but the argument could be made that UICs

expansion in the last 30 years has supported -even driven - the displacement of working class and

poor people of color who lived in neighborhoods surrounding the University. The "near west"

and "near south" neighborhoods surrounding the campus have changed dramatically, welcoming

upscale business, expensive real estate and affluent professional residents. Simultaneously, the

University has begun to recruit more affluent students who have had the privilege of attending

well-resourced suburban schools and selective enrollment schools in the city. Many of these

students come to UIC, and into dialogue classrooms, with meritocratic ideals and less interest in

social group membership than individual identity development. Ironically, they are attracted to

UIC because of its diversity and say they want to work towards social justice. Their interests lie

in the "lifestyle concerns" that Walsh describes, which leads one to wonder, whose interests are

being served by implementing Dialogue? Of course, UIC has a rich history, full of struggle of

certain groups to gain and maintain access to higher education. So a plan that promotes

expansion and development while using dialogue as a pacifier would not gain approval without

contestation. In order for the expansion to be legitimized without force, there must be discourse

that makes it possible. That discourse is created and reified in policy documents and discussions,

which are analyzed in this study.

   The second model that Cramer Walsh draws upon is the *Social Justice Aims* model, in which

intergroup dialogues can be seen as redistributive policy. In this model, intergroup dialogues take

place in areas where there are large amounts of racial power resources, or resources for

marginalized groups in general. Previous political theory suggests that the interests of

marginalized groups are recognized in policy only when those groups have significant political

and economic resources (Walsh K. C., 2007). Those resources can be financial, but they also rest on representation and activity. Examples include high levels of education among the marginalized group, a large population in their respective community, the presence of civil rights organizations or media controlled by the group. Therefore, if intergroup dialogue is the result of social justice aims, it would take place in a community in which there are high levels of education among marginalized groups, a larger percent of the community's population is made up of members of marginalized groups, and/or the presence of civil rights organizations or media controlled by the group is strong (Walsh 2006; 2007). Although there is evidence to suggest that UIC leadership is pursing dialogue for post-materialist aims, there is also evidence to suggest that UIC administrators, faculty and staff, because of their membership in marginalized social groups and desire to bring about social change, could utilize dialogue for social justice aims. Describing the decision to pursue dialogue as either one that either has post-materialist or social justice aims highlights the debate over diversity in which dialogue courses at the University of Illinois at Chicago are situated. Most importantly, this framework is appropriate for grappling with the concept of the developing urban institution that is UIC. Using this framework allows us to see UIC not only as an institution in a vacuum, but a changing urban institution of higher education inside of a rapidly changing city, one that is grappling with its own questions of post-materialism vs. social justice. Kramer Walsh's (2006) (2007) theory investigates the values driving a city's decision to pursue dialogue and that framework can help me make sense of the values driving a university's decision to purse dialogue, and the implications it has for broader university development.

In *Represent & Destroy*, Jodi Melamed argues that anti-racist ideology in various forms has aided post-World War II capitalist expansion of the United States. This ideology has framed

discourse in the US that enables all who are deemed valuable citizens of the States to enjoy certain "freedoms", while expanding empire and without challenging the material basis of racism. These "official anti-racisms - the freedoms they guaranteed, the state capacities they have invented, the subjects they have recognized, and even the rights they have secured – have enabled the normalizing violences of political and economic modernity to advance and expand" (Melamed, 2011).

Intergroup Dialogue was created in the late 1980s, the period that Melamed argues was defined by its liberal multiculturalist discourse. During this time, universities were experiencing a dramatic shift in enrollment produced by the social movements in the 1960s and 1970s. They were charged with the responsibility of preparing their student bodies - now considerably more racially and ethnically diverse - for participation in civic life and employment. At the same time, the, de-industrialized, corporate economy taking shape in the US and abroad demanded a differently educated set of professionals. According to Melamed, the university responded by conditioning its student bodies in ways that made it amenable to the economic landscape. As the new economy needed financiers and managers, "universities prepared the members of marginalized groups that they had deemed the most valuable for incorporation into multi-racial managerial classes." This was done through curriculum that socialized students to understand themselves as "anti-racist and multicultural, which was in line with the period's corporate humanism, in a manner that allowed the material conditions for a new apartheid between the haves and the have-nots to flourish" (2011). While it is clear that this was not a stated intention of IGD when it began, one cannot help consider how much liberal multiculturalism must have impacted the implementation of Dialogue at Michigan and elsewhere.

Melamed describes the time period following liberal multiculturalism as *neoliberal multiculturalism*. This is the 2000s, the historical moment in which we are currently living. In it, a discourse that creates and praises the "multicultural global citizen" is pervasive. This citizen is characterized by their "egoistic individualism and self-enterprise," that translates vaguely into "doing good" for various groups: women, the poor, etc. But there is a sense that this benevolence is not only self-interested (which makes is strikingly similar to the post-materialist urban issues that Walsh describes), but serves as a distraction for growing inequality at home in the US. As noted before, students entering dialogue classrooms have been shaped by this discourse. But the language of neoliberal multiculturalism is most identifiable in the *policy* that legitimizes IGD in the university, and that is what critics find most alarming. Ultimately, critics of Intergroup Dialogue are asking its developers and implementers, "Who actually benefits from dialogue? Does it support rather than challenges the inequities that exist in the university and broader society?"

The foundations and intended outcomes of Intergroup Dialogue are clearly laid out in its theoretical and practical texts, but its ability to achieve those outcomes is mediated by institutional context and the larger political climate. Through its methods, this study situates the tensions between IGDs intentions and its actual outcome in a larger discourse of institutional values, political context and educators' agency.

Chapter 3 - Methodology

This study asks, "What frameworks underlie the Dialogue Initiative policy and implementation processes at UIC? What theories and values are embedded in the policy text, conversations among administrators, faculty and staff, and implementation practices of Dialogue instructors? How does the discourse around Dialogue reshape its meaning?" The purpose of this study – or finding some answers to these questions - will help us understand the contextual factors surrounding the decision to pursue dialogue-based education for diversity and social justice on college campuses in the neoliberal era. It will also help the reader understand which parts of the institutionalized Dialogue Initiative program – if any –students, staff and faculty can use for furthering social justice.

Case Study Design

The design of this research project is a case study. I draw upon Yin and Merriam's (1994) (1988) conception of this kind of research, which holds that "case studies are a special kind of qualitative work that investigates a contextualized contemporary (as opposed to historical) phenomenon within specified boundaries, "a program, an event, a person, a process, an institution, or a social group." I chose to do a case study because case study methodology is best for researching a subject that is contextualized and happening in the current historical moment. The methods I used (interviews of people involved with Dialogue at all levels of the process, policy analysis) were best to use because they helped me uncover the context (the facts and circumstances surrounding the case) in real time. There are aspects of information that are not readily visible in a case like this, because this is a layered, messy subject. The processes are not necessarily transparent or linear. I needed this particular set of methods because each form of

data collection corresponded with some different piece of data. Policy analysis allowed me to review *Through the Lens of Diversity*, the *Mosaic for UIC Transformation*, *JADE* and college SCEP documents' content, taking into account both their context and subtext. Interviewing people with different kinds of involvement with the UIC Dialogue Initiative gave me the opportunity to talk with them firsthand about their understandings of the policy and curriculum, but also to analyze the transcriptions and notes from the interviews. These pieces of data had to be compared and contrasted in order to illuminate each other, and give meaning to each other.

A common conception is that case studies cannot provide enough information to be generalizable, and therefore cannot make significant contributions to the fields in which they are performed. However, many social scientists are proponents of the case study, and demonstrate its usefulness in being able to expand theory and help predict outcomes in a range of settings (Yin, 1994) (Flyvbjerg, 2006). While case study findings may not be generalizable, with thorough descriptions of settings and outcomes, they may be transferrable.

Specifically, this project is an *extended case study*. I chose this form of study because its goal is to illuminate larger social processes through exploration of the case. This method "applies reflexive science… in order to extract the general from the unique, to move from the micro to the macro, and to connect the present to the past in anticipation of the future, all building on preexisting theory" (Burawoy, 1998). Extended case studies begin with a dialogue (real or imagined) between the observer (the researcher) and the participants. The researcher is asking questions of the participants and their environment based on preexisting theory and the researcher's own observations. The participants help answer those questions based upon their own knowledge of living and/or working in the site. The answers to these questions are reflective

of the "situational knowledge" research participants have developed while in the site. Extended case study methodology "aggregates the multiple situational knowledges into social processes," and that process is always reliant on prior theory. This means that theory always informs the researcher's meaning-making of the data (Hodder, 2000).

Neither the researcher nor the participants enter the study without prior knowledge or experiences that will inform the study. Both "sides" occupy real social locations before, during, and after the study, not detached, "objective" positions that separate the work they are doing in the research process from the work they are doing in life. This method was appropriate for my study because it allowed me (the observer) to ask questions of participants about IGD at UIC, particularly as someone who has worked on the curriculum as a staff member and teacher/facilitator. I came to this study with knowledge, ideas and opinions based upon years of work in the UIC Dialogue Initiative, as did the research participants I worked with during data collection and analysis. I also came to the site with theoretical knowledge that I tried to make sense of and expand. Ferguson's theory of incorporation pushed me to think about the consequences of IGDs incorporation in to the university. Would it – as interdisciplinary departments borne out social movements – be incorporated in a way that disciplined minority difference and limited its ability to be a critical and transformative space? What possibilities open up when IGD is implemented on a campus? What possibilities are foreclosed upon? Could UIC Dialogue Initiative be a critical site of rearticulating minority difference within the university? What could I learn from the policy documents, and from talking to people who worked on it that would give me insight into the values that drove the policy process of IGD at UIC? Melamed's theory of official anti-racisms gave me the analytical tools to approach the data. Being able to discern between the discourses of [neo]liberal multiculturalism and material

anti-racism, and then use those frames to analyze the policy documents, curriculum and interview data allowed me to think about ways Melamed's work, which was based in the field of literary studies might be expanded into social justice education. The participants came with their own knowledge of the Dialogue Initiative and theories about why things work the way they do. The extended case study method makes use of both the researcher's and the participants' own knowledge, and provides a theoretical base upon which the researcher can build through studying a particular site.

Extended case study methodology also embeds the dialogue between the researcher and the participants in a second dialogue between local process and extra local forces. This method allowed me to engage in a dialogue between the policy/implementation process of IGD at UIC and extra local forces: the neoliberalization of the university, Chicago's journey to become a "global" city, and the tension between social recognition and social redistribution. Kramer Walsh's hypotheses about dialogue for post-materialist urban policy versus dialogue for social justice aims provided a frame for that dialogue. What did the values that undergird the UIC dialogue policy process reveal about the neoliberal university? What Burawoy (1998) describes as "structuration" – regarding the world as shaped by and shaping external fields or forces (which themselves have their own organization, principles and contradictions) – is a defining feature of this methodology. Lastly, extended case study methodology allows the researcher to put theory in dialogue with itself, making room for revision or expansion of theory. Theory is essential to each phase of the extended case method. It is crucial for establishing external coherence, "the degree to which [the researcher's] interpretation fits theories inside and outside the discipline" (Hodder, 2000).

Data Collection & Analysis

From 2011 until 2016, I worked as the Graduate Assistant in the Office of Diversity at the University of Illinois at Chicago. When I began, the Office was only 2 years old, having been developed as a result of the campus Diversity Strategic Thinking and Planning (DTSP) process. A course based on IGD pedagogy had been piloted in UICs Honors College during the fall 2010 semester. My job was to aid in the process of developing more courses and co-curricular dialogue opportunities, as dialogue curriculum has been incorporated into the DSTP plan. During the time I worked in the Office, I taught dialogue courses, revamped the courses' curriculum, developed and facilitated co-curricular dialogues, and performed a range of administrative tasks for the Dialogue Initiative specifically, and Office of Diversity generally.

I consider the University of Illinois at Chicago the unit of analysis for my study. Within this unit, policy processes resulting in the adoption of IGD curriculum helped me answer questions informed by the theoretical frameworks. I use the term "policy processes" because 1) there is not one *single* process that resulted in the implementation of IGD-based courses at UIC, rather there were multiple processes and 2) the processes themselves were not only defined by the policy documents written around IGD courses at UIC, but conversations, meetings and events that represented discourse around IGD courses at UIC. Faculty, students and staff were involved in the various policy processes.

Data Analyzed

I conducted a total of seventeen (17) semi-structured interviews. My interviewees were Dialogue Initiative facilitators (graduate students and University staff), high level administrators at the University (Vice Provosts, Deans) and administrators who direct dialogue programming

and facilitate classes. I analyzed curriculum as well: multiple versions of the HON 140:

Intergroup Dialogue on Race & Gender curriculum, and multiple versions of CC 120: First Year

Dialogue Seminar curriculum. Lastly, I analyzed policy documents. These included the UIC

Diversity Strategic Thinking/Planning (DSTP) documents, *Mosaic for UIC Transformation*,

Through the Lens of Diversity, *Justice Access Diversity & Equity (JADE)*, and the SCEP CC

120: First Year Dialogue Seminar course proposal.

TABLE I

DATA SOURCES

TYPE	SOURCE	LENGTH	FORM
		Number of Pages or Minutes	
Interview	Alex	60 minutes	In Person
Interview	Bill	80 minutes	Phone
Interview	Courtney	46 minutes	In Person
Interview	George	63 minutes	In Person
Interview	Gertrude	60 minutes	Phone
Interview	James	54 minutes	In Person
Interview	Josh	62 minutes	In Person
Interview	Julia	54 minutes	In Person
Interview	Karen	63 minutes	In Person
Interview	Kimberly	81 minutes	In Person
Interview	Leda	51 minutes	In Person
Interview	Lori	60 minutes	In Person
Interview	Mary	68 minutes	In Person
Interview	Marvin	63 minutes	In Person
Interview	Paul	53 minutes	Phone
Interview	Neha	60 minutes	In Person
Interview	Shannon	54 minutes	In Person
Policy Document	*JADE at UIC…Justice, Access Diversity and Equity* - 2011	4 pages	Electronic/Paper
Policy Document	*A Mosaic for UIC Transformation* - 2012	39 pages	Electronic/Paper

Policy Document	*Through the Lens of Diversity* - 2011	41 pages	Electronic/Paper
Policy Document	Senate Committee on Educational Policy (SCEP) Proposal for CC 120: First-Year Dialogue Seminar 2012-2013	24 pages	Electronic/Paper
Curriculum	HON 140: Intergroup Dialogue on Race & Gender 2010	136 pages	Electronic/Paper
Curriculum	HON 140: Intergroup Dialogue on Race & Gender 2014	140 pages	Electronic/Paper
Curriculum	CC 120: First Year Dialogue Seminar 2012	53 pages	Electronic/Paper
Curriculum	CC 120: First Year Dialogue Seminar 2014	43 pages	Electronic/Paper

Many scholars have attempted to expand the definition of policy beyond its rational conception, one in which there is a linear process from a policy's inception to its implementation. Rizvi and Lingard (2010) define the policy process as one that is often irrational. It is contextual, multidimensional, multilayered, and occurs at multiple sites. In addition to theories of minority incorporation into the academy, and the conflict between redistributive and recognition-based policy, I will be using Stephen Ball's (1993) theory of policy as process to guide my data collection and analysis. Using Ball's theory of policy as incomplete, changing, and influenced by the history and unequal power relations it is often intended to change, this study seeks to understand the complex, multiple ideas that inform the Dialogue curriculum policy process. Like Rizvi & Lingard, Ball describes policy not only as actual text, but as discourse and the effects produced by that discourse. In the case of the Dialogue Initiative at UIC, this means that the official documents circulated around (and outside) the campus, the administrator and faculty committee meetings, recorded and unofficial conversations about IGD at UIC, and what actually happens in Dialogue Initiative classrooms are all part of the policy process. They inform and reshape each other. Obviously, not all of those people have the same amount of power in the policy process, and that imbalance of power is reflected in the policy. That imbalance can also be reified by policy. Because it is an ongoing process, policy is not complete. Written policy can capture the negotiation of power at a given point in time, but that does not mean that it is fixed, or that it cannot be revisited, reshaped and rearticulated as it is implemented, resisted, reshaped by the people who are doing the work that the policy creates. This was important to keep in mind as I collected and analyzed data. I began conducting my interviews in January 2016 with a protocol that was approved in my IRB process. I had each interview and the accompanying notes transcribed immediately after the interview

was completed. I began to analyze policy documents at the same time as conducting interviews, looking for words that came up frequently in the documents, then coding them into themes. Interviews were coded after they were all completed. I coded interview transcripts and policy documents a second time to refine the themes, then a third time, looking for words, phrases and ideas that contradicted earlier themes. Lastly, I coded curriculum documents, first maintaining the themes that had come up in the interview and policy documents and then coding again for deviations, nuances and contradictions. While writing up the findings, I revisited the policy documents and interview transcriptions several times as the analysis appeared unclear or contradictory.

As I read policy documents – both broader public documents and those that specifically dealt with IGD courses - I was able to form questions about the people and contexts that shaped them, knowing that what was written was reflective of several competing ideas about the direction in which IGD should move. I also knew that those people and contexts may change written policy going forward. Those questions became the basis for my interview and follow-up questions with administrators and staff, who themselves had nuanced, varying levels of knowledge about IGD. Their responses to my questions reflected that knowledge but also their interests, questions and challenges to IGD as it was being implemented. Policy is not only the words written in an official document. As I analyzed IGD curriculum, I could "see" the negotiations, improvements and challenges to certain parts of the curriculum over time. Some of this is because I was a part of that curriculum development process. Some of that vision came from what various people who worked on it told me, some of it was reflective of the way that leadership changed over the years: who had the power to make changes, when and where (offices, classrooms, in the city, in the world). I am able to make claims about what theories and

values underlie the policy process of Dialogue at UIC, but that does not mean that those values

will not change as new actors enter, others leave, and time goes on. Ball notes, "Policies shift

and change their meaning; the interpreters of policy change, supporters of policies change;

purposes of policies change over time as well" (1993).

The fact that policy can change, and, in many ways, is always changing, suggests that

policy does not happen in a vacuum. It is not separate from its context, which includes not only

power differences between individual policy makers at the university level, but societal

inequality. These inequalities come to bear on the making of policy itself. Concerning this

project, there were at least two important ways in which this was seen: as it became evident who

had access and power to shape IGD curriculum policy at UIC, and how the policy was framed

for those who will carry out and experience it. That is to say, social inequalities (racism,

classism, sexism) appeared in the process of creating IGD curriculum policy at UIC. As will be

discussed in the findings, attempts to names and address racism in both policy and practice

(curriculum) were removed from documents. The values underlying the policy process, then, tell

us something about already existing social inequality. Also discussed in the findings are the ways

that UIC dialogue policy reinforces neoliberalism and discourses of anti-racism that obscure the

material basis of racism. Ball is informed in this line of thinking by Foucault who posits that

instead of eradicating power relations, policies restructure or redistribute them (1971). As there

is no direct line from policy to eradication of social inequality, Ball posits that there is also no

direct line from policy to *action*. Indeed, policy *influences* action, but it does not predict it.

Policy can also *be* action. Policy creates circumstances for a narrowing/changing of possible

actions and reactions. It creates boundaries around what can be discussed and legitimizes how

ideas can – and cannot –be expressed. In the case of UIC diversity documents, this translates to

policy that promotes just actions on the part of the university being written out of the documents.

This is Ball's conception of *policy as discourse*.

> Policies can limit and otherwise change each other's meanings, interpretations and power. As they do this, they create a discourse, "a practice that systematically forms the objects of which they speak" (Ball, 1993). Discourses are about what can be said and thought by whom, when, when, where and with what authority. Discourse structures possibility of thought, and is not limited to language and speech. (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). Because of the immense power of the discourses created by policy, there often seems to be little opportunity to resist policy that reflects the dominant hegemonic discourse. Analyzing policy, then, is about understanding the ways in which power is restructured and redistributed.

In order to understand the ways in which power is created, enforced and distributed through policy, I analyzed actual policy documents as well as data gleaned from interviewing the people who created the policy and the people who must follow it. I analyzed the UIC diversity strategic thinking and planning documents *Through the Lens of Diversity*, *A Mosaic for UIC Transformation*, and the response to those documents from the Network of Diversity Related Units who wrote the *Justice Access Diversity and Equity (JADE)* piece. I also analyzed communication about the Dialogue Initiative at UIC (the UIC Dialogue Initiative web site, print and digital course recruitment documents). By providing a broad conceptual framework for the University's understanding of diversity, these documents helped answer questions about the university's commitment to dialogue curriculum and what that entails. At the college level, I also studied course proposals brought before the colleges' educational policy committees and correspondence about those committee meetings. These documents recount a "conversation" happening between faculty and administration about the courses, their content and their worth.

Hodder (2000) discusses material culture generally, and documents specifically as a form of "mute evidence." While this kind of evidence endures in a way that speech cannot, because it features language, it is still susceptible to manipulation, control, and can be used as an instrument

of socialization. The researcher, the "interpreter of material culture" works between past and present or between different kinds of material culture to glean meaning from them.

In many cases, one cannot interact with the original author, or "insider" to gain more information about documents. Usually only "outsiders," those who have read– or heard the text read since its creation – can share their thoughts about it. In the rare event that a researcher is able to talk to the first authors or (or authors) about the documents, Hodder points out that insiders can be surprisingly inarticulate about how and why they wrote what they did. Because of this difficulty, there are particular ways to approach and interpret this kind of data. "An important initial assumption made by those interpreting material culture is that belief, idea and intention are important to action and practice" (2000). The ideas and intentions that lead to the creation of "mute evidence" are as important to analyze as the evidence itself. With that said, it is important for the researcher to understand the kind of mute evidence with which they are working. It could be a *record*, a document attests to some formal transaction or one that involves a state technology of power (a way that the state carries out a task, such as a law or mandate). The mute evidence could also be a *document*, which requires more contextualized interpretation. Diaries, memos, letters and even field notes fall into this category (Lincoln & Guba 1985). For my research, I analyzed records (UIC policies written by administrators and staff to create courses and programming) and documents (field notes that came from my observations of UIC meetings and courses).

Hodder recalls Derrida's (1978) observation that although great Western thinkers have asserted that the written word is "truer" than the spoken one, and spoken word is more true than nonverbal communication, science has shown us that meanings of written artifacts do not lie in the text, but in the writing and reading of them. Texts have to be understood in context of their

production and reading. (i.e. Is the text firsthand? Secondhand? Was it solicited or unsolicited?

Was it edited? If so, for what purpose?) Therefore, there is no true meaning of a text outside of

its specific historical context. Text and context are in a continual state of transition, each defining

and redefining each other over time. Because of this, documents do not give researchers a truer

description of a phenomena than, say, interviews or observation, they give a *different* one. In

order to gain a richer understanding of a subject, text can be analyzed with other kinds of

evidence to reveal multiple perspectives and illuminate bias. This had many implications for the

collection and analysis of my data. Because written policy could be understood as more true than

what interviews revealed, I had to triangulate my data, looking for connections and

contradictions and nuances across the interviews, policy documents and curriculum. Intergroup

Dialogue theory and practice are heavily influenced by the inter-disciplines, as was earlier

mentioned. It would make sense, then, that the policy process surrounding IGD at UIC would

reflect some of the values that the inter-disciplines brought with them into the university. This

effects my analysis particularly in understanding the values of diversity and social justice. It is

significant that diversity and social justice are seems to hold different meanings in IGD

curriculum and with instructors than they do in policy documents and interviews with

administrators at UIC, which will be discussed further in my findings.

In addition to collecting data from policy documents, I held formal semi-structured

interviews (Hatch, 2002) with people who crafted the policy text, made policy decisions and

implemented the courses at the University of Illinois at Chicago, and staff and faculty from the

University of Michigan who were directly involved with the implementation of dialogue at UIC.

I interviewed administrators at the highest level of the university, because they were involved

with crafting the diversity strategic plan, *A Mosaic for UIC Transformation*, which describes

how the various constituencies on campus will work toward realizing diversity in various forms.

Sources included staff of the Office of Diversity, members of the Diversity Strategic Thinking &

Planning (DSTP) Committee, the Intergroup Dialogue Executive Committee, Deans, faculty and

students. I want to note that students were involved in the DSTP process as members of

committees, in addition to experiencing the coursework described. Faculty interviewed were

those who took part in the DSTP process, and were part of the decision-making bodies in their

colleges that handle curriculum change. I also interviewed faculty, staff and administrators

whose involvement included significant disapproval of IGD-derived curriculum. Their varied

perspectives made the data richer and the analysis more comprehensive. In each interview, I

assessed the interviewee's knowledge of Intergroup Dialogue pedagogy in order to help frame

their responses when analyzing and reporting on the data.

Because interviews with policy elites were needed to gather data for this study, it was

important to consider specific methodology developed for this kind of data collection. Adrianna

Kezar writes:

> Elite interviewing is a specific research methodology that evolved in disciplines such as
> sociology and political science. Based on the assumption that access to elites is often
> difficult and therefore key people that participate in a process are not often interviewed, it
> is characterized by the following qualities: Researchers conduct extensive analysis of
> documents and background work before conducting interviews; developing rapport is
> critical to obtaining information; the interview protocol is based on a combination of
> background research and literature; the interviewees are allowed more freedom to shape
> the direction of the interview because they are chosen for their expertise on the issues and
> the interview sample selection is particularly important for ensuring that the phenomenon
> of interest is elucidated (Kezar, 2011).

Kezar's description of elite interviewing presents some of the challenges that can arise

when doing this type of data collection. However, there are additional challenges that I faced as I

interviewed policy elites because of my status as a graduate student and a relatively young Black

woman. Because I hold very little professional power in the Office of Diversity, elites may not

have taken me or my project seriously. They may have been reluctant to make time for my

interview, if they even granted the interview at all. They may not have been willing to be

detailed or forthcoming in their answers for fear that they were "giving too much away". Also,

they may have had preconceived notions about my project and what I was looking to investigate.

As a Black woman doing research on diversity, there is always the chance that my work will be

seen as politically subversive, or that my end goal is to be the "diversity police" as I have heard

the Office of Diversity described. Because of my position as a Graduate Assistant in the Office

of Diversity, I had the opportunity to develop relationships with some of the faculty, staff and

students most intricately involved with this process. Many have boldly voiced their opinions

about dialogue curriculum, whether in support of it or not. It was my hope that because I had

been visible and productive in the Office since 2011, they would be as candid with me as they

had been during the process about their understanding of the campuses commitment to diversity

and how dialogue courses fit in it. It was my hope that they had gotten to know me as a young

professional and aspiring academic, capable of doing meaningful work.

What I found while doing interviews was that people more closely connected to the work

(those who taught the courses, or who had direct experience with administrating it), were happy

to make time to be interviewed. I started my interviews in December of 2015, and had the

majority done by February of 2016. They made time even as semesters were ending and

beginning, which is no small feat for people who work at a university. There were a few

potential interviewees who did not respond to my requests for an interview, and because I was

not able to talk to them, I can only conjecture about why.

Once I began doing interviews, I noticed that people – by and large – had a lot to say. I

believe my protocol "worked" because people began to answer questions I planned to ask them

with little or no prompting. I think this also had to do with my interviewees comfort with me: either as their employee, or colleague and/or friend. Several interviews went on beyond the scheduled time, because people wanted to talk more after the recording stopped. They wanted to catch up on my progress, and talk about life events.

It happened that those people I was not able to interview were people to whom I felt less "connected." I had not had made as many – or significant – connections with them over the years. Most people I interviewed were people I saw almost daily, if not a few times a week.

Interviewees who were off campus, working at other campuses on dialogue, were eager to talk to me, and in the rare instances when they could not talk to me at the time we initially scheduled, they were particular about making sure to reschedule. They said that they felt it was so important to continue to produce new, relevant, research about it (Gertrude, 2016). I think this was one major difference in my UIC interviewees and my Michigan interviewees: UIC interviewees knew me in a multiplicity of ways, and felt comfortable talking to me about institutional problems and my own life and work. Michigan interviewees knew me mostly as a PhD student, though they had known me for several years, and as an employee of the Dialogue Initiative. They were always pleasant and forthcoming, but they only spoke to "that part" of my identity.

Insider/Outsider Status

I am sure my data collection and analysis was both helped and hindered by my status as an insider with the UIC Dialogue Initiative. I interviewed one person who I am certain did not answer my questions fully. I know this because I know them well, and we had many conversations about the Dialogue Initiative at UIC, its strengths and weaknesses and all of the challenges that had to be endured in order to start and maintain the courses and extra-curricular

activities. Very little of that was verbally expressed in the interview. This interviewee was eager to schedule the interview, and although I was clear about granting them – and all of my interviewees - anonymity and the ability to stop the interview at any time, they were cautious as soon as I pushed "record" and became more and more careful with their words as we continued. That caution, I believed, spoke to both the intense pressure that interviewee felt to carry out Dialogue Initiative work (i.e. perform their job function) well, and it spoke to the fear they had of saying anything critical about their higher-ups on record. Had the analysis of this interview been performed by anyone else, they would have missed that subtext.

Because I worked with Dialogue for so long, people may see me as an insider. This can be an advantage or a disadvantage. It may have been an advantage when conducting interviews with those who had more power than me at the University (administrators). I saw and worked with them for so long that I many not have seemed like a student to them; I grew closer to some of them as colleagues, and there was some familiarity and trust that might have allowed them to give me more authentic answers than they would if they had never seen or worked with me before. They know - at least I believe they know - my commitment to Dialogue. At the same time, I know that they hold so much more power than I do, and it would be naïve to think that we have all of the same interests, personally, politically and academically. A limitation of my interview research is that for those interviewees who are not supportive of Dialogue, they may have seen me as too "tied" to Dialogue, and not able to appreciate criticism of it. To them, it may have seemed as if I had on "rose colored glasses," and/or that I was tied to the commitments of the Office of Diversity, sort of like a puppet, especially since my academic and financial livelihood was tied to it.

Positionality and its Impact on the Data

Interviewees were very conversational with me. They asked lots of questions about others I was interviewing, even though they knew that information is confidential. While I was nervous about people being willing to talk to me, for the most part, I found that they were more than willing to talk. Some were even a little *too* comfortable in sharing their professional and personal thoughts about other colleagues.

I had one incident in which I was scheduled to do an interview in an interviewee's office, and her office was next door to *another* interviewee's office. When I showed up to do the interview, the second interviewee saw me and initiated small talk, including asking why I was visiting the office next door. I was able to get out of the conversation without revealing why I was there, just saying I had an "appointment." However, it was an awkward reminder of the ways that my familiarity could impact how I collected data, and what that data would mean.

One of my interviewees was very concerned with how she would be represented. She relaxed a bit once I explained that she would be able to see my data write up before my dissertation was completed. We worked closely together, and I felt like she answered the questions I posed with a pleasant disposition, but I was disappointed after the interview because I could not help feeling like she was holding back her true thoughts and emotions during the interview.

The notion of *rapport* has undergone critique and expansion in the field of critical ethnography, which informs my methodology. Rapport refers to the warm, sympathetic relationships between researchers and research participants that are created during fieldwork and are often imperative to the researchers' ability to embed themselves in the field and gain valuable information and insight (Springwood & King, 2001). While I had been working in the Office of

Diversity for a number of years, and had many positive interactions with a number of high-level administrators, there are huge gaps in power between myself and those who have the power to shift and change policy. I am a young Black female graduate student among a group of older, mostly White, mostly male faculty and administrators. I have practically no power to shift how university policy is made, or even how it is perceived. Also, though I was a dedicated member of the Office of Diversity staff, and I support IGD work, I have my questions and criticisms of the works as well. My lack of power and my criticisms may have made it difficult to gain and maintain rapport with some research participants. However, while my inclination was to figure out ways that that I could build rapport in order to get the most valuable information from them, I also think that the ways in which our power and political ideas differ added nuance and depth to my research.

I used several methods to analyze my data. One method of analysis I used is typological analysis, defined by LeCompte and Priessle (1993) as

> …dividing everything observed into groups or categories on the basis of some canon for disaggregating the whole phenomenon under study.' That means that data analysis starts by dividing the overall data set into categories or groups based on predetermined typologies. Typologies are generated from theory, common sense, and/or research objective's, and initial data processing happens within those typological groupings (Hatch, 2002, P.XX).

This type of analysis required that I use various theoretical frameworks about dialogue, minority incorporation into the university and policy to devise categories in which the data could be separated and used to generate claims. When I began to code the data from policy documents, I looked for words and phrases that recurred. I wanted to make sense of those recurring words and phrases in light of the categories (typologies) that I had created using various theories. From those categories, I took note of the emergence of themes, and theorized using those themes. For a list of categories, see the appendices.

Another method of analysis I used was interpretive analysis (Hatch, 2002). While many researchers acknowledge that most if not all qualitative research involves some interpretation on the part of the researcher, Hatch describes interpretational analysis as

> giving meaning to data. It's about making sense of social situations by generating explanations for what's going on within them. It's about making inferences developing insights, attaching significance, refining understandings, drawing conclusions and extrapolating lessons…Interpretation situates the researcher as an active player in the research process…Interpretation is undertaken with the understanding that it is a productive process that sets for the multiple meanings of an event, object, experiences or text…Interpretations are constructed by researchers (Hatch, 2002, p.XX).

This kind of analysis took place several times over the course of my fieldwork. I constantly referred to my interview data and to the theories at hand while still in the field in order to better understand the data I was collecting. It is through this referential process that data were made coherent (Hodder, 2000). When I completed all of the data collection, I also reviewed all of the data (field notes, interview transcriptions, documents) to make sense of it as a whole. I then separately reviewed field notes I made that contained my impressions of what was happening in the site, with an eye toward salient impressions.

Being able to use multiple forms of data collection to gather different kinds of data is a strength of the case study design. It "… enhances data credibility…In case study, data from these multiple sources are then converged in the analysis process rather than handled individually. Each data source is one piece of the "puzzle," with each piece contributing to the researcher's understanding of the whole phenomenon. This convergence adds strength to the findings as the various strands of data are braided together to promote a greater understanding of the case" (Yin, 1994).

In extended case study methodology, the term "reconstruction "refers to the process of analyzing the data with an eye toward "refutations that allow us to generalize theory" (Burawoy,

1998). Instead of collecting some form of data in which I looked for evidence that supports already existing theories, I looked for data that suggested an oversight or contradiction with theory. I was looking to expand theory.

Research Paradigm

The methodology a researcher uses to complete their study reflects their research paradigm. Case studies are often associated with the constructivist paradigm, which holds that there is not a single objective reality to be uncovered, but that the subject of research can be understood by analyzing the multiple perspectives of individuals who experience it from their different vantage points. "Reality" is based in the specifics of experiences and locations. Though some aspects of reality may be understood similarly across social groups, ultimately reality is constructed by those who are coming to together to make it (Hatch, 2002) (Baxter & Jack, 2008).

Constructivist researchers consider the relationship between themselves and the research participants to be extremely important. This is because constructivist researchers are attempting to create meaning with and through the knowledge they bring to the site of study, the knowledge they gain while in the field and the accounts of the research participants (Hatch, 2002). They are not in search of an objective truth which they can only discover by observing the research site from a detached distance – a stance taken by researchers of the positivist paradigm. Constructivists rely upon the particular perspectives of those in the research site, which they can only gain insight into by partnering with them. Because of this, interviewing and extended participant observations are their primary methodology (Hatch, 2002).

The data collection techniques I used also correspond with another research paradigm – the critical/feminist paradigm. While some researchers (even critical and feminist researchers

themselves) consider these thinkers part of other paradigmatic groups (constructivist or post-structuralist, for example), many choose to make a distinction between the critical/feminist paradigm and others. This is primarily because the purpose of critical and feminist research is to raise consciousness and promote social change (Haraway, 1988; Harding, 1994; Hatch, 2002).

Far from the views held by positivist and post-positivist researchers, critical and feminist researchers' values are at the core of the research process. They believe that knowledge is not only subjective, but ultimately mediated by the political goals of the researcher. While the positivist researcher considers their topic, data collection techniques, and analysis to be value-free, the critical and/or feminist researcher is explicit about their political understanding and agenda (and claims that the positivist researcher's work is imbued with their own values as well) (Lather, 1986; 1981; Haraway, 1988; Harding, 1994). In his description of the political analysis technique, Hatch (2002) notes that some researchers include as part of their data a "self-reflexive statement explicating ideological positioning and ideological context." That gives them a foundation with which to approach their research participants and negotiate the meaning(s) of the data with them. Researchers using this analysis technique can address issues of consciousness-raising and resistance with their participants as well.

In addition to guiding the kinds of data I gathered and the way I analyzed it, the critical/feminist paradigm helped me articulate the goals of my research: I hoped to illuminate the parts of the Intergroup Dialogue curriculum incorporation process that help the curriculum retain its integrity, and expose the parts of it that have been compromised in order to meet other political commitments/goals.

Methodological Advantages & Limitations

Advantage: my familiarity with the work of the Dialogue Initiative.

I worked with the Dialogue Initiative from 2011 until 2016. I have written and revised curriculum for both Dialogue courses, HON 140: Intergroup Dialogue on Race & Gender and CC 120: First Year Dialogue Seminar. I developed and implemented training for facilitators of courses, and other staff around the university. I have participated in numerous committees, whether they were formed to address diversity at large, or Dialogue specifically. I participated in the University of Michigan's National Intergroup Dialogue Institute, and know the Dialogue staff at the University of Michigan well enough to call on them for help and guidance with my work. Because I was the most senior graduate student working on Dialogue at UIC, I was able to explain it and lead work with other graduate students, whether that included collaborating to write papers, or facilitate dialogue programs (even outside of the University). I was asked to use my knowledge to help improve other work around campus using Dialogue techniques. Because I know the work well, I can assess others' knowledge of it theoretically and practically. I know the methods and goals of traditional Dialogue programs, and I know what is an adaptation. I know what a "shallow" interpretation of dialogue is (either theoretically or pedagogically), and I know what criticisms come from a place of knowledge. I also know when people are asking too much of dialogue pedagogy and practice. I am aware of its limitations.

Limitation: My familiarity with Dialogue theory and pedagogy. I may have limited the data by omitting interview questions because I assumed I knew the answers already. I did not ask interviewees for timelines of SCEP process – or any process for that matter - because I worked in the Office since 2011 and felt that I knew the chronological order of events. I knew when the revisions of *Through the Lens of Diversity*, the *JADE* document, and the *Mosaic for*

UIC Transformation took place. I was present for consultation and training visits from the University of Michigan's Program on Intergroup Relations staff. I made edits to the HON 140 guidebook, and supported my supervisors' work on the CC 120 SCEP proposal. I am not sure what I would have gained from asking people about their chronological recollection, but I think it showed up in the data anyway. As people talked they made statements like, "I remember when..." Or "I can't remember when, it was so long ago...," and I was able to fill in those gaps. However, not inquiring about the "when" as much as the "how" may have limited the data. Had I done that more often, the results of my triangulation may have been different. I may have been able to notice other discrepancies which could lead to deeper analysis. Or, at the very least, asking more about the time at which things happened may have allowed my interviewees to make more connections with other things that were happening in the various policy processes.

Limitation: Student voices.

I did not interview students who took the courses, and/or who participated in student movements here are the University (and beyond). When I first began to collect interview data, I did not interview students because I was not sure what I wanted to ask them. The questions that I wanted to ask facilitators and administrators about policy and implementation seemed clear and pointed. That was not the case with students. Students (or the perception of them) came up in interviews, and I thought I would use those responses to frame questions for the students. Then the idea of a focus group with students came up, but that did not take place because of time constraints, and because I had already collected more data than I needed to address my research questions. While I think the student voice is incredibly important, particularly when talking about curriculum that has such potential to challenge and politicize students, I think that spending a significant amount of data collection and analysis time on students could have

drastically changed the scope of my research, and moved it away from the theories and values that underlie the Dialogue policy process. I do believe, however, that continuing this line of research with students will be an important part of my future work. They are the people for whom IGD is supposed to support in developing a critical consciousness. Thus they are on the receiving end of the policy, but also transform it (as will be discussed in the findings). Specifically, I think they will be able to speak to the ways they think IGD does, or does not, transform the university space into on that is more just, and more connected to material struggle happening on and off campus.

Chapter 4 - Findings

What theories and values are embedded in the policy text, conversations among

administrators, faculty and staff, and implementation practices of Dialogue Initiative instructors?

Intergroup Dialogue was first conceived of as an intervention, a response to racial strife

on the University of Michigan's campus. Between 1970 and 1987, a series of protests led by

Black students at Michigan called the Black Action Movement (BAM) forced the University's

administration to respond to students' and faculty's legitimate claims of, dismal hiring and

promotion of faculty of color, and police violence and racist provocations made by students. At

the same time as the last BAM protest (BAM III), a new University President was beginning his

tenure at Michigan, and major foundations were offering the University grant money to address

conflict in higher education. Paul, a retired University of Michigan faculty member, and co-

founder of IGD said about the Program's beginnings,

> "I think it starts from a couple of places. One place it starts from is the context of student
> political life here at the University of Michigan. Over the years, Michigan has been the
> scene of sporadic, major, student organizations, protests, movements around minority
> admissions and things of that sort. So, somewhere around the late '80s, there was another
> of our on-and-off major protests that shut the school down, I think it was BAM three by
> that time, Black Action Movement three. And at the same time, a new President was
> named… and a local estate foundation…gave him a million dollars to generate some
> innovations that would deal with student racial protests. Now, I have no idea what the
> foundation had in mind, but we also at that time, a group of people I worked with, had a
> major grant from the [Hewlett] Foundation on dealing with conflict. And primarily conflict
> in higher education, but nevertheless conflict. And our concern in that program was not
> how to reduce conflict, but how to use conflict as a leader for social change. So, three things
> came together: Major student mobilization in protest, a large Research in Action multi-
> [interaction] grant we had here to look at conditions of conflict and the way they could be
> used to create reform, and the ascension of a new President and new grants of money to
> deal with racial issues. And so, together with a colleague, we wrote a proposal to the
> President to create inter-group, inter-racial dialogues. And we got money, and we matched
> it with some of the money we had in our [Hewlett] foundation grant, and began to
> experiment with a semester-long, academically credited, intense dialogue" (2015)

IGD at Michigan began as a response to student protest that drew upon racial struggle happening around the US at the time. But IGD was also started in the university by White faculty and high-level administrators with power and money. We should remember that the University of Michigan, like the University of Illinois at Chicago, is a public university, an arm of the state. Moreover, it is a storied institution that attracts and produces lots of influence. So while the purpose of Intergroup Dialogue was to respond thoughtfully to social movements of the time and take some part in furthering them, IGD was also primed to be incorporated into the university. The Program on Intergroup Relations has been funded and housed at Michigan ever since its inception nearly 30 years ago.

What values held by those who create and implement dialogue at UIC make it a palliative to the aims of the neoliberal university? What values make it transformational? In UICs written, public policy documents on diversity, we see a discourse of neoliberal multiculturalism, which is most evident as the documents attempt to sidestep race while promoting diversity. As will be discussed, there are also instances of liberal multiculturalism in the official documents, and in the rhetoric of the interviewees at the highest levels of administration. Any attempt – either through policy, or through the curriculum – to make the diversity/IGD policy process one that promotes material antiracism is placed outside of the official policy, whether it is virtually erased from the policy through revision, or allowed to exist in the curriculum in places not surveilled by the most powerful at the university. Dialogue Initiative instructors are most responsible for naming and creating this "break" from policy where the dialogue curriculum is concerned.

This break, which is evident in the ways that instructors especially interpret the values of diversity, social justice and relationship with the City of Chicago, supports Ferguson's claim that different sites of the inter disciplines can be different places for articulating minority difference.

Value: Paternalism

In the case of UIC, the Dialogue Initiative did not grow out of student protest. In fact,

Intergroup Dialogue at UIC as a concept comes from the highest levels of administration. It was

not presented as a choice to faculty. High administrators from UIC visited the University of

Michigan's Program on Intergroup Relations, which had been doing intergroup dialogue among

students for over 25 years. There, UICs representatives learned about the program and came back

to UIC to propose it to other powerful administrators, including the Provost and Chancellor.

Mary, a Dean, recalls going to the University of Michigan for the first time to learn about

Dialogue with her colleague,

> "…we stood for over an hour just talking about what we were experiencing and what we were feeling. And we both realized that it was a very powerful experience for us. And that we wanted to do everything we could do when we got back to campus to convince senior leaders here that this IGD initiative would be a really, positive…sort of the missing piece. Sort of what we had been talking about with the diversity strategic thinking and planning. But, you know, this was actually an experiential kind of activity that I thought if we did it right could really be transformational on our campus" (2015)

She later says,

> "I feel like when we presented both to the provost groups and to the vice chancellor group that what we had to say was received very well…And I think other people very quickly saw the sense of it all, you know. I mean, what was there to argue about, you know?" (2015)

Except, there was much to be argued about. Although Mary saw right away the potential of IGD

to leverage the structural (i.e. racial and ethnic) diversity of the student body, her colleague

Marvin thought that Dialogue would be useful in another way. He says,

> "But the one thing I did know from working in my position here; and I worked for the President's office for years, is that one of the dialogues that I thought needed to take place first and foremost was between academic affairs and student affairs….at the very highest levels, I saw a role for dialogue" (2016).

That did not happen. In 2011, then- UIC Chancellor Paul Allen-Meares sent an official

message to staff announcing a key development in the diversity planning process: the

establishment of the UIC Office of Diversity and chief diversity officer position. In addition to

the Office, she highlighted three other initiatives that would promote "diversity at UIC and our

commitment to excellence and success" (Allen-Meares, 2011): the start of the Chancellor's

Diversity Cluster Initiative in faculty hiring and retention, the development of a lecture series on

diversity, and the Intergroup Dialogue initiative for first-year students. About IGD, she wrote,

> "The … initiative is to provide all students with an experience in the principles of Intergroup Dialogue (IGD)….A task force has been designated to consider the implementation of a full IGD curriculum and the coordination of IGD programming efforts on campus. In order to assure all students have an introduction to IGD principles as freshmen, the task force is currently working on the general guidelines and learning outcomes for a freshman seminar introducing our students to the principles of IGD" (2011).

What *did* happen is powerful administrators passed the task of developing IGD on to people

[Office of Diversity and Student Affairs staff members with less power] who would make it and

create it, write the curriculum and teach, bringing dialogue to undergraduate students at UIC.

Staff, however, would still have to submit their curriculum to a vetting process (controlled by

faculty on the various policy committees) to have the class adopted by the colleges. Not all the

faculty committees in each of the colleges approved the courses. Thus, IGD courses only run in 3

colleges, and are a requirement for only a few hundred incoming students each year (George,

2016; Alex, 2015).

It is important to note that the three colleges that house Dialogue courses are: the College

of Architecture, Design and the Arts, which is the only college to make the CC 120: First-Year

Dialogue Seminar a requirement for all of its incoming students; the Honors College, which

housed the first dialogue pilot course, HON 140: Dialogue on Race & Gender in 2009 and has

run it almost every year since; and the College of Pharmacy, which houses a dialogue course for

professional students that is focused on health disparities. The first-year course, CC 120, is an

eight-week, one credit course. This a significant departure from traditional IGD courses, which

usually meet each week for a full semester (approximately 16 weeks) and are co-facilitated by

two trained undergraduate peer-facilitators. Following the Chancellor's charge to create a first

year-dialogue course, it was decided by administrators that an eight-week (Leda, 2016), one

credit course taught by one person would be preferable to a full-semester requirement. It was

also decided that a pilot of that course should be developed and rigorously assessed, and that

assessment would be written into a course proposal that would then be submitted to the various

college policy committees (SCEP) for approval (Alex, 2015) (George, 2016) (Leda, 2016). IGD

was not an "easy sell" to other administrators when the prospect of having to participate in it was

real, nor was it to faculty from various colleges around the university. When asked why the

proposal was not approved in some colleges Leda, an administrator who taught the IGD pilot

courses at UIC and co-write the proposal, said,

> "Folks in particular saw this as very foreign to them and really uncomfortable. 'How does that support the curriculum we have in place?' For example, when we tried to get the first-year seminar approved across campus, we absolutely saw that hesitancy and concern that it went…I don't know if I want to say it went too far…'it's taking us off where we need to go and focus in terms of getting these students ready to be a graduate of this particular college or discipline'…So that did happen" (2016).

Kimberly, an administrator and supporter of Dialogue at UIC, recalls her disappointment

with high administrators who were not willing to participate in dialogue themselves. She said,

"…ultimately it started out as pressure, because we were not hiring the way we should…You

know, we weren't doing cluster hires, and of course, we know how that started. And how it
turned out." She continued,

> "… we weren't doing those things that needed to be done. And clearly if we were going to
> be attentive to our mission, we had to be attentive to diversity. And so, very interesting,
> because I think ultimately what most people don't know but I know from being around it,
> is dialogue was not brought here initially for students. It was brought here for
> particularly…faculty and staff. And so, you know, it's like it was brought here to affect
> change at the highest of levels and then was co-opted into... and I hate that word because I
> think it disrespects what dialogue has become which is really important…it crystallized for
> me even more that we were willing to have this conversation about diversity and have this
> conversation at the highest levels about what diversity should mean…but we're also far
> more willing to do that for our students than we were for ourselves. And that's not
> acceptable. It's not fundamentally acceptable" (2016).

Kimberly's statement alludes to the University's ability to take on an initiative that seems
to resonate with the values it promotes, while manipulating that initiative in a way that does not
challenge its already-existing structure. To some, IGD at UIC for students could have seemed to
appear virtually out of thin air. What Kimberly and Marvin tell us is that there were some high
administrators who felt that having their peers discuss issues of identity, power and privilege
amongst themselves would be a valuable task. But their colleagues who disagreed prevailed, and
the initiative was cut down, passed on to staff, then students. Diversity as a value was being
promoted as one that should -and would through the DSTP process – be embraced in every
corner, and at every level, of the university. What we see, however, is a changing of terms upon
which this diversity initiative would be adopted, an act of absorption. Ferguson writes,

> "…state institutions within the United States responded to political pressures of anti-racist
> movements by, in part, adopting policies of absorption…What Omi and Winant refer to as
> "absorption" we might understand as the gestures and routines of archival power. Indeed,
> in its absorptive capacities, the state becomes a sub archive that "documents" past struggles
> and thus achieves power through control of that broad assemblage of documents" known
> as "the student movements.
>
> ….Put plainly, [the academy] would attempt to resolve the contradictions that govern and
> constitute the US nation state... As such, the US academy would become the model of
> archontic power – using assimilating texts to engage the problematic of "e pluribus unum…

…In doing so, US higher education would become the capitol of archival power, training state and economy in its methods of representation and regulation. Rather than the academy losing importance …the American academy and things academic would become the place where enfeebled institutions might make sense of difference, its fortunes, and its disruptions. Things academic would provide a new opportunity for power, one that would allow power to foster an entirely new relation between academy, capital and state. This new relation would revolve around the very question promoted by the U.S. student movements, the question of minority difference – how to understand it, how to negotiate it, how to promote it, and how to regulate it. This question would inspire power to run a new archival errand…

…We might read their theorization of the minority movements of the sixties as an example of "the economistic resource of an archive which capitalizes everything, even that which ruins or radically contests its power. In the sixties and thereafter, the archival propensities of power reached out to new horizons, attempting to archive the presumably unarchivable components of antiracism, feminism and so on. In doing so, power would attempt to invest the radical aims of antiracist and feminist movements of the sixties and seventies with another logic, capitalizing those movements and their ensigns, cataloging them in the very institutions that those movements were contesting. In sum, relations of power would try to make those movements and their demands into its reason for being" (2012).

Though we are somewhat far removed from the student movements of the 1960s, if we understand IGD as an extension of the inter disciplines (African American Studies, Women's & Gender Studies, Latino Studies, Asian American Studies, Ethnic Studies), and the incorporation of the inter disciplines into the academy as a result of the student movements, we could see how implementing IGD at the level of university administrators might put pressure on those individuals to examine issues of race, gender, power and oppression in their lives and at the university. Rather than succumbing to that pressure, the power structure at the university could absorb IGD in a way that made it less of a threat to its existence.

The University -as an archival power -could treat IGD as a "document." By archiving IGD as one "assimilating text" (changing its length, its structure, regulating who experiences the pedagogy and how) it could attempt to resolve the contradictions that come with presenting diversity as a value while not really creating just environments for the groups that "diversity"

encompasses. In carrying out this archival task, the University follows a template laid out decades ago for how relations of power should "deal" with difference.

What is also important to note here is the way in which archival power is described as extending to "capitalize everything," even that which seemed previously to be out of reach, and/or that directly contradicted its power. Part of the "archival errand" that power would run would be to infuse the logic of antiracism with a different one, perhaps the logic of neoliberalism, so that it could be capitalized. In the sections that follow, the data will illustrate the ways that diversity as an image enhancer and branding tool became UICs "reason for being," as Dialogue Initiative instructors understood diversity as depoliticized concept that had did not guide the social justice education courses they taught.

Values: Diversity & Social Justice

Diversity and social justice are values that underlie the IGD policy and implementation process.

At the level of written policy, we see contestation: an ahistorical justification for -and de-politicized definition of diversity that exclude race, and - although there is a sense that diversity should be a "transformational" force in the institution - we see a lack of institutional will to make it so. As I will outline in the following section, this lack of institutional will is countered by those who believe diversity should be linked to history and justice, and attempt to write it into the public policy documents and IGD curriculum.

Ahistorical justification and de-politicization of diversity. It is not surprising that diversity would be a value that underlies the IGD policy process at UIC. Intergroup dialogue was promoted as one of the first university-wide diversity initiatives that UIC would take on when

the DSTP process began. The University's Diversity Strategic Thinking & Planning document

Mosaic for UIC Transformation declares Intergroup Dialogue an important part of undergraduate

education. It states, "UIC will integrate conversations about student diversity into first-year

student courses and activities such as Intergroup Dialogue, UIC Experience, and freshman

seminars" (Committee D. S., 2012). Fittingly, when faculty, administrators, staff and students

from around the university gathered to begin the DSTP process, they felt it necessary to define

diversity. About this process, Mary says,

> "I remember there were endless discussions about the definition of diversity and, you know, there was little agreement about how diversity should be defined here and there were various camps, and you know, I don't recall the specific definition that actually ended up being in the document, but I felt that it was a very benign, watered-down kind of general sort of...I just remember feeling like it was a very compromised understanding that didn't really very well represent all the various opinions that were presented. And I just remember that, you know, those were some of the liveliest discussions when there was discussion about [laughs] what was the definition" (2015).

Those lively discussions led to the following definition in *Through the Lens of Diversity,*

> "Diversity has many meanings. Our committee has adopted a working definition that reflects UICs firm commitment to inclusion, access and equity by encompassing groups that have been historically, under-represented, excluded, marginalized, or otherwise discriminated against in higher education. We borrow from the College of Education in defining diversity as the totality of the ways that people are similar and different, including race, ethnicity, class, gender and sexual orientation and identity, disability, national original and citizenship status, age, language, culture, religion and economic status, particularly when those similarities and differences are used as a basis for unfair advantage and inequity" (2011)

Directly following this paragraph, but in much smaller letters, the statement continues,

> "We acknowledge that all forms of difference do not have the same valence and that the mere occurrence of diversity in a population does not achieve justice and equity. Therefore, UIC must seek to rectify institutional and individual forms of bias, overt and subtly more embedded that are based on similarities or differences among people" (2011).

And even smaller still,

> "We further acknowledge that similarities and differences may be used to mask the complexity of diversity: when one defines a group simply by gender or race, for example, it is a grave error to assume that all members of that group share every other possible

characteristic. It is crucial to remember that is diversity within groups of people as well as among groups of people. Identities like gender and sexuality intersect with other identities like race, ethnicity, disabilities and class. Diversity calls upon us to break out of our silos and segmented perspectives, seeing the many aspects of identity we recognize in ourselves but might tend to overlook in others" (2011).

This definition relies heavily on the representation of social groups in the university. It reasons that historically, there are groups that have been kept out or pushed out of institutions of higher education, so a university committed to diversity must allow people from those groups to enter. Following this definition, a *just* university must make sure that once those who were previously denied are given access, they must be made to feel included, and treated fairly, so that they might achieve the same educational outcomes as their mainstream peers. The last paragraph makes a nod to the pitfalls of stereotyping, and gives segregation and euphemistic spin, making it seem as if the inability of some people to see other people as complex human beings is merely a matter of individual perception and not lifetimes of socialization in oppressive societies.

Directly following this definition in the *Lens* is a short section titled, "Why is diversity important?" The paragraph following states,

"There are external and internal reasons. First, there has been a steady challenge to diversity efforts at universities across the country over the past decade, in the form of lawsuits by special interest groups targeting Affirmative Action programs. These Affirmative Action programs, while never flawless, were important door openers for hundreds of thousands of people from previously excluded groups. The erosion and dilution of these programs at many institutions demands that those who hold the principles of inclusion dear step up and reaffirm our commitment, and back up that commitment with action. Second, with progress in some areas, some have suggested that racism, sexism and other forms of systematic discrimination are dead and buried. We wish this were so. However, empirical and anecdotal evidence tells us otherwise. Finally, with budget challenges and structural reorganization at the University of Illinois, we need to be explicit that JADE [Justice, Access, Diversity & Equity] will not be casualty of these changes" (2011).

This last paragraph does not come from the larger DSTP committee, but from the JADE document which was written in response to the first draft of *Through the Lens* and endorsed by members of the Network of Diversity Related Units (NDRU), a group of faculty and staff of

color from the inter-disciplines (LIST) and support programs who serve under-represented students (LIST). As we know, the inter-disciplinary programs were not merely granted to marginalized students who entered the university in large numbers in the 60s and 70s, they were fought for by those students at UIC and around the country. The same is true of the support programs. The *JADE* document describes itself as "a continuation of the decades-long effort begun in the 1970s to advance the principles of diversity, equity, access and justice at UIC and to thereby help us realize our mission as a truly public university" (Units, 2011).

The *JADE* paragraph reminds the reader that diversity is important because there was a time, in the not-so-distant past, when many of the groups listed in the definition of diversity would have been completely locked out of the university, as they were many other social, political and economic institutions. And in the present, members of those groups may have relatively more access, but that does not translate to a dismantling of oppressive structures. Affirmative Action in higher education, primarily fought for on the basis of race and ethnicity (though many groups benefitted from it), *is* currently being dismantled, resulting in stagnant and declining admission and retention of Black students (Chicago, 2017). Therefore, it is important to commit to diversity because justice - in this vision - requires action that supports the gains that were fought for and won by marginalized groups. It requires action that does not further entrench the university in racism that prevents people from receiving an education that is their right. The *JADE* paragraph also clearly names the economic restructuring that requires many, but namely those who already have limited resources (like students, staff and faculty of color at a state institution still recovering from the Great Recession) to do more with less.

In the same section, we read the following,

> "The principles supporting greater diversity and equity respond to an historical context in which many institutions of our society for far too long actively excluded, discriminated against, or minimalized and devalued the contributions of people identified as belonging to certain groups. If discrimination and injustice had not existed and did not persist, active diversity initiatives would not be necessary" (2011).

And then,

> '…[We] cannot meaningfully address diversity without talking about White privilege. This can be the hardest part to recognize and address, as it is the most ingrained in our society, but it is by far the most important. No other racial group will be able to have an equal voice until White people let go of our over-privilege. I say this bluntly and with great significance for myself, UIC, and our world.
>
>
> This document and the diversity strategic planning process are meant to push the conversation. We must continue to move beyond lip service, toward productive conversation and action" (2011).

While the statement about White privilege does not capture that agency that non-White people

have had and continue to have while living under White supremacy, it is important to point out

that a statement acknowledging the presence and persistence of White supremacy was, at one

point, written into an official, published university policy document.

When reading the *Mosaic for UIC Transformation* (the DSTP document that followed the

Lens), however, the *JADE*-authored paragraph, and much of what followed it, does not appear.

Here is what does,

> "While the pursuit of diversity at UIC follows a path established by law, it also can lead us to create new models as we advocate for equity, social action, and social justice. For example, *A Mosaic for UIC Transformation* speaks to economic status and access to excellence and success.
>
> Adding socio-economic status to UICs diversity profile does not diminish the importance of race and ethnicity or any other aspect of human identity. Race, ethnicity and other identities historically have intersected with socio-economic status and consequently affected both access and attainment of excellence and success, Thus, the inclusion of socio-economics enriches and helps complete our mosaic. *A Mosaic for UIC Transformation* assembles the many and varied components of diversity into a comprehensive, focused, campus-wide strategic whole" (2012)

The section that follows, "The Right Time for This Plan," states:

"…it is always time to do what is right…although some insist that racism and sexism have come to an end and that the America of today is color- and gender- blind, particularly in public higher education, the need for vigilance remains. Unfortunately, during a period of competing demands, gaps in racial and gender equity widen in our society. This is therefore the right time to reaffirm, renew and clarify our commitment to offer access to excellence and success to those who historically have been denied full participation in higher education" (2012).

Here we see a clear example of the discourse around oppression and historical marginalization shifting in an ahistorical direction: In addition to prefacing the statement with a decontextualized paraphrasing of a quote by Martin Luther King, Jr., affirmative action is not mentioned, rather "a path established by law" is. The institution will be "vigilant" in the face of "gaps in racial equity" by "offering access to excellence and success" to those who have not previously had it. David Harvey, when reviewing Bill Reading's *The University in Ruins*, deconstructs the notion of Excellence as is pertains to the neoliberal university. He writes,

"With devastating skill Readings takes apart the rhetoric of "excellence" with which universities cover the emptiness at their core. Rankings … measure it, and internal budgets focus on it. And the joy of excellence is that we all agree about it. Its invocation "overcomes the problem of the question of value across disciplines, since excellence is the common denominator of good research in all fields," while all manner of multicultural diversities can be accepted as equally excellent.

The trouble is that excellence is meaningless when it comes to key decisions ..."So to say that excellence is a criterion is to say absolutely nothing other than that the committee will not reveal the criteria used to judge applications." Those criteria, it turns out, lie elsewhere. The pursuit of excellence allows the university "to understand itself solely in terms of the structure of corporate administration" (1998)

It is also important to mention that the *Mosaic*-approved paragraph is written in the passive tense. The University of Illinois at Chicago is not at all implicated as in institution that has historically denied groups of people access to the University, yet we know that is the case (Committee D. S., 2011). This document "edit," I believe, does two things at once: it provides

another example of absorption; the pointed language around the material effects of racism in the *JADE* document, and the acknowledgment of White supremacy all but disappears in the second draft, making way for the neoliberal language of "access and excellence." But in its use of the passive tense, it absolves UIC of responsibility for institutional discrimination, just as the text of Supreme Court decisions around affirmative action reimagined the role of universities in maintaining racial hierarchy. Writing about the Court's decision in the University of Texas case, Gerald Torres says, "The major gap in their discussion was the little weight they gave to the prior role of the University in enforcing an overt system of racial segregation. It was as if the past had vanished, and this was merely another case of examining the acceptable deviations from strict neutrality in the distribution of governmental benefits" (Torres, 2015). As an arm of the state, the university is part of the relations of power that "calculate and arrange minority difference," but elude identification. Roderick Ferguson reminds us, "Rather than being embodied in a individual or a group, power – Foucault says – is a set of relations in which "the *logic* is perfectly clear, the *aims* decipherable, and yet it is often the case that no one is there to have invented them, and few who can be said to have formulated them" (2012).

The *JADE* document includes "cautions and concerns." Among them are statements that call upon the university to directly address – and stop deemphasizing "race as a crucial measure of diversity." The documents also pushes for "LARES, UHP, AAAN and other units with diversity -focused missions [to] have funding restored to continue to improve their work on recruitment and support students of color." It says that the University's Minority Impact Statements – statements that describe potential disparities that result from a proposed policy - should be resurrected. Not all of the points that the *JADE* document listed dealt directly with race, but many did. And it obviously focused primarily, if not explicitly, with race when

connecting diversity with affirmative action. The *JADE* document was not listed as UIC-endorsed diversity document, and at the time of this dissertation, it was searchable on the internet, but not posted on the UIC diversity site with the *Mosaic & Lens*. The evidence shows that a statement linking diversity to race, a statement that calls upon the university to direct material resources to programs that support Black, Latinx, Asian-American and Native American students, was placed outside of what is deemed acceptable university discourse on diversity. This placement is in line with the tendency of the university to *absorb*: to promote a value, but manipulate its meaning so as to make it less threatening to the already existing structure. As we will see later, that pattern continues with IGD curriculum.

Lack of will to transform the institution. As Mary, a high-level administrator, mentioned, there were obviously competing definitions for diversity, and what became part of the *Mosaic for UIC Transformation* was not reflective of all the UIC constituents who weighed in. It seems to be reflective of those who hold the most power in the neoliberal structure. Karen, a former faculty member who taught the first full-length dialogue course pilot with Leda in 2009, talked about the difficulty of the DSTP diversity and social justice "definition" process, and the resistance to institutional transformation. This is particularly ironic, as the committee wrote UICs *Mosaic for UIC **Transformation***. Of it, she said,

> "The DSTP process actually, justice was not, it wasn't truly defined and I don't think it was necessarily represented as much as your heard diversity... We have the camps that were aware that this thing must lead somewhere, you just don't wanna be aware of this diversity, multiculturalism, you know it's about the institutional change, structural change, commitment, those things... every time it got there it was very uneasy.
>
> So you could be this very diverse aware, culturally proficient, very much in terms of social justice individual, but the institution is not even there with you...So there were individuals like you would probably consider yourself that way, but in an institution we don't move that far, managing both processes were difficult. When issues of justice came to, rubber meeting the road or putting the money where your mouth is you could feel the push back,

you could feel the sense of 'we want to be personally aware, we want to be personally transformed, we're definitely buying into this stuff,' but the institutional transformation, what does it mean for places we work in…? That was hard for people because you have to give something up" (2016).

There is a sense that some people within the institution, who were a part of the DSTP process at the level that gave them the power to shape written policy, understood the process as one that could transform the university. But the will to transform the university did not prevail over the will to stop at personal transformation, if that. This helps us better understand why we see what Mary calls "benign" statements in the final, public versions of the DSTP documents. But these statements may be more purposeful. The DSTP definition of diversity was written into the curriculum for CC 120. It was included in the piloted version of the course, the one that would have the most rigorous assessment of any course, and have the most eyes on it from administrators and faculty. Instructors were told to state the following in the first CC 120 class session,

"Explain to students that as this seminar progresses, students (and the facilitator) will learn more about what they share and what makes them different. This course as designed with the goal of bringing students together to learn about and from commonality and difference. It is a new, exciting addition to first year courses at UIC, and it will be beneficial to everyone who fully participates...

Here at UIC, diversity is defined as "…the totality of the ways that people are similar and different – including race, ethnicity, class, gender, sexual orientation, and identity, disability, national origin and citizenship status, age, language, culture, religion, and economic status…" (University of Illinois, 2012). Having a course like this allows us to learn not only what those differences and similarities are, but how to understand them more fully, and talk about them constructively" (Initiative, CC 120: First Year Dialogue Seminar, 2012).

In addition to being didactic to the point of monotony, the statement normalizes the separation of representational diversity from the redistribution of power and resources that the *JADE* document advocates. In her discussion of the official anti-racisms that surfaced after World War II (of which neoliberal multiculturalism is one), Jodi Melamed says,

"The most important feature of US racial formation after the racial break has been the productivity of antiracist knowledges for (and as) normative modes of power…From a critical race studies perspective…the shift away from white supremacy toward antiracism has enabled liberal modes of instituting power to expand and intensify as putatively antiracist social norms have started more domains of social life…Tropes such as *race reform*, *racial progress, racial integration, ending racism, bringing in excluded voices,* and *living in a post racial* society have become the touchstone racial projects that recalibrate state apparatuses, expand the normative reach of power, and implant norms during the performative constitution of human subjectivities…Thus liberal anti-racisms, which institutionally validate some forms of difference and make others illegible, have exerted their strongest influence in a viral fashion through the knowledge systems of liberal capitalist modernity" (2011).

But this statement does not stay in the curriculum. Though it is written in to the pilot, later versions do not include UIC's definition of diversity, or mention the DSTP process and official documents. Alex manages the relationship between the UIC Dialogue Initiative and the colleges that hold the IGD courses. He is also an instructor of Dialogue Initiative courses. About diversity, the courses and policy, he says,

"Diversity, I think, it's been thrown around so much over the last how many years that it's lost its meaning and, like I said, it's de-politicized. It doesn't acknowledge the structural…differences and advantages that are there…Not just seeing that people are different, but understanding those differences…. If they mean something in terms of a power differential then that's something we can actually work against and interrogate…

"I honestly don't think that the policy and the course are necessarily connected in terms of practice. I think over the years the course has evolved…When we first started there was this political piece to it that we had to get done seemed to validate our work as a practice of policy. We had students read the *Mosaic* and either none of them did or they did and they're like 'I don't know what this means…Policy is useful, but it's not necessarily relevant to the students as it's worded" (2015).

Removing the didactic diversity statement marks a separation between the policy that was crafted mostly by those with power in the university and what takes place in dialogue classrooms. The removal of the statement was an acknowledgement of the limitations of the documents' usefulness and power. But, even with that part of the curriculum removed, instructors feel that the course itself does help students conceptualize diversity in a more full way. Julia, a dialogue course instructor, says,

 "I think yes. I think that the courses are advancing [the] definition [of diversity], but getting people to think critically about what these words mean. So we can say diversity, but what does that mean? We can say equitable access, all those things, but what does that mean for me? What does that mean for my peers? For this community? I think that our course does get folks to think about that" (2015).

Another DI course instructor, Courtney's thoughts align. She says,

 "We're also looking at the "why" of why it's like that, the power dynamics of stuff like that, which I think... when it gets interpreted into a real life thing, that part often is too scary for people to carry over…Yeah, cause when I think about just the very superficial, like, what type of diversity day, potluck thing... like no one's talking about power. "Oh, these empanadas have so much colonialism [Interviewer laughs]" (2016).

Leveraging diversity for educational benefit. Diversity is also touted as a value by those who see an opportunity to leverage the structural diversity of UICs student body for its educational benefits. IGDs developers did not make the argument that diversity was important to universities because a historical wrong (race-based discrimination) had to be righted. They made the argument that diversity is important because the world is changing (i.e. the number of non-White people in the United States is increasing, and predominately White educational institutions are becoming less so). Therefore, universities should offer curriculum that encourages students to engage with difference because 1) students must learn to engage with people who do not share their racial and ethnic backgrounds on campus and in the social world beyond the university and 2) education around diversity provides an educational benefit for all students.

But the prominent University of Michigan psychologist and co-founder of the program on Intergroup Relations Patricia Gurin did use research from the multiversity study on Intergroup Dialogue to make an argument in favor of affirmative action. She was an expert witness in the landmark supreme court cases on affirmative action in the early 2000s. Her testimony hinged upon the ability of diversity to be educative. For it to be so, there had to be a diverse student body upon which diversity education courses like IGD could draw. Of course, in order for a

student body to be diverse, a diverse group of students would need to be admitted and retained, and affirmative action would ensure that.   That argument is markedly different, however, than an argument for affirmative action as a redistribution of resources and power, a kind of racial justice to counter generations of injustice.

Marvin, a high-level administrator and former Associate Vice Provost, recalls being intrigued by Pat Gurin's research on IGD. He says,

> "… I was very much impressed with the work of Pat Gurin, because again my sense of her was that she was very, very pragmatic…she was actually a scholar and probably a scholar first and an activist second. So it was a matter of applied scholarship toward a particular social goal. Ok? It wasn't necessarily saying that this is going to solve everything …. So that's what it was for me" (2016).

What is the significance of Marvin understanding Patricia Gurin as a scholar first and an activist second? Remember, as Marvin and Mary were learning about dialogue at Michigan, and figuring out how to describe it to their colleagues back at UIC, people from various parts of campus were trying to decide how to define diversity and social justice for the university and articulate their value. Karen's earlier quote about resistance to institutional transition lets us know that there was push-back around linking diversity to change, and even a brief genealogy of the DSTP documents show us that there was an effort to separate discussion of racial justice from the mainstream diversity discourse (Committee D. S., 2012). As the debates around how UIC would define diversity and social justice were happening, here was presented an intervention that was primarily about capitalizing on the racial and ethnic diversity of the student body, without directly advocating for policy that would continue to ensure that structural diversity. By incorporating IGD into the university and making it a part of the DSTP, UIC could take advantage of the curriculum's benefits without directly addressing racial injustice.

The *Mosaic* states,

> "UIC will require entering students to learn about bias and living with difference…Representational diversity is a resource that must be willingly and intentionally drawn on to be appreciated and ultimately produce new outcomes. Representational diversity is but a first step in a spectrum of efforts to get the benefits of diversity by incorporating them into living teaching learning, public research…" (Committee D. S., 2012)

Representational diversity, then, is needed so the university can use it for knowledge production.

But UIC already believed it had achieved that kind of diversity among its student body, so there

was no need to advocate for representational/structural diversity as a kind of redistribution.

Kimberly says,

> "I thought [IGD] was an excellent idea, partly because it allowed you to think about 'how do you leverage diversity, right?' So, you know, there's these layers to diversity, there's the structural aspect which is about what is the numerical numbers in a particular context, and then there's the dimension around interactional institutional diversity that says, counting the bodies isn't enough. There has to, if we're talking about the educational benefit of diversity, there has to be these other layers. There has to be curricular and co-curricular opportunities in experiences that engage diversity, and I saw a dialogue as a vehicle for doing that. So, I was excited when I heard about it" (2016).

What is of note here is the way in which a conversation about diversity becomes a conversation

about the racial and ethnic diversity UIC *already* has (but is not doing a great job of maintaining

when it comes to marginalized groups) (Chicago, 2017). Praising the benefits of interactional

diversity for the whole educational community obscures the fact that representational diversity

has not led to equity. James, a diversity administrator at the highest levels of the university says,

> "we got new leadership at the system level and we began going through a campus-wide, system-wide strategic planning process--and I think as part of those conversations, people thought, oh, we need to think about diversity differently... And I just remember the two things that strike me about that, my earlier time here, leadership would say things like, "Oh, UIC's very diverse, there's no racial majority in the institution." And this was kind of a throw away term that people would give and I would always ask, 'what does that mean?', and nobody really had an answer" (2016)

James continues,

> And I think what it was really tied to was a sense that there was no racial majority and so we really didn't necessarily need to be catering to any specific groups. I think that was the

rhetorical agenda behind saying that. Not everyone who used that, but many people. But I didn't get, what it spoke to for me was just the emptiness of a commitment to diversity because you could just have this throw away comment and everyone would say, "Oh, yeah, there's no racial majority." But the truth is, is that there was a racial majority when you looked at the faculty, when you looked at the senior leadership of the campus and the racial majority was White, right, and that's still the case today. So, Whites were not a racial majority in the student body in that period and that's kind of what, I think, was meant by it, but I don't think it had any meaning.

I think what that essentially meant for me was, often times I just got basically tired of the conversations because there was a lot of talk about it, there was a lot of bringing faculty in the conversations about diversity, but there wasn't real action about what to do or what could be done. And I remember a very specific moment annually, and they still do this, they would bring together minority faculty for something called the 'unrepresented minority meeting.' It was a meeting that essentially...it used to be...they'd bring Black faculty together separately from Latino faculty and then at some point they started bringing them together. But this was a meeting where we were in and what would be reported at this meeting was the number of minority faculty that were here, whether or not it had gone up or down from the previous year, how many faculty had left, what were their explanations for why they left and how many had outside offers that either received a counter offer or didn't receive a counter offer.

And as part of one of those conversations, I recall saying, 'look, you know, I was tired of coming to these meetings because all we do is we look at the numbers, the numbers are always low, and we lament them and everyone says, beats them self-up and say, "Oh, isn't this so low, we need to do better." But then, we'd say that and the next year the same conversation would happen" (2016).

The fact that the UIC student body was racially and ethnically diverse was used as a way to

sidestep issues around racial parity in other areas of the university. But those involved with IGD

as the most intimate levels are not sidestepping race. The strongest piece of evidence to support

that claim is the focus of the full length-dialogue course, HON 140: Intergroup Dialogue in Race

& Gender. It is primarily about race, and its intersections with gender. Students spend time

locating themselves within racial groups and gender groups, and understanding how those

social identity groups are positioned in relation to others. They learn about the impact that

identification with those social identity groups has on their relationships with others within and

outside of their own groups. The instructors themselves clearly describe the focus of their

classes. Shannon teaches CC 120, the first-year dialogue, which is meant to focus on several

different social identity groups (race, ethnicity, gender, class, age, citizenship/national origin,

religion, sexual orientation, dis/ability, tribal/indigenous affiliation and body size. But she says,

> "I think as we try to talk about all identities, it's laser focused on race and ethnicity. Race and ethnicity is just very salient. Maybe a little bit of class diversity in terms of kids coming from different suburbs or cities so that was it…that's what kept coming up … was race, ethnicity and maybe a little bit of class…When people would say to me 'what do you teach?' Race and x,y,z. Everything was always behind that which I don't think is necessarily a bad thing. That's where we are in our world. Race is very important" (2016).

Bill, a co-founder of the Program on Intergroup Relations, talked about what he understood to be

the core of the Program at its founding. He said,

> "I'm not particularly interested in these sort of theoretical discussions about what diversity is, I'm willing to say, you know yes, this diversity political view… this is. but what our program focuses on is identity - is race. And I do think that race is the central American problem and that's not to the exclusion of other things, but I think racism is really the heart of the dilemma. So we understood racism, we understood other identity related inequities; sexism, heterosexism, [religion]… In fact, we named eight identities we're most interested in" (2015).

And, in contrast to the ways that race and social justice are made less explicit in UICs official

diversity documents, he notes,

> "…the label social justice is sometimes a hot button and some people hear that as having some very partisan political agenda. And my position, and I don't know that we've explicitly discussed this in the program but my guess is most people would agree with it…My position is that the goal of justice and equity is not controversial, it's the American value and it's clear that we have not achieved that, as pretty often we've done pretty horrific things in that regard, as well as some very positive things. But you don't have to justify social equality as a goal. So I feel very comfortable in saying explicitly that we're a program about social justice education" (2015).

It seems that at different levels of the policy process, understandings of diversity, social justice

and connection to race are different. And those differences lead to distinct and opposing

outcomes: public, official UIC policy documents on diversity – and administrators themselves,

stress that diversity is important because it provides an educational benefit, never explicitly

stating what kind of diversity might provide this benefit, or what kind of action must be taken in

order to create and maintain the structural diversity that would make interactional educative

diversity possible. When race is mentioned, it is mostly to remind people that UIC already has a

racially diverse student body, not that any specific group or groups of people are not

experiencing equity at the university.

At the level of instructors, who have the power to shape what goes on in the classroom

and connect with students, diversity is politicized, it is historicized, and race is explicitly

addressed. And just as the *JADE* document, which named racism and linked diversity to justice,

was set outside of the official policy documents on diversity, so are some parts of the IGD

curriculum. The dialogue course on race and gender is only taught in the Honors College,

meaning that it can only be accessed by a small portion of students. It is not the version of

dialogue that was incorporated into the official UIC diversity policy process. That is CC 120,

which is shorter in length and was closely surveilled and evaluated by those in the university

with significant power.

For some administrators with the power to shape how the Dialogue Initiative is

implemented, the value of diversity – and the Initiative - are their branding power, which has

more to do with the university's neoliberal goals than it does actual access, inclusion, equity or

justice. Kimberly talked about first learning about the Dialogue Initiative from high

administrators. She says,

> "I was told about it from both the Provost and the Chancellor and I think both of them
> really talked about it as saying, you know, it's really, you know, Diversity 2.0. You know,
> Diversity 1.0 is really saying, okay you have enough of X and Y here, is it actually being
> leveraged in your learning environment in meaningful ways that expands people's horizons
> and perspectives? So, I saw dialogue as a real opportunity to kind of take leadership on
> that larger, national question about what is the educational benefit of diversity…I didn't

know all of the details but I knew that it, it was one of the things that I was familiar with when I interviewed that sort of said, okay, they're being serious about it because they're saying this is going to be something that's required of all entering students, right, as a way to help them build their skill-set around communicating across difference" (2016).

There are two points to note here. First, Kimberly talks about "having enough of X and Y here," which is something we have heard before. There is a sense that structural diversity has already been achieved in some groups. It begs the question, "Which groups?", and the answer harkens back to James' experience of hearing several university administrators remark that UIC has no racial majority among the student body, a statement that obscured the fact that racial majorities do exist among the faculty, administration, staff, and among departments and colleges, aggregately. Second, Kimberly's statement directs our gaze to a focal point of the university's most powerful administrators: the potential of UIC to become a national, institutional leader on the educational benefits of diversity. This attention to diversity as an image enhancer shifts the discourse around diversity and dialogue from justice to marketing and branding, a core feature of the neoliberal university.

Opening the *Mosaic for UIC Transformation* is a letter from then chancellor Paula Allen Meares. She writes, "*A Mosaic for UIC Transformation* embraces our vision of a campus where each individual member through academic excellence realizes her or his full capacity for creativity, innovation, and service." It includes, as her email to the campus did, an announcement of the establishment of UICs Office of Diversity, the launching of the Chancellor's Lecture & Event series around diversity, and the pilot of a dialogue course for first-year students. She closes the letter by writing, "I am confident that the plan and its many contributors will sustain our role as national leader in diversity" (2012). The letter sets the tone for the plan, and the plan states several times that fulfillment of each of the plan's goals with either establish or maintain

UICs position as a leader in diversity. The last goal of the plan, Goal #7, reads, "UIC will be a leader in higher education through application and dissemination of knowledge gained from experience, scholarship, and innovative approaches to diversity" (2012). The course proposal document for CC 120 falls in line with this, stating "The UIC First-Year Dialogue Seminar was created to serve as a foundational course supporting the goal of infusing diversity into "UICs human capital, research and scholarship" (Matthews, 2012) (2013).

According to the logic of the *Mosaic*, embracing diversity at every level and in every location at the university will solidify diversity as a core value of UIC. For Marvin, there is an important connection between diversity as a core value of the institution, what the university teaches, and how the institution is understood by those outside of it. He explains,

> "…Michigan had to define what it meant to be a Michigan graduate, to justify their admissions policy. In other words, they had to step back and say, ok what does it mean to then to leave Michigan? What is it that is specific about a Michigan graduate that our admissions policy, our affirmative action policy contributes to? And absent that identity that we're trying to produce, if we didn't have that, then these admissions policies we have really don't have anything behind them. So from my perspective it had nothing to do with admissions here. If we're gonna talk about diversity at UIC, what does it mean in terms of, what does it mean to leave UIC?

> …Every undergraduate student in America has a sequence of writing courses. Whether it's called Composition or Rhetoric or Freshmen Writing…the question is, why?...it says to be an educated person…this is a skill set that was identified at the beginning of the twentieth century that an educated person needed. Similarly, the case I was trying to make in terms of intergroup dialogue, can a similar case be made in twenty first century given globalization and what have you? What is a skill everybody needs? Everybody needs to consider themselves educated in a global sense, ok?...And that skill could be part of the infrastructure, the structure of the identity of a UIC graduate. The one thing you would be able to say, if you left UIC, 'You could do this.' And the campus could be known as a place where the graduate had this…" (2016).

Indeed, the course proposal document for CC 120 states, "These skills will define the UIC graduate as successful in the ability to communicate, live and work together in diverse groups on campus and beyond" (2012; 2013). Marvin continues,

"…So dialogue can only be a tool; I think in some people's minds that might be utilized to bring about social justice. And that's different than what I'm talking about…I am trying to suggest that the tool of inter group dialogue is a tool of the twenty-first century which stands alone from social justice. Do you see what I'm saying? In other words, getting back to composition. You could learn to write and write like Martin Luther King or write a comic book. You do whatever. But you need to do it" (2016).

Here, as we've seen before, dialogue is separated from justice. But what it is connected to is an image of UIC that hinges upon students being able to navigate a globalized society. Marvin is rearticulating IGD as a tool with which every student should be equipped in order to navigate a globalized society. As he does this he acts, on the part of the university, as an absorptive force, absorbing IGD into the neoliberal multicultural agenda of the university. Kimberly performs the same task; she also talks about dialogue as a core skill of UIC students, staff and administrators. She believes that there should be a way to distinguish those who master that skill. She says, "It's foundational. And so we have to prioritize that … And we do it in different ways.... like I would love for people to actually become dialogue certified, so you become a dialogue certified person." For Kimberly and Marvin, dialogue should be a part of what it means to come from UIC. Dialogue would be incorporated into the university in a way that linked it to a globalized idea of diversity that could be legitimized and regulated.

Instructors' "break" with policy. When talking to those who develop the curriculum and teach, however, their definitions of a successful dialogue were different. Not one of them even said that they endorsed the idea of making a dialogue a requirement. What is more, they were leery of what happens to the understanding of diversity when dialogue becomes a campus-wide initiative. Alex, who wants to create higher level dialogue courses so students can delve deeper into the content and focus more on the link between dialogue and justice-orientated action (and who says nothing about certification) explains,

"So from my perspective, this idea of success and growth … it comes …from talking to facilitators. It comes from talking to people who do this work. A lot of it is about students. We finished the class, and they're really interested in doing more. I'm like, there's nothing more. I'm sorry. From a campus-wide administrator perspective, it almost seems like they want to pay homage to doing this kind of great diversity and social justice work… It seems like we want to pat ourselves on the back for doing this work, but then nobody actually wants to continue to do it" (2015)

Courtney says, "I think when [diversity] gets interpreted…or it turns into an initiative, or something like that, that the part of it that's missing is the... people who are historically advantaged, like, our part of that" (2016).

What is our part, exactly? While upper administration embraces dialogue for its ability to provide learning opportunities without challenging oppressive structures, instructors seize the opportunity to change the dialogue curriculum that is less surveilled, and use it in a way that has the potential to interrupt structures, namely the structure in which students are already operating.

While it would be a gross overstatement, as we have heard, to say that UIC has achieved some kind of racial equity, it is true that the undergraduate student body includes many students of color, many immigrant students, many undocumented students, many working class students and many first-generation college students (Chicago, 2017). But a result of that access is the adoption of the idea by some of these students from marginalized groups that, as the DSTP document stated "racism and sexism are dead and buried. That is not the case" (Committee D. S., 2011). Students have not pulled this idea out of thin air. They have been socialized in, and are constantly being socialized in – neoliberal spaces that push color-blind, meritocratic ideology on them. IGD curriculum has included a section on affirmative action as a part of its race dialogues since its inception. At UIC, the HON 140 instructors responded to the worldview with which students were entering the classroom by building a section on meritocracy into the curriculum.

Students prepare for the section by reading Michael Omi's "Racial identity and the state: The dilemmas of classification" and excerpts from *The Twilight of the Elites* by Chris Hayes. Once in class, they unpack the concepts race and ethnicity together. At this point in the term, the HON 140 IGD students have already learned that race and ethnicity are socially constructed, but after having read the article, they can talk more about who has the power to determine who belongs to certain racial and ethnic categories, and how those designations impact their material and psychological lives. They discuss racism as a system of subordination, and then connect that to learning about how race impacts schooling. In class, the students watch videos about public school students in America, and the different kinds and amounts of opportunities students are given as a function of race, ethnicity class and geography. They close the unit with a dialogue about their own educational trajectories and how they understand their own race and ethnicity to have impacted them, even as they matriculated at UIC. Some of their discussion questions include:

- o What is social mobility? How does one achieve it?

- o What is merit?

- o Given what we've read and what we've viewed, does all hard work result in the achievement of one's goals? If not, why not? How do you think is this connected to your racial and ethnic group membership (you racial and ethnic identities)?

- o How do our readings and media clips support – or challenge – your own experience? Where did you, or didn't you, see yourself in the readings and videos? How do you think your membership in your racial/ethnic group impact what you have experienced in elementary school, high school and now in college? (2014)

This section is important because the students are encouraged to question some of

the values that they have been bombarded with and think critically about how exactly

they arrived at college and what that means. As it relates to diversity and dialogue at UIC,

the class is helping students think critically about the racially diverse educational space in

which they have found themselves, not simply asking them to celebrate the fact that they

have all made it to college. Those with power are shaping the discourse in a way that

produces a globalized brand of diversity to boost UICs image. Borrowing a quote from

UICs 2010 Strategic Thinking document, the *Mosaic for UIC Transformation* states,

> We seek to be a leading research university and a great urban institution…We believe that for this commitment to be meaningful in the 21st century, it must be both local and global, a commitment not only to Chicago, but to all "Great Cities" – the physical, social, cultural, and intellectual communities that characterize our modern world" (2012) .

While this is happening at the level of high administration however, Dialogue Initiative

instructors are changing the dialogue curriculum to make it responsive to their students and their

context. Josh, an HON 140 instructor, says about his course,

> "In the last five years, from two thousand eleven to twenty fifteen, we've had major social movements. Black Lives Matter, response to police brutality, Say Her Name. All of these movements are happening… I feel that being able to provide those spaces in a college classroom or some type of dialogue setting, whether students realize it or not, it is a good space to have. I'm hesitant to call it a healing space because it's not healing, but we have to figure out spaces where students who are experiencing these marginalizations, these systemic oppressions, can go to a college campus, in this case, and be able to say, "The world is fucked. People are being killed. I'm being pulled over. It is fucked." Being able to provide that space is beneficial… it's gonna be that moment of solidarity, when someone can speak their truth, and someone else can be like, "Yes." And let me be clear. That is already happening on its own on the other universities, because as people of color, you find people that you can vent to. But I just feel that being able to say that in a classroom setting with other people, it's just a relief that I don't think we really allow students to have."

... Ideally, I would love for dialogue to be able to get us into a place where we're healing, but again, dialogue is not happening in a vacuum. When students leave our classrooms, they're still going to completely toxic and fucked up spaces. So to say that dialogue provides a healing spot, I think it's false. It's a stretch. However, talking about our grievances is among the first step or acceptance in part of our journey of grieving, right? … If we're grieving, the systemic oppression that we're feeling, we're gonna go through the stages of grief. And through those stages of grief is understanding that we're fucking pissed, right? I forgot earlier, but it's anger, denial, and then acceptance, right? And I feel that dialogue actually gets us into a place where we're not necessarily healing, but it's moving us in to accept that we live in a world that is racist. We live in a world that is homophobic, right? That is completely sexist. But how are we going to operate as individuals who live in this world? And I think [it all] gives us a space to be like, "You don't have to fix this shit on your own because there are other people who will be with you in solidarity." That's not healing, but it's a damn good place to be so that we're no longer thinking, "It's just me. It must be me. I must have not worked hard enough. …when we get to a place where we realize, "Okay, it's not you, it's the system," it's like fuck, we can breathe" (2015).

Value: Relationship with Chicago

In our interview, instructor Alex posed a rhetorical question to administrators about dialogue. He asked, "Is the focus of this work to get it publicized or is it to do transformational work with our students and our communities?" If you looked to the *Lens* and *Mosaic* to answer that question, you could come away saying, "Both!" The documents certainly talk about UIC having an important role in Chicago – and Chicago having an important role in UIC development – as much it mentions UICs intention to become a leader in diversity. Indeed when it comes to diversity, Marvin says UIC should be showing the city how to actualize racial and ethnic integration. "…UIC should not mirror Chicago. UIC should be the example, which is very different…What I'm actually saying is UIC should go beyond what Chicago is. So far it hasn't. what is has done is mirrored Chicago. We have the same neighborhoods here that are actually in [the city] [laughs]" (2016).

But how that question is answered also depends upon how you define "transformation." When looking at the policy documents, transformation might be a representational one, but it is not necessarily a just one. The Dialogue Initiative courses are at times manipulated, made palliative and incorporated, while the portion of the work that is focused on justice is set outside of what becomes official. The pieces that get "set outside" are mostly where instructors are doing the work of linking dialogue to justice.

In a similar way, the discourse around Chicago creates a relationship with Chicago that is amenable to neoliberal goals of the university. In an early draft of the *Lens* document, there is a section that –at least – acknowledges the ways that UIC has contributed to the displacement of Black and Latino people from neighborhoods around the school. In the *Mosaic*, there is no mention of it. In the *Mosaic*, Goal 5 states, "UIC will engage with diverse communities within Chicago and other great cities as partners and intellectual resources" (Committee D. S., 2012). It includes a vague statement about recognizing diverse communities in Chicago and other places as learning and training resources. When discussing the connection between IGD and Chicago with the DI instructors and some administrators however, there is a yearning on the part of IGD instructors and administrators for a relationship with Chicago that is more just, based on redistribution of resources.

Lori, a staff member and IGD facilitator, recognizes the power of Intergroup Dialogue to push people to a reckoning. She says, "One thing that IGD does…it makes you define who the fuck you are." For her, that kind of reflection could help UIC as an institution understand itself and its relationship to the surrounding communities.

> "and so, if UIC started to do these dialogues across the city, it would then be forced to say who it is and what it is based on what it's been. So it's a transparency about, 'yeah, okay…we know this community looks like this. We do these types of things.' Like that

level of ownership [of displacement], I think, would be helpful. Getting that there's just a lot of continued distrust and lack of resources…" (2016)

Lori perceived that communities outside of UIC, even the ones directly outside of UIC, do not trust the University. That would be with good reason. Mary reminds us -even if the policy documents do not – that UIC has not given many people in the city a reason to trust the university. And she believes that it is UICs job to change that.

> "again we proclaim that we're this urban institution, you know, and that we serve, you know, the city of Chicago and its citizens, right. And so if we're making that kind of proclamation then I feel like we have a responsibility to deliver and I know that, you know, that there are initiatives… I know that there are faculty that are out there working in the communities, you know. I know that we are trying to be a good neighbor and do a lot of things, you know…but most definitely, you know, since … the land was given to us that we sit on [laughs] by the City of Chicago and we uprooted a number of ethnic… communities in taking their land, you know. It feels like we have a sacred responsibility to give back to the communities that we have taken from…" (2015)

What role does dialogue play in that? It is a set of courses and co-curricular activities, not a grantor of admissions or funding. There are many ways in which it cannot distribute material resources, therefore it cannot restore the land that was taken from displaced communities. It cannot invest money in the disinvested surrounding areas. But there does seem to be a way that it can provide resources beyond "access to excellence" or prestige for the university: it can tell a different story than the one the university tells. Instructor Julia says,

> "So I do think that there's this us, them mentality and that 'we can keep you safe here.' … think there's a lot of conversation that I've heard from first year students who are very fearful of certain neighborhoods who have ideas about certain groups of people who reside in certain areas. I don't think that the university does anything to contradict that thinking or to question that line of thinking. If anything, I think they perpetuate that us them mentality... I don't think the university is doing much to squash that shit. I just don't, and I think that that is problematic because then you have groups of people walking away maintaining their biased, skewed understanding of the people that live in the city. If you think about the university's history of displacing people. Just that I think is an example that would call into question this very lovely definition of diversity and inclusive spaces and equitable and all those things. How are you really respecting that when you're instilling fear in your students along the lines of race and class and gender?" (2015)

James says,

> "I mean, I think the reason why dialogue's important to this institution has to partly to do with its location. This is a city that is segregated by social class, segregated by race ethnicity, and while it's slowing becoming less segregated, that's the reality. Our suburbs are segregated, now I'm not even just talking about the city, but our suburbs are segregated. So there are fluent Black suburbs on the south side, poor Black suburbs on the south side, there are poor White suburbs, there are fluent White suburbs on the west and north shore, so I, you know, I think it speaks to the fact that most of the people who end up coming here are students, and even a lot of our colleagues who work here and teach here, they live, unless they live in Oak Park or they live in Evanston or they live in Rogers Park or Edgewater or a couple of other places, they live in segregated spaces. So, the truth is that most people don't know how to communicate across difference. And so, from my vantage point, that's what's so urgent and important about dialogue, is that we are the space where you can have someone who lives less than a mile away from one another and they've never had a communication or they've never been to the other person's community or neighborhood. So, there's lots of, in that kind of segregated space, there's lots of space for people to bubble up and for stereotypes to bubble up, and those stereotypes to become social fact because people are living segregated lives" (2016).

Julia and James point to the way in which UIC has created a discourse around diversity that shapes the university as a place that aspires to be inclusive, but it actually perpetuates division. At the level of faculty and staff, it at least tolerates it, and at the location of the student body, it actively creates it. The data suggests that what the dialogue Initiative can offer is a way to put its participants' experiences at the center, so that as some parts of dialogue are being incorporated in a way that makes it palliative, some part of it remains dedicated to justice. Karen says,

> "UIC has tried maybe, they have representation but in most spots they're still out of it. Right? I think it's big, it's messy, I think it affects the level of students, I think it affects how students understand African Americans, some of whom come from these inner cities, they are in the campus. IGD has the ability … to provide an experience of these African American students that are uncounted to the societal narrative. You know and in that respect it's probably doing some good" (2016).

There are some who are involved with dialogue want there to be some relationship between the Initiative and Chicago, and some even see that as part of dialogue's purpose, to somehow connect the university and the surrounding Chicago communities. That depends on many

factors. Kimberly captures the question well, saying,

> "so when dialogue... when those conversations were happening, you know, at least the ones I was a part of, and the ones that I witnessed, it was really about that... who are we as UIC? …and our commitment to our own city of Chicago, and what is it that we do? And how do we live our truth? How do we do that? And so, like that kind of abstract question is actually exactly on point, because it is that question" (2016),

Chapter 5 - Conclusion

This study asked: What theories and values underlie the Dialogue Initiative (DI) process at UIC?

I attempted to answer that question by interviewing Dialogue Initiative instructors and UIC administrators close to the program, and by analyzing UIC Diversity Strategic Thinking & Planning (DSTP) documents, as well as Dialogue Initiative course approval forms. The data revealed that UICs written, public policy documents on diversity contain and create a discourse of neoliberal multiculturalism, which is most evident as the documents attempt to sidestep race while promoting diversity. Other official antiracist discourses (Melamed, 2011) are present: the rhetoric of liberal multiculturalism appears in the official documents and in the responses of the interviewees at the highest levels of administration. Components of material anti-racism in policy documents, and in the Dialogue Initiative course curriculum, are placed outside of the official policy, whether they are erased from the policy through revision, or only allowed to exist in the curriculum in places not surveilled by the most powerful at the university. The Dialogue Initiative instructors are most responsible for creating a "break" from policy where the dialogue curriculum is concerned. They do this by rewriting the curriculum in a way that focuses on the students in their classes and the effects that the social movements happening in the current moment have on them. This break, which is evident in the ways that instructors interpret the values of diversity, social justice and relationship with the City of Chicago, supports Ferguson's claim that different sites of the inter disciplines can be part of a network of locations that are re-articulating the university's relationship to the university. Though UIC attempts to act as an archival institution, incorporation is not a totalizing force. There is the potential for IGD at UIC to be a critical site of re articulation.

I chose to do an *extended case study* (Burawoy, 1998) because its goal is to illuminate larger social processes through the exploration of a single case. Doing an extended case study allowed me to begin my work from my position as a graduate assistant in the Office of Diversity and an instructor in the Dialogue Initiative who had questions about the values and theories guiding the process of bringing Intergroup Dialogue to UIC. I used preexisting theory (that of official anti-racisms and the incorporation of the inter disciplines into the university) to craft questions for participants that helped illuminate their experience, but the theory also "aggregated multiple situational knowledges into social process" (Burawoy, 1998). I could make sense of the ways that IGD was being articulated into official anti-racisms because the theory I used provided an organizational tool to use when analyzing the policy documents and administrators' interview responses.

Extended case study methodology ultimately allows the researcher to put theory in dialogue with itself, providing a foundation upon which to expand the theory (1998). Being able to discern between the discourses of the official anti-racisms and material anti-racism, and then use those frames to analyze the policy documents, curriculum and interview data pushed me to think about ways Melamed's work, which was based in the field of literary studies might be expanded into social justice education. My data demonstrates that literary studies is not the only field in the university in which the content is used to further the discourse of the official anti-racisms (liberal liberalism, liberal- and neoliberal multiculturalism). Social justice education can also do this work, and may be especially primed to do so as it can so easily be infused with the language of the official anti-racisms, language that is so prevalent in official university branding and policy documents.

Theory about the neoliberal university and its treatment of students, staff and faculty from marginalized groups would support the claim that the Dialogue Initiative is an effort on the part of university administrators to market itself as an institution that is concerned with representational diversity, while doing relatively little to redistribute resources or power. It would suggest that the institution capitalizes on the needs of students from marginalized groups, and the desires of privileged students to "experience difference". (Melamed, 2012; Walsh, 2007). My research suggests that the Dialogue Initiative is a contested space. Different actors' positions relative to the Initiative have an important impact on how they understand Dialogue and what it can/should achieve. While there is no doubt that the social justice aims of Dialogue are compromised within the neoliberal university, Dialogue facilitators have a huge impact on the implementation of Dialogue, thus they have a meaningful on policy.

At the administrative level, dialogue policy is shaped by neoliberal multiculturalism. This is evident in the ways that official policy documents define diversity, and in what they leave out (i.e. race, redistribution of resources). It is also evident in the ways that administrators seek to capitalize on the racial and ethnic makeup of the student body for marketing purposes, and push IGD as a "globalized tool of humanity" while the university does little to ensure that the most marginalized students gain access to the university and graduate. That the university makes "diversity" its goal at all is a glaring signal that the values of neoliberal multiculturalism loom large. Melamed says,

> "With the ascent of neoliberal multiculturalism, there has been a concurrent retooling of the material politics of dominant anti-racist knowledges. In fact, there has been a move away from using anti-racist discourse to infiltrate and shape the archaeology…of knowledge systems (law, history, public policy) to substituting highly ideological information bits for knowledge…Neoliberal-multicultural discourse has abstracted race issues to such a greater degree, however, that sometimes, as in the ubiquitous discussions

of diversity, that racial context is more residual than overt" (i.e. The UIC student body has no racial majority)" (2012).

Additionally, Ferguson's theory of incorporation pushed me to think about the consequences of IGDs incorporation in to the university. While, as my data suggests, IGD in the university can provide an opportunity for a critical re articulation of minority difference, it is not a given. The policy documents I analyzed, and the interviews of powerful administrators demonstrate that the universities archival power is strong. By reading the documents, we "watched" the process of absorption happen: language that promotes anti-racist action disappears and curriculum that was crafted with the purposed of surfacing conflict in order to promote social change becomes didactic and palliative. In order for Intergroup Dialogue to operate as a re-articulation of minority difference within the neoliberal university, I think that instructors have to be conscious of the threat that neoliberalism presents to their curriculum and way of teaching. They also have to have a commitment to values of IGD, and the willingness to craft the curriculum and teach in a way that reflects those values.

I posed my original research question about the values that underlie the IGD policy process at UIC because I wanted to explore whether or not IGD has the potential to be a transformative force in the university. But carrying out this study made me realize that my question assumes that university can be transformed. Whether or not it can is a bigger question than my research can answer, but I think that how I approach that question has huge implications for my work.

Nearing the end of my interview with Paul, the retired professor and co-founder of the program on Intergroup Relations at Michigan, I asked him if there was anything he wanted to add that we had not been able to touch on in the previous hour. He said, "Well, I think the only other thing I want to say is, we have to acknowledge the nature of the institution in which we're

working and its history. And we can't expect to be turning that place around with this single kind

of intervention." He continued,

> "Here's a guess. I think that the further an institution is away…the more distance an
> institution has from the archaic mainstream definition of the academy, the more possibility
> there is for this kind of stuff to happen. So it's least likely to happen at places, interestingly
> right, like Michigan and the Tier 1 big research institutions. Likely to happen at liberal arts
> colleges and state colleges where the faculty isn't so entrenched in the autocracy of faculty"
> (2015).

We cannot know -from my research, at least – whether Paul's guess is correct. But the point he

makes about the intractable nature of the university connects to the questions Fred Moten,

Stefano Harney (2013), Roderick Ferguson (2012), RDG Kelley (2016) and Black students

everywhere are asking about what is possible in the university when it comes social change and

revolution.

In *The Reorder of Things*, Roderick Ferguson revisits the purpose and function of the

academy in light of the student movements of the 60s and 70s. Remember, Ferguson

reintroduced the notion of the United States being an archival entity, one that – through

incorporation – archives social movements, making them less of a threat to the state than they are

when purely oppositional. Institutionalization on the part of universities was an attempt to

incorporate Black, Latino, queer and feminist, movements into their structure by instituting the

inter disciplines, thus meeting these groups demands for representation, while maintaining the

structure of the university. In fact, building up the interdisciplines gave the state, through the

university, the power to discipline minority difference. Ferguson argues, however, that

institutionalization is not necessarily a totalizing force. As the number of interdisciplinary

programs grew, so did the opportunity for those programs to provide a material base of power in

the university. From that base, institutionalization as a practice could be critiqued, and the

university university's relationship with minority difference could be rearticulated.

Ferguson outlines the historical role of the academy in relation to the state by explaining the roles of the higher and lower faculties as Kant described them. In Kant's view, the lower [philosophy] faculty's job was to use science to pursue the truth. While the lower faculty's job was of the utmost importance, it was the higher faculty (medicine, law, theology) that took its directives from the state. The lower faculty gave no directives to the state, but at the same time, its job was not to simply carry out the state's directives. That was the job of the higher faculty. The lower faculty's job was to pursue the truth, and then to articulate the state's relationship to the academy. Connecting this to social movements, then, Ferguson argues that the academy's relationship to the state is not only one of doing its bidding. It holds some independence from the state. And if the social movements of the 60s and 70s brought the power of minority difference to the door of the university, there is a possibility that the university could do more than allow the state to blunt its edges and file it away, the university could rearticulate the relationship between those deemed "different" and the state.

But others do not have that kind of faith in the university. RDG Kelley (2016) opens his conversation with scholars in the Boston Review by expressing excitement about – and concern for - Black student activists who have made demands of the university in the wake of killings of unarmed Black people by the police and the rise of Black Lives Matter. Students at universities across the country have demanded: the hiring of more faculty of color, more mental health services on campus to support them as they experience the brutalities of racism, the renaming of buildings that bear the names of slaveholders and eugenicists and curriculum that reflects their experiences and addresses racism and other forms of oppression (2016). IGD falls in the latter category. Kelley believes that the expectations that students have of the university are unrealistic, given that universities were never designed to care for them as Black people. What is more, he

expresses deep concern that many of the student groups frame their concerns using the lens of

trauma, which he believes relocates the source of the problems internally (individual bias and

prejudice, ignorance) as opposed focusing on the root causes of oppression. Doing this, he

argues, gives universities the power to address these demands by admitting a few more black and

brown faces to the ranks of the faculty and the student body (maybe) or adding some courses or

campus conversations on race (maybe), all while keeping their "commitments to war and

security." Kelley writes,

> "Student's core demands for greater diversity, inclusion, and cultural-competency training converge with their critics' fundamental belief that the university possesses a unique teleology: it is *supposed* to be an enlightened space free of bias and prejudice, but the pursuit of this promise is hindered by structural racism and patriarchy. Though adherents of this perspective differ in their assessments of the extent to which the university falls short of this ideal, they agree that it is perfectible.
>
> I do not. The fully racialized social and epistemological architecture upon which the modern university is built cannot be radically transformed by "simply" adding darker faces, safer spaces, better training, and a curriculum that acknowledges historical and contemporary oppressions. This is a bit like asking for more black police officers as a strategy to curb state violence. We need more faculty of color, but integration alone is not enough. Likewise, what is the point of providing resources to recruit more students of color without changing admissions criteria and procedures? Why do we stay wedded to standard "achievement" measures instead of, say, open admissions?
>
> A smaller, more radical contingent of protesters is less sanguine about the university's capacity to change. Rejecting the family metaphor, these students understand that universities are not walled off from the "real world" but instead are corporate entities in their own right. These students are not fighting for a "supportive" educational environment, but a *liberated* one that not only promotes but also models social and economic justice."
>
> "But still, a common thread runs through both the more modest and more radical critics of universities. Both demand that universities change in ways that we cannot expect them to change. The first group asks universities to deliver on their promise to be post-racial havens, but that will not happen in a surrounding sea of white supremacy. The second sees universities as the leading edge in a socially revolutionary fight. While I share the transformative aims of the latter, I think that universities are not up the task. Certainly universities can and will become more diverse and marginally more welcoming for black students, but as institutions they will never be engines of social transformation. Such a task

is ultimately the work of political education and activism. By definition it takes place outside the university" (2016).

Kelley goes on to urge students to join Stefano and Fred Harney's Undercommons (2013), a place of fugitive study that does not seek to perfect the university or to "be against it" because doing either would legitimize it. Instead, in the undercommons, students, faculty, staff, groundskeepers, cafeteria workers and community members come together to study as a means of liberating themselves and trying to discover what kind of world might be possible after dismantling this oppressive one.

Where in this debate does my study fall? My data show that IGD does have the potential to provide students and instructors some place to think through their politics and resist the university's hegemonic force. But it is small to be sure, and heavily dependent upon the people who do the work. Yet the findings of my studies suggest, as Ferguson argues, that neoliberalism and incorporation are not totalizing forces within the university, and the presence of an Intergroup Dialogue program at a university can be an opportunity for a re-articulation of minority difference.

As was earlier mentioned, Dialogue programs exists at many colleges and universities across the Unites States. They exist at state schools and Ivy League schools, and research universities and small liberal arts colleges, and the ways in which they exist have so much to do with the people that create them, the people who teach and administrate them, and the students who populate them. For example, at Syracuse, the dialogue program has evolved to include not only dialogues about different social identity categories, but dialogues around inequity and education, with faculty and students from the Cultural Foundations of Education department leading the way. They have also shifted their upper level dialogue courses to focus on

community organizing, so that after students have taken courses on the foundations of dialogue, they can move into social action. At Skidmore, the Dialogue program is run by one of the few Black tenured faculty members at the school. She built a dialogue program there from the ground up, a program that focuses mainly on race and uses foundational critical race theory texts as a connecting thread through the dialogue courses, which now fulfill a minor in IGR.

There are, I'm sure, institutions that are not doing dialogue well. What is interesting to me beyond some of the more simplistic critiques of dialogue as ineffective, however, is that having multiple sites of IGD can produce "a logic of practice that establishes a networks between all institutions in the United States" (2012), similar to the way in which Ferguson describes various interdisciplinary programs across the nation. I think that giving attention to the ways in which dialogue program might be useful sites – in addition to interdisciplinary programs – to study the way in which the university's relationship to difference can be articulated. My study shows that dialogue – even as there is a strong attempt to incorporate it into the institution through neoliberal policy – can break away from policy and through curriculum and instruction take on more [progressive, radical, critical] goals. Some of the values that drove the dialogue policy process at UIC – social justice, diversity (with a focus on race), a connection with the surrounding city that was more restorative than destructive – were ones that the university could co-opt, but they also ones that made dialogue resistant to that incorporation. People who work in the program had an understanding of those values that differed from the ways that higher administrators understood them, and that is part of what separated the work they did from the policy that supposed to shape their work. We can see in this case how IGD, an extension of the inter disciplines, resisted absorption (2012). Does the same tendency show up at other dialogue programs? Are they able to hold social justice as a value? Are they able to be explicit about race

in increasingly "colorblind-aspirational" schools? Are they able to make connections between the potential of dialogue and restoring the broken relationships between universities and the places they upend around them? I would like to know more.

Ball's theory of policy as discourse (1993) reminds me that the instructors who helped build dialogue at UIC will not be there forever, and there is no guarantee that those who come after will have the same beliefs, the same positionality, the same interest in dialogue as more than a first-year required course. And while neoliberalism itself is an incomplete project, we know the hold that it has on many university spaces. It is not a given that dialogue will continue to exist at UIC, or anywhere for that matter, or that each institution at which it exists will actually believe it is a space for social justice education.

I sometimes feel like I have shown up to the storied steps of the university that does not really want me, and so my primary job must be to take all I can from it. At the turn of this year, I got a faculty position in The Program on Intergroup relations at the University of Michigan. After working for years on dialogue at UIC as a graduate student in a new, unstable Office of Diversity, tasked with helping to build and implement an educational program that was viewed as more of a top-down order than a response to an organic demand, I got a stable job doing work that I truly wanted to do. I teach undergraduate courses through the Program. I get to train students to be peer dialogue facilitators in the program, and work with faculty in the University's college of Literature, Sciences and the Arts on integrating dialogue into their courses that deal specifically with race and ethnicity. Michigan is just entering a diversity strategic thinking and planning process like the one I worked through at UIC. Now, bringing that knowledge to bear on the work that IGR does at Michigan is my job.

I interviewed for the position, accepted it and moved to another state over the course of about 6 weeks, dissertation unfinished. Moten and Harney describe the intellectual who would be a part of the under commons, writing, "After all, the subversive intellectual came under false pretenses, with bad documents, out of love. Her labor is as necessary as it is unwelcome, the university needs what she bears, but cannot bear what she brings" (2013). As the moving company who transported my belongings from Chicago to Ann Arbor took a week longer than expected to bring my belongings (proof of identity and employment documents included) to Ann Arbor, I showed up at Michigan with – literally – bad documents. And even as I was -and am- full of something like love (we can call it a real excitement) – I am quite aware that the university needs my labor as much as it would rather not deal with my critiques of dialogue and diversity. I have found myself in a very privileged position, within a very problematic space. I am a young Black woman faculty member at on old White university.

In many ways, my position forces/allows me to resist the professionalization that would turn me into the critical academic that Harvey and Moten cite as the problem. My position is not tenure track, and most of my load is teaching, with no intention to "outgrow" that position. Because I will not be given the "research post with no teaching…the graduate students to mark exams…the string of sabbaticals…the permanent reduction in teaching load…the appointment to run the Center…the consignment of pedagogy to a discipline called education…the course designed to be a new book…" (2013). I will, for now, be the labor that allows other faculty to do those things. And though they will have more power, and possibly look down on my lack thereof, my labor, and the labor of those like me makes the university possible.

The reason that the critical academic proposes such a problem, Harney & Moten argue, is because the critical academic is one who believes that the university is perfectible, believes that

the State is perfectible, and so their work is always legitimizing the state, even as they critique it.

Moten and Harney support their claim by using examples of public administration programs at

prominent universities. These programs teach students how to do the work that their profession

requires without offering theory of the state. They treat the state as a knowable thing. Students

who show up to these programs, then, with passion and an understanding -or at least a strong

inclination – that, say, "public administration might be best defined as the labor of the relentless

privatization of capitalist society" are steered away from their "unprofessional" inquiries, urged

to complete the professional socialization that will make them appropriately critical agents of the

state. For Harney and Moten, "the Universitas is always a state/State strategy" (2013). Becoming

a properly critical academic would mark my full socialization as an agent of the state. The only

way to resist that would be to have a criminal relationship with the university, one in which I

take the resources that I can from it, and join with others in collective, subversive, study.

But there is also something about neither being "for or against" the university that

underwhelms me. Joining in the Undercommons is attractive, but my data suggests that there is

some value in attempting to work trans formatively within the university. While the idea of

stealing the great resources of a place that was never meant for me and using them to imagine

another more just world is attractive, I *am* a part of the university, in some small way, and I do

want to believe – perhaps naively – that I should do what I can to leave it better than I found it,

even if the institution is not able to be totally transformed, as Moten and Kelley claim (2013).

Many of the scholars who respond to RDG Kelley in the Boston review talk about the need to

understand that students in this particular moment are fighting for material conditions that can be

changed on campus *and* conditions beyond the institution, that the two are not mutually

exclusive. Kelley raises all of the concerns that shape my dissertation: in sum, the neoliberal

university prioritizes recognition while thwarting redistribution, and the university's long commitment to oppression should let us know that at best it will pacify some demands while ignoring others. At worst, it will do neither because it does not have to. Those who respond argue, in different ways, that Black student activists should be allowed to pursue incremental reforms (more faculty and students of color, curricular changes) while also pushing for radical transformation. The former does not preclude the latter and for some, the former leads to the latter. They also argue that just as young people in the 60s and 70s were chastised by those older than them for the way they went about making change, established scholars run the risk of alienating millennials when they too harshly criticize them for their methods without understanding that they are responding to circumstances that are unique to this historical moment (2016). Finally, they argue that the university owes something to students, way more than it is giving. To overly romanticize the subversives of the unudercommons would be to give up the right to demand from the university (and the state) what is owed to them.

Babrara Ransby, in her response in the Boston Review piece recalls meeting a young Black woman organizer in Chicago who chose not to go to college, but to stay in her community and organize because – according to her – "colleges try to indoctrinate you, brainwash you, and make you lose yourself." Ransby empathizes with young woman because she felt the same way as a Black working-class woman coming from Detroit as an organizer to the University of Michigan decades ago. She says, "The message, I felt, was that in order to succeed, I indeed had to lose myself as a black working-class woman and organizer. I refused. Negotiating the terms of this refusal has defined my career as a historian and an activist. It has meant settling into a state of appropriate discomfort" (2016).

I find myself in an uncomfortable position: working at a University, in a program that has so much potential, sadly, to be utilized in all the wrong ways. The power that the discourse of neoliberal multiculturalism has to obscure the necessary and more difficult goals of education for justice cannot be understated. At the same time, I have seen, for at least 5 years now, the potential for actual dialogue work to not only make college students' on-campus experience more worthwhile for them, but make some of us in the university different, better teachers and activists and allies of young people. I think it is good use of my time in the university to settle into this discomfort, and work diligently from that place.

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