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THE MAKING OF MULTIVOCAL CULTURE:

(RE)CONSTRUCTING COMMUNITY

ON A UNIVERSITY CAMPUS

by

JENNIFER LYN SIMPSON

B.A., Utica College of Syracuse University, 1994

M.A. University of Colorado at Boulder, 1999

A thesis submitted to the

Faculty of the Graduate School of the

University of Colorado in partial fulfillment

of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Communication

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This thesis entitled:
The Making Of Multivocal Culture:
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On A University Campus
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The final copy of this thesis has been examined by the signatories; and we find that both the content and the form meet acceptable presentation standards of scholarly work in the above mentioned discipline.

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Simpson, Jennifer Lyn (Ph.D., Communication)

The Making Of Multivocal Culture: (Re)Constructing Community On A University Campus

Thesis directed by Associate Professor Brenda J. Allen

This critical/interpretive project traces the development and evolution of a set of initiatives grouped under the rubric 'Building Community Campaign' at the University of Colorado at Boulder to examine intersections between matters of voice, culture and difference in organizational contexts. By comparing and contrasting the organizational practices of the Building Community Campaign with those of the larger institution in which the campaign is embedded, I address an important social and theoretical problem: how to negotiate difference in organizational life in a way that preserves the richness of diverse perspectives available and supports the full participation of members across levels of the organization.

This project provides a distinctly communicative approach to understanding these matters by exploring how each is produced, enacted, and reproduced in organizational practice and describing how organizational members account for and make sense of these practices. In addition, this study makes important contributions to understanding. At the practical level, this study gives organizational members important tools that can facilitate the negotiation of difference in organizational contexts. At the theoretical level, this work extends understanding by unraveling the interrelationships between voice, culture and difference, and by advancing a new perspective that allows additional insight into processes of organizational cultural

DEDICATION

In loving memory of

Helen P. Simpson
1925-1980

and

Anne R. Martin
1912-1993

Wise women with warm hearts.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many mentors, friends and family have provided invaluable support along my academic journey. Brenda J. Allen has guided me with a steady hand, an open heart, and a warm smile throughout the final legs of this voyage. I thank her for sharing my vision and helping me to shape my style. Bryan Taylor brought me to this project and provided countless hours of guidance, wisdom and support from beginning to end. I thank him for always helping me to take my thinking to the next level. The other members of my committee have also been tremendous assets: Stan Deetz has always had an open door and has gently nurtured my critical side; Michele Jackson has known how to ask tough questions in a kind manner; Alison Jaggar has been a source of wisdom and inspiration in more ways than one; and Dennis Van Gerven has been a steadfast source of support in these final months both off-stage and on.

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As I prepare to close this chapter on my life my greatest sorrow is stepping out of the 'graduate student' identity that has become such an integral part of 'me.' It has been a deep pleasure and rich reward to be surrounded by so many warm,

intelligent and dedicated people over the last five years. To those who came before: Karen Ashcraft, and Sarah Tracy, thank you for paving the way, and showing me how it was done. To those following behind: Kirsten Broadfoot, Alena Sanusi, Chris Hirsch, Alex Lyon, and Natalie Nelson, among countless others, thank you for your friendship, and support. My graduate student network extends beyond the walls of our department, however, and I can honestly say that without my involvement in the United Government of Graduate Students, this project would not have taken on the same life. Thanks to Margarita for nominating me, Tim for looking out for me, Michelle for picking up where I left off, and Matt for continuing to carry the torch high. Mary-Kate, Jennifer, Heather, Brent and Scott: thank you for carrying the vision forward and making me proud.

Of course, no one has been more influential in my arrival at this moment than my family. Mom, your faith, vision and perseverance through tough times have guided me surely through many tough spots of my own. Dad, thanks for always expecting the best from me, and believing that I was capable of nothing less. And Rob, thank you for being the most wonderful brother a sister could ask for. The three of you have been a steadfast source of strength and inspiration.

Last, but far from least, I thank Chaz for being a true partner in this project in every sense of the word. The million caring words and deeds that you have done to make this process easier have been invaluable. I know that it has not always been easy and comfort myself in the knowledge that I'll have the chance to return the favor! For now though, we can both breathe a sigh of relief as I conclude this chapter in my life, and ready for the next chapter in ours. I can finally say: I'm done.

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CHAPTER I

HIGHER EDUCATION: 'IN SEARCH OF COMMUNITY.'

> The goal of human discourse must be to both speak and listen with great care and seek understanding at the deepest level, and this expectation takes on special significance as the nation's campuses become increasingly diverse.
>
> *-Ernest L. Boyer. Campus Life: In search of community (1990, p.23)*

This study is about struggles. It is about struggles of personal and group identity, about struggles between and among groups, it is about creating a space in which to negotiate those struggles and about the unexpected and sometimes delightful surprises that may arise through struggle. All struggles involve people in a particular place and time and context. And so, this set of struggles is about a particular group of people who are struggling to build a sense of community at the University of Colorado at Boulder[1], a large public university, in the politically tumultuous turn of the 21st century. Specifically, this study traces the members of the Building Community Campaign through their internal and external struggles to forge a sense of community over the course of more than 30 months.

While the Building Community Campaign has been the central site of this project, to name it as 'THE' site is misleading. The actions and activities of the members of this group individually, and of this group as a collective, are deeply informed and influenced by other struggles around matters concerning community at The University of Colorado at Boulder. The challenges confronting the people at CU-Boulder are not unlike those being felt elsewhere, though. As tensions surrounding

matters of difference[2] and diversity provide flashpoints for deeper issues of respect and human values, the people at CU-Boulder are learning lessons that may hold grains of truth for many. And, though issues of diversity are not synonymous with matters of community, they are deeply intertwined with one another on the CU-Boulder campus.

This project approaches the study of these struggles informed by critical, feminist, and postmodernist concerns about matters of (re)presentation in research (c.f. Alcoff, 1991; Allen, 1996; Denzin, 1997; Ganguly, 1992; Harding, 1991, 1992; Martinez, 1996; Spivak, 1988). In doing so, it develops a richer understanding of issues of organizational voice that moves beyond notions of 'having a say' and demonstrates how institutional practices favor some voices and some subject positions over others in a way that may reproduce the organizational status quo.

Our discussion begins below by highlighting how this project enables a deeper understanding of particular theoretical issues of voice and difference. Next, I turn to specific applications of this research that enable richer ways of doing organizational life. Then, this chapter begins to situate this research project by (a) describing recent calls for increased voice in organizational contexts (including universities); (b) identifying challenges and opportunities inherent in the implied dimension of diversity that voice includes; (c) highlighting characteristics of the university as an organization that make this study especially relevant to our understanding of organizational communication phenomena; and (d) presenting the particular spin that calls for voice have taken on university campuses as they 'search for community.' I conclude this section with an itinerary for the rest of our journey.

Toward different understanding(s)

The major theoretical contribution of this work is a clearer articulation of the relationship between organizational voice and personal and group diversity. Scholars have suggested participatory organizational models because (a) they allow the organizational decision-making process to benefit from the rich diversity of perspective increasingly inherent in the organization's membership (Ambrozas, 1998; Cox, 1993; Fine, 1995; Gregg, 1992; Spradlin, 1998) and (b) because participatory models have the potential to foster increased organizational identification and commitment (Guzley, 1992; Kunda, 1992; Scott, Corman & Cheney, 1998; Simpson, 1999; Trombetta & Rogers, 1998).

This existing work often presumes that a diversity of voices is important to enhanced organizational decision-making. These literatures do not, however, make the relationship between voice and difference explicit. Meanwhile, literature on 'diversity management' foregrounds the impact of differences on organizations and implies the importance of voice to this process, but does not adequately address how voice may be achieved in organizational contexts. This study empirically examines how idealized notions of voice are articulated with notions of diversity in organizational life and explores how some voices come to 'stand for' organizational norms and values to create an 'organizational voice.' It also identifies practices that inhibit, discourage and encourage the contributions of individual organizational members in the production of an organizational voice thereby extending and refining our understanding of this process. This work takes 'voice' to be a process of

positioning one's own concerns or agenda in relationship to that of others. Voice, then, is related to matters of culture through the implied and explicit mechanisms whereby some concerns and agendas have more ready access to methods of dissemination than others. This study has the potential to go beyond this contribution to theory, however, and give us the tools that enable us to do organizational life differently.

Toward doing difference differently

Undertaking this project is not only theoretically important but also socially and politically timely. Questions of how to manage matters of difference on university campuses and in other organizational contexts continue to proliferate. Time and again, attempts to answer these questions have foregrounded the importance of broad-based participation and an inclusive climate or culture. Petersm (1999) notes that this concern with difference creates a bridge between communication theory and other areas of social inquiry:

> In this way communication theory becomes consubstantial with ethics, political philosophy, and social theory in its concern for relations between self and other, self and self, and closeness and distance in social organizations (p.10).

Studying this site has the potential to yield important insights into issues of participation, organizational culture, and the interrelationship between these issues and matters of difference in organizations.

Since the beginning of the 1990s national institutions of higher education such as the American Association of University Professors (AAUP), American Council on Education (ACE), The Carnegie Foundation, The National Association of Student

Personnel Administrators (NASPA) and the American College Personnel Association (ACPA) have produced reports that foreground the importance of attending to issues of participation, climate, and diversity on college campuses. Closely examining how these concerns arise and are addressed in daily organizational interaction has the potential to yield powerful insights into both the obstacles and opportunities that lie ahead. Empirical analysis allows us to move beyond a theoretical model to develop practical tools for negotiating difference(s) on today's campuses.

This study also has the potential to help us to better understand organizational practices that inhibit, discourage and encourage voice that have applications beyond the walls of the academy. One of the most frequent arguments for increasing diversity on college campuses is the imperative to prepare students to live, work and learn in a multicultural world. Given that, what universities are doing to address these issues has a bearing on the future face of society and of the workforce. Furthermore, the university itself is characterized by organizational policies, procedures, and practices that emulate other organizational forms. I begin this inquiry below by describing recent calls for increased voice in organizational contexts (including universities).

Calling for different voices

As organizations see themselves increasingly embedded in a global context, the importance of including multiple voices in the decision-making process is becoming more and more important to managers and employees alike. Stohl (1995) proclaimed, "the call for participation is clear and will not go away" (p.200). While organizational members have grappled with the practical applications and

implications of this move, scholars have worked to theorize the ethical and ideological dimensions of increased 'voice.' Literature on participatory decision-making and organizational cultural change has drawn attention to the importance of broad-based involvement across the organizational hierarchy (c.f. Ambrozas, 1998; Bordenave, 1994; Brinkman, 1997; Buzzanell, 1994; Cheney, 1995; Cox, 1993; Deetz, 1992, 1995a, 1995b, 1998; Deetz, Tracy & Simpson 2000; Guzley, 1992; Harrison, 1992; Kikoski & Kikoski, 1996; Orbe, 1998; Shuter & Turner, 1997; Thierderman, 1990) while drawing distinctions between <u>forums</u> for participation and <u>voice</u> for organizational members.

Deetz (1995b) describes this distinction clearly, suggesting that forums provide opportunities for input, but fail to call into question underlying assumptions of the organizational status quo; this means that simply having a forum for input does not necessarily challenge the social locations of organizational members or the implications of policy and practice on organizational voice. For example, organizations may make frequent use of committees to provide input into organizational decisions. Often, however, these committees are still organized in ways that preserve the existing power dynamic of the organization (with a senior staff member chairing the meeting and regulating the flow of discussion). In such a context power holders still retain the right to set agendas and determine what issues warrant meeting time. These forums for input allow organizational leaders to point to member involvement in decision-making yet do not fundamentally challenge existing norms.

Recent studies of university campuses echo these same concerns. Boyer (1990) remarks, "the free expression of ideas in a community of learning is essential" (p.17). What this 'free expression of ideas' looks like in practice, however, has often been elusive. Peters (1999) suggests that "Felicitous communication—in the sense of creating just community between two or more creatures—depends more basically on imagination, liberty, and solidarity among the participants than on equal time in conversation" (p.34). Yet, in the absence of unfettered imagination, unbridled liberty or unwavering solidarity, the call for equal time especially across differences has increased on university campuses. A recent joint report produced by ACE and AAUP further articulates this ambiguous notion of voice with that of difference:

> Today's selective liberal arts colleges have tried to build communities crafted to offer the benefits of encounters across differences to faculty and students who enter as strangers and become collaborators in exploring a universe of ideas and perspectives shaped in part by the history each brings. In the last 30 years, these colleges have broadened their vision beyond traditional forms of difference (of interest, talent, geographic region, social class, national culture and the like). Race has emerged as a valued source of different insights. (Guideman, 2000, p.38)

As matters of difference have become increasingly salient in all types of organizations, scholarly calls for voice have touted the value of increasing the diversity of perspectives brought to bear on organizational issues. In practice, however, the ways in which differences have mattered to organizational decisions have often not fundamentally challenged organizational voice and measures designed to encourage more broad-based voice have been increasingly called into question in recent years.

(Re)Discovering difference matters

Across the country, Affirmative Action policies, and other initiatives aimed at increasing institutional representation of historically disadvantaged minority groups, have recently been challenged at the polls and in the courts. In 1996, the State of California passed legislation known as Proposition 209[3] that prohibited the use of racial and gender preferences in hiring and educational practices. During the same year, Cheryl Hopwood, and several other white applicants who were denied admission to the Law school at the University of Texas at Austin, filed a law suit claiming to have been unfairly denied admission because of "lower standards" used in admission decisions for Black and Hispanic students.

Several years earlier, in 1978, Alan Bakke had sued the University of California at Davis Medical School under similar pretenses. The decision in Bakke v. University of California Board of Regents was to set the stage for many legal battles that would unfold in the late 1990s. While the California Supreme Court found in favor of Bakke and both ruled that separate admissions practices for white and minority students was unconstitutional and that universities could not use race in admissions decisions, an appeal to the United States Supreme Court upheld the first, but not the second of these premises. In University of California Board of Regents v. Bakke the Supreme Court ruled that while individual slots or spaces could not be "set aside" for members of particular groups, universities were justified in using group membership as one criterion among many in making admissions decisions. In 1996, however, the case of Hopwood v. Texas was decided in favor of the plaintiffs and ruled that the use of racial 'preferences' was unconstitutional in making admissions

decisions. Though a district court of appeals overruled this finding in December of 2000, upholding the Bakke decision instead, the Hopwood case was an important backdrop against which the struggles at the University of Colorado at Boulder were to unfold.

Since 1996, battles in the courts and at the polls have continued. In 1998 the State of Washington passed Initiative 200 that, like Proposition 209 in California, prohibited the use of 'preferences' in hiring or admissions practices. Florida, Georgia and Michigan have also seen similar challenges to Affirmative Action, many of which are still making their way through the legal system. Those who would preserve Affirmative Action argue that it is still one critical tool among many to address still-entrenched institutional inequities. Those who would do away with it, on the other hand, argue that preferences of any kind perpetuate inequity and discrimination. Jeb Bush, Governor of Florida, frames the issue this way:

> In recent years, traditional affirmative action has been under attack because it has lost public support and become legally suspect: ballot initiatives in California and Washington state have eliminated affirmative action policies, and federal courts in Georgia and Texas have ruled such practices unconstitutional as applied to state university admissions (Bush, 9/15/2000).

While these states grapple with these issues at the highest levels of legislature, other states are reacting in their own ways to the changes that are sweeping the country.

In Colorado, on June 4th, 1998, the Colorado Commission on Higher Education (CCHE) eliminated all state-mandated guidelines for enrollment targets, virtually eliminating any statewide Affirmative Action mandate. Unlike California's initiative, this move did not criminalize the use of racial or gender criteria in recruitment efforts. It did, however, eliminate any mechanism for accountability in

the case of a decline in minority enrollment or hiring, or punitive measures for failing to increase graduation rates among these target populations. Instead, the new policy left it to individual campuses to set their own goals for recruitment and retention of students, faculty and staff.

Members of the University of Colorado at Boulder community responded to this mandate, and began to look more deeply at the campus climate. The process that followed tells an interesting story full of important lessons. The goal of this study is to focus on these lessons as they pertain to three related areas of scholarship: (a) the 'managing' of diversity or difference (b) the impact of participatory and democratic decision-making processes on matters of difference; and (c) the impact of organizational or institutional culture on matters of difference in a particular context.

The first area is important because a growing body of literature proclaims that managing difference matters (Brinkman, 1997; Cox, 1993; Simpson, 2000). As today's workforce becomes ever more diversified there is an increasing awareness of why it is important to adapt to a more heterogeneous working population. This awareness manifests itself in the proliferation of literature on both managing culture, and managing diversity. It manifests itself in the increase in institutional training sessions to "sensitize" students and employees to different values, norms and expectations that increasingly intermingle, and occasionally collide. It can also be seen in the heightened debates over Affirmative Action. Oftentimes, however, organizational responses to challenges surrounding difference focus on how to eliminate misunderstanding rather than embracing differences in understanding as potential-laden and generative. The struggles at the University of Colorado at Boulder

can both highlight the ways in which difference matters, and help us better understand why it does. Peters (1999) suggests that

> Communication is a dance of differences, not a junction of spirits. The problem of communication, …, ceases to be one of polishing the intellectual instruments so that they more accurately transport spiritual or mental content and becomes one of establishing lived conditions of partaking and expression that are just and loving. Communication becomes a political problem of access and opportunity, not a psychological or semantic one of purifying the media (p.65).

This project allows us to look closely at those problems of access and opportunity.

The impact of participatory decision-making processes on matters of difference is important to this project because a similarly large body of literature has explored and advocated the importance of participatory organizational models to emancipatory political projects. Clear connections of this theory to tensions and opportunities surrounding difference are still lacking, however. Deetz (1992, 1995b) has drawn particular attention to the importance of drawing a broad spectrum of stakeholders into organizational conversations to reclaim conflict, and struggle. White, Nair and Ascroft (1995) have also compiled a collection of essays that illustrate the importance of participatory models in community development projects. Although many of these essays address the particular struggles of underrepresented communities in engaging and implementing the participatory process, the connection to particular organizational sites is less clear. This study explores the tensions between difference and participation because while the notion of diversity has often been implicit in the rationale for greater participation, in practice organizational leaders have not always favored participatory approaches that truly value difference(s).

The third area is also important because the culture of an organization has broad implications for whether, and how, it is or is not able to 'manage diversity' effectively. The culture also impacts the openness of the organization to participatory models, and the receptiveness of organizational members to change in tumultuous times. Deetz, Tracy and Simpson (2000) argue that in periods of organizational transition, management must effectively manage the culture of the organization. They also remind us, however, that there are ethical implications in doing so, and that participation across the organization in this process is vital to both its success and its justice. They do not, however, elaborate the particular implications that this has for organizations as they struggle with matters of difference. The University of Colorado at Boulder provides a rich context for exploring these connections. Chapter three will introduce you in more detail to the specifics of this site. For now, it is important to know that the social and political climate of the late 20th century have been an important backdrop for context- specific struggles.

This study provides an interesting framework for understanding the interdependence of these theoretical frameworks that enables a richer understanding of the relationship between voice and difference. It also provides examples of how organizational practice functions to inhibit, discourage and encourage voice that can help organizational members 'do' the organization differently. Though this study has focused on the particular struggles of a group of people involved in building community on a university campus, their struggles have implications for organizational actors beyond the walls of academe. Below I highlight characteristics

of the university as an organization that make this study especially relevant to our understanding of organizational communication phenomena.

The university as organization

The corporation, as an organizational form, has lent itself rather conveniently to the study of participation, culture, and diversity for several reasons (available funding and access among others). Scholars increasingly recognize that understanding the organizing function of communication in other contexts has broad applicability, however (Bordenave, 1994; Mumby, 1996; White, 1994). Though universities have not traditionally been sites of organizational communication research, universities do exhibit many characteristics of more traditional organizational forms.

First of all, they are places of work for many people, and are often organized using traditional bureaucratic forms with clear formal chains of hierarchy. Secondly, Tompkins (1984) defines organizational communication as "sending and receiving messages, that create and maintain a system of consciously coordinated activities or forces of two or more persons" (pp.662-663, in Allen, Tompkins & Busmeyer,1996, p.2). The interaction that takes place within university settings clearly reflects such a communicative system. Further, Perkins (1973) offered a lengthy discussion of the university as an organization affected by and responsive to the same kinds of concerns as corporate organizational forms. Bergquist (1995) and Bérubé and Nelson (1995) also provide interesting discussions of organizational constraints and challenges being faced by contemporary universities.

Finally, a good deal of scholarship in the discipline of communication has focused on the academy as a site of struggle around matters of difference (Allen, 1995, 1996, 2000; Allen, Orbe & Olivas, 1999; Ambrozas, 1998; Barnett, 1994; Bergquist, 1995; Buttny, 1997; Collier, 1995; Porter & Catt, 1993; Nicotera, 1999) where participation and voice are at issue (Ambrozas, 1998; Bérubé, & Nelson, 1995; Eisenberg et. al., 1998), and where the campus climate affects both of the above (Ambrozas, 1998; Boyer, 1990; Cheatham,1991; Goodall, 1999). Closer examination of the Building Community Campaign provides an opportunity to gain rich insight into the interrelationship between these existing literatures, and provides useful practical knowledge to organizational members. Below I conclude my introduction to this study by examining how issues of participation, culture, and diversity have been packaged in discussions in Higher Education studies and publications. As we will see, the notion of 'community' has often subsumed all of these issues. Notions of diversity and community are not synonymous, however, and do not necessarily conflate seamlessly.

The search for community amidst difference

In a study funded by the Carnegie Foundation, Boyer (1990) urged institutions of higher education to use the decade of the 1990s to "return to their roots and to consider not more regulations, but the enduring values of a true learning community" (p.xiii). He continued this call by telling us that he is

> convinced that the challenges of building community reaches far beyond the campus, as well. Higher education has an important obligation not only to celebrate diversity but also to define larger, more inspired goals, and in so doing serve as a model for the nation and the world (Boyer, 1990, p.xiii).

This report captured the concerns of the time and defined the focus of the future of higher education administration throughout the 1990s. Boyer's report is important because it brings together concerns for openness and participation, campus climate and culture, and campus diversity. The entire report emphatically affirms the importance of attention to these issues but does little to provide organizational practitioners with the tools necessary to implement Boyer's vision of community[4]

Meanwhile, others have argued that the notion of community is disappearing in America. Adelman and Frye (1997) argue that the notion of community "bespeaks what we have lost and are trying to regain" (p.1). This notion is not necessarily a reflection of any concrete past reality, but rather an aspiration for a way of being in relationship to one another. Parker (1998) warns, however, "community is usually articulated as a good thing" (p.74). He simultaneously urges a wariness of "community" as a cure-all, and cautions against the assumption that "re-enchanting organisations always equates with managerially induced false consciousness" (p.73). In other words, Parker is concerned that organizational studies not treat a community approach as a panacea to organizational problems. He warns that identification with an organization at the expense of other identifications can have far reaching ethical implications if they are managerially imposed.

Yet, Parker (1998) recognizes that if the move to more participatory and democratic workplaces is successful, stronger feelings of identification with, and community within organizational sites will be likely to emerge. Buber's theory of dialogic community is premised not on consensus or compromise, but rather on respect for the other and a deep curiosity about their position (Arnett, 1986). His call

to find the narrow-ridge from which both perspectives may be ascertained is a call to build community. This presumes, though that community must be built on connection, and on 'finding common ground,' when in fact such solidarity of spirit is not only difficult to approximate, but may not be always entirely desirable either. As we will see throughout this study dialogue, as the end goal, can at times be more oppressive than libratory. As Peters (1999) notes "the image of conversation as two speakers taking turns in order to move progressively toward fuller understanding of each other masks two deeper facts: that all discourse, however many the speakers, must bridge the gap between one turn and the next, and that the intended addressee may never be identical with the actual one" (p.265). Rather than emphasize dialogue as the end goal, then, we might instead examine how it is that we treat one another. Van Den Abbeele (1991) further argues that "community is not a referential sign but a call or appeal to a collective praxis wherein we are all implicated 'emotionally and psychically as well as intellectually'" (p. xiv).

This work highlights a critical point for the purpose of this study: community is not an end point, it is a process; it is not somewhere we arrive at, it is something we do. Arnett and Arneson (1999), however, point out that many obstacles exist to doing community. Perhaps the greatest of these, they argue, are cynicism and existential mistrust. If we do not believe that the 'Other' will act in good faith our willingness to approach the narrow ridge, and our curiosity about what might lie beyond it are greatly diminished. I argue, along with Peters (1999) that this reliance on the 'other' to act in good faith can create new barriers to just community. Peters argues not against the potential value of dialogue, but against our insistence that dialogue need

be present in order for members of organizations, or of society more broadly, to engage in behaviors that would address our pressing political and ethical dilemmas. Rather than demand dialogue, then, Peters prefers a metaphor of dissemination:

> Dialogue still reigns supreme in the imagination of many as to what good communication might be, but dissemination presents a saner choice for our fundamental term…Open scatter is more fundamental than coupled sharing; it is the stuff from which, on rare, splendid occasions, dialogue may arise. Dissemination is not wreckage; it is our lot (p.62).

Taking this perspective we find ourselves liberated from a dependence on the other and yet positioned to more fully recognize and appreciate (rather than tolerate) their difference.

This awareness makes 'building community' a particularly important topic to examine from a communication perspective as Adelman and Frye (1997) argue that

> this shared culture inevitably is expressed in structural features of community life…community is constituted (created) and reconstituted (sustained) in communicative practices…communication, therefore, is not just a variable contained within a community; community itself is best regarded as a phenomenon that emerges from communication (p.5).

This way of being in community with one another results from a shift in patterns of communicative interaction. These permit more participatory and dialogic modes of decision-making while decreasing reliance on them. As daily practices shift the conditions for cultural change emerge as well. These changes both affect, and are affected by matters of difference.

As I mentioned above, difference is deeply implicated in notions of community at the University of Colorado at Boulder. As we will see throughout this study, however, some notions of community conflate uncomfortably with difference. Initially, I undertook this project intent on studying 'community,' but have found, as

the project evolved that 'community' often became a shorthand for describing the complex interrelationship between notions of voice, culture and difference. Carbaugh (1996) argues that in developing an understanding of community we should strive to "model community not as a bland replication of uniformity, but as an 'organization of diversity'" (p.202). Similarly, Peters (1999) suggests

> the task is to recognize the creature's otherness, not to make it over in one's own likeness and image. The ideal of communication, as Adorno said, would be a condition in which the only thing that survives the disgraceful fact of our mutual difference is the delight that difference makes possible (p.31).

This project takes this insight to heart and steps back from the notion of community to explore in greater detail the tensions between uniformity and diversity as they are organized and reproduced in context.

The struggles at The University of Colorado at Boulder allow for closer examination of how, when and why some differences matter more than others. Tracking this process over the last 33 months has taken me on an exciting journey. At times, however, it has not been clear where I would end up. I conclude this introductory section below by providing you with an itinerary to guide your thinking and your reading as I retrace my journey with you.

Our itinerary

The next eight chapters take us deeper into an exploration of the organizational processes that may inhibit, discourage or encourage voice. And, they develop the relationship between difference and voice more fully. Chapter Two- Building Community Through Theory provides a more detailed and developed account of issues involved in 'building community.' This chapter reviews theoretical developments of the notion of voice, and draws connections between this literature

and work on organizational culture, participatory decision-making and diversity management. This discussion of organizational cultural change and diversity management literature identifies criteria that are used as a guiding framework for tracking the progression of the Building Community Campaign. This framework sets up the critical issues that arise in the site, and will be returned to throughout the analytic sections. This chapter also provides background information that elaborates the relevance of this site to exploring questions of community in organizational contexts.

Chapter Three- Building Community Through Practice follows from the framework developed at the end of chapter two and provides you with an introduction to the site by immersing you in the challenges and struggles of campaign members, and of the campus. This chapter follows from chapters one and two by taking the broader social and theoretical issues outlined in these earlier chapters and demonstrating how they are manifest in a particular organizational context. This chapter demonstrates the appropriateness of this site to exploring issues of voice and difference. It concludes by tying the theoretical issues raised in chapter two to the experience of organizational members at the University of Colorado at Boulder and identifies the research questions that motivate my inquiry.

Chapter Four- Building Community through Research provides a clear statement of the epistemological orientation and methodological commitments that I bring to this project. It also details the methods used in collection and analysis and articulates my positionality as researcher. The potential of this project to contribute to not only theoretical understanding but also to methodological practice is discussed in

detail here with a particular emphasis on the potential of action research to help us deepen our understanding and serve as a tool for emancipation and/or institutional change. Here, I discuss how critical, feminist and postmodernist attention to (re)presentation has informed and shaped the progression of this project. Limitations of this method as well as challenges that have arisen throughout the course of this study are discussed here as well.

Chapter Five-The Gallery uses a narrative ethnographic account to more fully immerse you in this site and introduces the data that have shaped my understanding of this scene. This chapter highlights the reflexive nature of this project by drawing your attention to the blurred lines between data collection, interpretation, and analysis.

Chapter Six- Building Community Together: a Matter of Voice is the first of three analytic chapters focusing explicitly on each of the three research areas identified in chapter two (organizational participation and voice, organizational culture, and managing diversity). This chapter provides data that examines the role and nature of participation around matters of difference on the CU-Boulder campus, and in the Building Community Campaign. Key themes and challenges are identified, and mechanisms for addressing both successes and pitfalls are discussed.

Chapter Seven- Building a 'Community' Culture is the second analytic chapter and focuses on questions of culture. Emphasis here is on ways in which the campus 'culture' or 'climate' is invoked to discuss obstacles to creating 'an open and welcoming environment that welcomes and respects all people…'[5] Given this framing of the discussion, I also focus on the nature of the initiatives and projects undertaken by the BCC in order to address what are perceived to be deficiencies in

the 'climate.' Drawing from literature on organizational culture, and the process of cultural reproduction, I examine the usefulness of these strategies and develop the notion of multivocal culture. In this chapter I highlight projects useful to the BCC in accomplishing its mission, and also draw attention to remaining obstacles. This section continues to draw connections between culture and participation as they pertain to matters of difference.

Chapter Eight- Building Communit(ies) of Difference is the last analytic chapter and therefore draws connections between participation, culture and matters of difference that emerge from the insight gained over the course of the previous chapters. I conclude by identifying specific organizational practices that articulate voice with difference and identify opportunities to foster greater voice, and build communities of difference. This section draws heavily from collected data and uses excerpts of talk from meetings, institutional surveys and documents and interviews to draw these connections.

Chapter Nine- (Re)Constructing Community reminds you of what you have read, and tells you what I hope that you will take away from your reading. This chapter synthesizes the three analytic chapters and draws on excerpts of data already presented in earlier chapters to challenge commonsense notions of community as they are employed in the discourse of different members of the CU-Boulder campus. This chapter ties together the claims made in the three analytic chapters, and ties those conclusions back to theoretical questions raised in chapter two, and research questions presented in chapter three. This chapter also urges you to think further on this issue. Having challenged notions of community already, this chapter also offers

alternative conceptualizations that reclaim the value and importance of community and opens space for further dialogue on these issues. This chapter brings the project full circle by addressing how this work has accomplished what it set out to accomplish. It also points to places to keep pushing the limits of our theoretical understanding encouraging the reader to remain optimistic about the possibilities for (re)constructing communities around dialogic principles of interaction. It also emphasizes the contributions that this project makes to both organizational practice and to methodological practice and understanding.

Summary

In this chapter, I introduced you to a research project that traces the evolution of a group of individuals at the University of Colorado at Boulder who are working to build a stronger sense of community on campus. This study contributes to our understanding of organizational voice, and particularly to our understanding of the interrelationship between voice, culture, and difference. This has the potential to extend our theoretical understanding of these issues, and also to contribute to richer understandings of how to 'do' organizations differently.

Below, I turn to a review of literature on organizational voice and participation, organizational culture and diversity management in chapter two, and describe the features of this particular site that will provide insight into these theoretical areas in chapter three. In chapter four, I describe my epistemological and methodological orientation. The narrative in chapter five introduces key excerpts of data and highlights the reflexive nature of this project. Then, in chapters six through eight I use empirical evidence to explore how issues of voice and participation play

out in practice, how organizational culture functions to reproduce particular patterns of interaction and is invoked to justify both change and the absence of change, and how both voice and culture are interrelated with matters of difference. In chapter nine, I reflect critically on the process of building community and on this research project and conclude this discussion optimistically by highlighting organizational practices that have the potential to (re)construct community among its members.

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[1] I have chosen to use the name of the institution at which this study was performed for several reasons. First, I believe that the institution 'deserves' to be named. It has both a responsibility to own its shortcomings and a right to be recognized for its accomplishments. Second, so much of this study is deeply influenced by state and local politics, that to mask the identity of the institution dilutes the richness of this context. Third, a great deal of relevant data comes from institutional documents and news reports. Including these reports would make camouflaging the identity of the institution very difficult. Finally, any individual participants in this research project whose comments to me might put them at risk would be at risk vis a vis other members of this institution who would not be fooled by a pseudonym for the institution. As I introduce you to the actors in this setting in chapter three I will discuss the measures I have taken to protect individual identities.

[2] I am indebted to Brenda J. Allen for providing me with this way of thinking and writing about difference and diversity. Her doctoral seminar, entitled 'Difference Matters in Organizations' provided a rich theoretical background for my work.

[3] The operative language of this proposition reads: "The state shall not discriminate against, or grant preferential treatment to, any individual or group on the basis of race, sex, color, ethnicity, or national origin in the operation of public employment, public education, or public contracting." Full text and discussion of this initiative can be found at http://www.cadap.org/

[4] Boyer identifies six components of community critical to the future of institutions of higher education. They are (1) a *purposeful community* where faculty and students share academic goals and work together to strengthen teaching and learning on campus (p.9); (2) an *open community* where freedom of expression is uncompromisingly protected and where civility is powerfully affirmed (p.17); (3) a *just community* where the sacredness of each person is honored and where diversity is aggressively pursued (p.25); (4) a *disciplined community* where individuals accept their obligations to the group and where well-defined governance procedures guide behavior for the common good (p.37); (5) a *caring community* where the well-being of each member is sensitively supported and where service to others is encouraged (p.47); and (6) a *celebrative community* in which the heritage of the institution is remembered and where rituals affirming both tradition and change are widely shared.

[5] The Building Community Campaign's creed reads: "The Building Community Campaign is committed to developing a campus environment that welcomes and respects all people of diverse perspectives, races, ethnic backgrounds, ages, genders, religions, sexual orientations, abilities, economic status, family situations, national origins, and other individual differences."

CHAPTER II
BUILDING COMMUNITY IN THEORY

'Building Community' is an intrinsically communicative process (Adelman & Frey, 1997; Arnett and Arneson, 1999) that allows us to explore how individual voices do or do not gain legitimacy as organizational voice. In this chapter, I examine literature on organizational participation and voice, organizational culture and the impact of diversity and/or difference[1] on organizational communication. This latter body of work has often focused on how to 'manage diversity' in order to maximize effectiveness; below I examine and problematize this issue and suggest advantages and disadvantages to this orientation.

Because many recent reports on institutions of higher learning have taken up a discourse of 'community' to talk about increasing representation, changing campus culture and addressing changing attitudes toward diversity, this comparison is an important one. After reviewing scholarship in these three areas, I explore the implications that confounding these notions with a discourse of community may have. This chapter points to gaps in existing knowledge and begins the work of enriching our understanding of the interrelationship between voice and difference in organizational contexts.

Over the course of the last 33 months, the study of the Building Community Campaign has yielded three important insights: 1) that community cannot thrive in the absence of organizational voice, 2) that identification with an organization is undermined when organizational interactions result in normative ways of doing and knowing that breed distrust and discontent among members of the community, and 3) that matters of both participation and culture are inevitably affected by a wide range of organizational differences that matter very much. Current literature hints at these issues.

This study, however, hopes to demonstrate how these elements are manifest in communicative interaction. The sections below approach the insights that each of the literatures on voice, culture and difference bring to bear on these questions. As we will see, although scholarship implies these connections, rarely do writers clearly articulate or empirically demonstrate them. I begin this review by suggesting that literature on participatory decision-making and organizational cultural change implies the need for voice, not only forums for participation, in organizations. In addition, these literatures presume that a diversity of voices is important to enhanced organizational decision-making. These literatures do not, however, make the relationship between voice and difference explicit.

Meanwhile, literature on 'diversity management' foregrounds the impact of differences on organizations and implies the importance of voice to this process, but does not adequately address how voice may be achieved in organizational contexts. A substantial body of literature on organizational voice allows us to explore the metaphor of voice and its impact on organizational life. Below, I begin by exploring

calls for increased voice in organizations and then turn to the contributions that existing literature makes to this understanding. Next, I identify several obstacles to voice and demonstrate the implications that such barriers can have for organizational life. I also highlight the function that silence can serve in changing organizational contexts and climates. Finally, I call for increased attention to the interrelationship between voice, organizational culture, and diversity. As we will see, each of these has implications for building community. In the end, I hope to provide a starting point for discussion that enables a richer theorizing of the concept of voice that is inclusive of and responsive to today's diverse workplace (Johnston & Packer, 1987).

Participatory decision-making in organizations: a matter of voice

Participatory models of decision-making have been increasingly lauded as a managerial imperative for the new millennium. As workplaces diversify (Cox, 1993; Fine, 1995; Johnston & Packer, 1987; Stohl, 1995) and become more knowledge-intensive (Deetz, 1998) traditional bureaucratic styles of management cannot address the diverse needs of organizational members, do not maximize the advantage gained by differences in perspective and can not respond rapidly enough in a high-speed environment. Furthermore, voice and democracy often go hand in hand in organizational literature. Mumby and Stohl (1996), for instance, argue that "ultimately the issue of voice is integrally bound up with the relationship between communication, ethics and democracy." (p.58). Buzzanell (1994), however, argues that as long as social and organizational cultural norms value some contributions more than others, it will continue to be difficult for those devalued voices to see themselves represented as organizational voice. In fact, as we saw with 'community'

in chapter one, 'democracy' is a process, not only a product. Cheney, Mumby, Stohl and Harrison (1997), argue

> 'democracy' must be considered not only as a set of ideals, principles, or even prescriptions, but also, and perhaps especially, as a set of communication practices. 'Democracy' itself is polysemous, and its vitality in any particular organization or community or network will depend ultimately on how it is understood, put into practice, and modified by the parties involved (p.278).

Despite the Habermasian promise of participation as an ideal, however, it is precisely in the practice of participation that many authors have identified potential obstacles to the participatory process (c.f. Bordenave, 1994; Kumar, 1994; Stohl, 1995; Stohl & Cheney, 2000; Thomas, 1994; White, 1994).

First, organizational members can become frustrated if they are regularly required to participate in 'decisions' that do not translate into organizational action (Deetz, 1995b; Stohl, 1995; Stohl & Cheney, 2000). Committee meetings, open forums, team meetings, and suggestion boxes all provide opportunity for organizational input. How these opportunities for input are structured, and what is done with the input determines who ultimately has voice within the organization, and therefore whose voice is reproduced as the organization, however. All of these affect *which social locations are favored, valued, and privileged within the organizational* context. Tannock (1997) found, in a study of workplace literacy programs, that "even in apparently 'worker-centered' efforts, local discursive choices made by instructors may close off opportunities for opinions and ideas" (p.85). If 'democracy' or 'community' are espoused as organizational goals, and must be enacted through communicative practice, then whose voice(s) gain expression has far-reaching organizational implications. Here, being required to participate in a forum that does

not provide access or opportunity to voice captures a dilemma of the dialogic imperative:

> Dialogue can be a wonderful method for enforcing imagination of the other's position and is obviously a far superior mode of handling differences than fisticuffs or nerve gas, but it is not in itself an adequate communicative vehicle for bearing the full varieties of moral experience (Peters, 1999, p.160).

Stohl and Cheney (2000) also identify multiple challenges, or paradoxes, evident in participatory practice. Especially relevant here is their discussion of paradoxes of homogeneity. This paradox, they argue, occurs when power-holders in the organization fail to see the value of resistance or oppositional voices. Instead, forums for participation value agreement, cooperation, and consensus, while simultaneously 'preaching' diversity of opinion. In Peters' words "Dialogue's supposed moral nobility can suffocate those who prefer not to play along" (p.159).

Commonsense assumptions tend to be that when the goals and values of organizational members are at odds with one another conflict results. Deetz (1995b) notes, however, "the presence of diverse goals rather than creating costly conflicts and impasse, creates the conditions whereby limited decisional frames are broken and the company learns." (pp.267-268, emphasis in original). It is this very logic that undergirds arguments for participatory models. Time and again the literature suggests organizational leaders should adopt a participatory model because the organization itself benefits from a broader range of more diverse viewpoints being brought to bear on critical organizational issues (c.f Bordenave, 1994; Brinkman, 1997; Cheney et al., 1998; Stohl, 1995; White, 1994; Wood, 1998). Such contributions allow for power and social location to be called into question. Note,

however, that implicit in the call is increased access and opportunity to the means of dissemination, not a dialogic imperative.

Many of these same authors also recognize, however, that in practice increased opportunity for input does not necessarily translate into better decisions or stronger identification. As such, simply providing increased forums for participation is an inadequate organizational solution. Yet achieving more representative organizational voice, whereby perspectives are positioned in relationship to one another in such a way that assumptions may be challenged, may require a significant shift in fundamental organizational norms and practices. Critical organizational communication scholars have demonstrated that as organizational norms and values are produced and reproduced in daily practice they may become reified and develop an illusion of naturalness (c.f. Barker, 1993; Deetz, 1992, 1995a, 1995b, 1998; Mumby, 1996; Tompkins & Cheney, 1985). As routine interactions become taken-for-granted organizational members may struggle to conceptualize alternative ways of 'doing the organization.' This literature doesn't clearly articulate the implications that this has for voice, however.

We know that policies and norms for practice may serve to institutionalize informal patterns of interaction that reinforce the appearance that "that's the way we do things around here." This functions to reinforce some sets of 'voices' as valued while potentially precluding the expression of others. Because of this some organizational members' belief in the effectiveness of a participatory process may decrease rather than increase if they don't see their input impacting the organization at this more fundamental level. This further diminishes opportunities for

organizational voice to be challenged as organizational members become reluctant to participate in a system that they feel does not value their input or reflect their position. In practice, traditional ways of 'doing the organization' may function to silence, ignore or reproduce social norms that favor some voices over others.

Another substantial body of work on participatory decision-making has drawn clear connections between participation and identification with the organization. Marshall and Stohl (1993) use a network approach to understand the relationship between communication and worker participation; they argue that involvement and empowerment in the communication system positively impacts worker satisfaction. Similarly, Trombetta and Rogers (1988) found that "job satisfaction is clearly related to communication openness and information adequacy, while organizational commitment is related to age and participation in decision-making" (pp.507-508).

This additional characteristic of age is an important one to note, and holds significant relevance for the university context because different organizational positions are, with few exceptions, characterized by members of particular age groups. Guzley (1992) also argues that employee perceptions of organizational and communication climate, specifically participation and organizational clarity, are positively related to the level of employees' organizational commitment. This study also supports the notion that these perceptions vary by tenure stage with the organization. In the university context, there are always inevitably organizational members with less tenure and a lesser expectation for long-term organizational commitment.

So far, we have seen that research on organizational participation and participatory decision-making often assumes the value of more diverse voices in this process. Meanwhile, research on participation also supports the notion that increased participation in an organization contributes to greater levels of commitment to the organization. This is neither a direct nor clear relationship, however. Scholars also argue that participatory systems are prone to paradox (Bordenave, 1994; Stohl, 1995; Stohl & Cheney, 2000) and can breed frustration and disillusionment.

This literature on problematic participation (Bordenave, 1994; Stohl, 1995; Stohl & Cheney, 2000; White, 1994) suggests that when participatory systems break down, participants become dissatisfied with the process. As we will see later on, as frustration at the University of Colorado at Boulder concerning input into the emerging diversity plan rose, the BCC provided an alternative forum for participation on these issues. As we saw above, however, increased forums do not necessarily translate into organizational voice. Below, I further explore how organizational practices can function to silence, ignore, discourage or encourage voice.

Toward a deeper understanding of voice

As we saw above, many organizational scholars have articulated the importance of voice in organizational contexts (c.f. Buzzanell, 1994; Cheney, 1995; Cheney et al., 1997; Cheney et al., 1998; Deetz, 1992, 1995a, 1995b, 1998; Deetz et al., 2000; Mumby, 1998, Mumby & Stohl, 1996; Stohl, 1995; Stohl & Cheney, 2000). Responding to this attention within the field, the Western Journal of Communication produced a special series in 1997 to more closely examine the notion of voice. This series provides a rich variety of perspectives on 'voice.' In addition to many cogent

essays and reflections (Bell, 1997; Clair, 1997; Dow, 1997; Nakayama, 1997; Ono, 1997; Petronio, Flores & Hecht, 1997; Taylor, 1997) several pointed, thoughtful and insightful review articles appear as well (Nakagawa, 1997; Owen, 1997; Schwartzman, 1997; Strine, 1997). Throughout these essays we hear the voices of communication scholars in a way that we don't often get to in the pages of our journals. We are privy to the less public side of well-known scholars, and we hear them struggle. Emotions ring out across the pages.

Sometimes those emotions are tender and gentle while at other times we hear clearly the stress and frustration that comes with trying to find voice. And, as we hear them speak to us, to themselves, to their loved ones, and to one another we come to understand that the notion of voice goes beyond the act of expression. We find that "voices locate individual persons as speaking subjects socially and culturally by enabling communicative interactions and, through interaction, the formation of self-identity" (Strine, 1997, p.448). In other words voice positions us in relationship to one another and to a socio-cultural context. In this way voice becomes a theory of agency. How my voice, my position, becomes articulated with those of other social actors in the scene defines and may alternately challenge or reproduce existing social relationships. As we will see, voice is implicated with matters of both difference and culture. As voices that more closely approximate the status quo often have increased access to those vehicles of dissemination, their positions are given increased likelihood of falling on hearing ears (Peters, 1999), and thus become culturally perpetuated. These issues will be taken up again as I explore questions of culture and difference more closely below.

Many recent writings on voice are adamant that everyone has multiple voices, multiple positions, from which they *might* speak, though some of those voices are more socially sanctioned than others. Ono cautions that "listeners who expect to hear unified voices, whether 'academic' or 'real,' deny our multiple voices and perhaps forget that we are not born speaking; all voices are learned ones" (1997, p.119). This learning happens because the people around us and the culture in which we are embedded constantly send messages that affirm or deny potential identities, potential ways of expressing, potential voices. Nakayama warns that "we are constrained in the ways that our voices construct, and contradict our identities…We are taught and we learn to obey the rules of language and society." (1997, p. 236). Below, I turn to this series of essays and other relevant literature to explore how voice(s) may become (a) silenced, (b) ignored, (c) socially conditioned or (d) strategically withheld, in organizations generally and universities particularly.

When voices are silenced…

Voices may be silenced in many ways. First, some people silence others. In order to silence another, however, an individual or group must have power-over (hooks, 1992; Starhawk, 1988) the group that they are silencing. This power may be physical and/or military power in which case people may be prevented from speaking through torture, imprisonment and/or death. In other cases (and as is more common in Western organizations and universities) greater power is a function of social positioning. Dow argues "when we speak of certain voices having more power, or privilege, we are usually speaking in terms of what can be termed 'social location,' most commonly defined by discourses of race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality and class."

(1997, p.246). When this type of power is used to silence, access to cultural and/or material capital is limited or restricted thereby limiting the ability of individuals or groups with less power to offer a voice that contests or challenges their social location.

When voices are ignored…

There are many reasons why some may choose to ignore others. Perhaps what the ignored has to say is too difficult to 'hear' (Ono, 1997). Or, maybe no one is interested. Perhaps there is much to lose by listening. In any event, those who can choose to ignore, again can afford to do so because of the relative position of their own voice, their own location. In organizational contexts, those with less relative power must rely on more powerful individuals to 'give them voice' through formal organizational channels. When these are not provided, less powerful members may resort to informal channels of communication to voice their concerns. Doing this not only allows organizational members to have a say, but may challenge proscribed 'positions.' Nadesan (1996) for instance, describes how female service workers at a large university use informal channels to define themselves in ways that affirm positive aspects of their identities. These moves may serve as acts of resistance when organizational members are ignored, but it does not necessarily give them organizational voice. Those in positions of greater power can still choose not to hear.

When voices are socially conditioned…

In a culture where power is distributed unevenly some people learn to not speak, or learn to view their voice as not valuable. Bell's (1997) essay describes how her students struggle with questions of voice in her class on 'Women in

Communication.' She tells us that "In the typical college classroom, 45% of students do not speak; the majority of these voiceless students are women (Sadker, 1994, p.10)" (p.91). Similarly, many groups learn to not speak unless spoken to, or to otherwise self-regulate their expression. Allen, Orbe and Olivas (1999) remember being told to "never let 'them' see you cry. We were surprised at the times we could recall not allowing ourselves to express the complexity of our emotions and thoughts through our tears" (p.421). In this case, participatory systems may fail not for lack of forums, but because cultural norms tell some members that their voices, emotions and thoughts are not valuable.

In essence, broad social rules and norms become institutionalized in organizational contexts in ways that may reinforce and reproduce existing power differentials. Studies of climate or culture often speak to the way that formal rules and policies become reproduced and naturalized in organizational interaction. Ambrozas (1998) argues, for instance, that universities are also organizational sites in which some voices are routinely privileged over others. She tells us "despite emancipatory gains like gender neutral language, sexual harassment policies, and more ethnic studies departments, many women continue to be excluded from full participation in subtle and not-so-subtle ways" (p.83). Townsley and Geist (2000) further argue that determining whose voices are and are not privileged may be "complicated by various subject positions that an individual may take up in various experiential moments" (p.196).

Social norms also affect how we can say what we have to say by structuring the language we have available to us. Spender (1985, 1989) argues, for example, that the

English language serves the interests of, and represents the experience of white men more than it does women or other marginalized groups. Nakayama (1997) puts it this way: "I have felt this tearing apart when I cannot find my voice in English, a voice that would express what I wish and communicate what I want to say. Je veux dire and "I want to say" are not parallel at all, but I can't bridge that difference" (p. 236). When so many rules govern what can be said, how, and when, those with less access to cultural capital may self-censor to avoid 'saying the wrong thing' or 'putting their foot in their mouth.'

Who gets to make the rules that govern voice has deep implications for power relations and relative social locations. The power to name things should not be overlooked. Clair (1997), for instance, argues that "naming oneself or one's experiences brings with it a power to voice who we are and what is happening to us...When issues exist without names, it is difficult to substantiate their reality and to legitimate the impact they have on people...naming provides a sense of hope, a means to articulate oppressive situations, a way of announcing the legitimacy of one's experiences, and the possibility for amelioration" (p.325). Again, whose voice is able to say what, from which position is a function of already existing social locations.

When voices are strategically withheld…

Not all silence is forced upon us, however. Some people may choose silence as a deliberate act of resistance (Clair, 1997; Huspeck & Kendall, 1991). In organizations that provide forums for participation, voice can still be limited if those forums are defined and 'provided' by those with greater power. In such cases, the choice to stay away, or to not speak may symbolize a refusal to engage the oppressor

(and there is, of course, a broad spectrum on which degrees of oppression might be plotted) on their terms. Peters (1999) notes "to be accused of 'not communicating' is often to be scolded for not providing someone with the response to their demand" (p.267).

Clair (1997), for example, provides a well-developed discussion of the Treaty of New Echota in which all Cherokee (Tsaragi) lands east of the Mississippi were sold to the US government for lands in Oklahoma and Arkansas, and $5 Million. As the treaty was developed, the large majority of Cherokee people were fiercely opposed to its ratification and refused to appear at the signing. Clair tells us that "in their silence, they spoke volumes. Voice and silence exist simultaneously" (p.332). Nevertheless, the U.S. government still had the power to ignore the voice of the Cherokee people. Eventually the government countered the Cherokee resistance by forcibly removing them from their lands and forcing the long march through the mountains in the dead of winter that would kill 25% of the Cherokee Nation and come to be known as the Trail of Tears.

This narrative demonstrates how organizational systems (in this case the very large system of the U.S. government) may provide forums for participation that do not allow for any fundamental challenging of social-locations that would allow for voice. We see also that individuals and groups may employ various strategies (including silence) in response. Doing so may challenge existing social-locations and give voice to an otherwise silenced people. Voice is neither inherently nor necessarily emancipatory, however. As long as some can choose to include, or to

exclude, the balance of power remains fundamentally unaltered (hooks, 1992; Starhawk, 1988).

Summarizing voice …

In this section I have examined the several ways in which some voices may be privileged while others are silenced. In doing so, I have presented several ways in which voices may be (a) silenced, (b) ignored, (c) socially conditioned or (d) strategically withheld. Each of these has implications for organizational life. As more and more managers and employees call for increased participation in the name of globalization it is important that we distinguish between the benefits of forums for participation and voice for organizational members. Often organizational norms and practices are reproduced as organizational culture and may mitigate opportunities to challenge organizational voice. While these opportunities are not a panacea, they are a prerequisite to the kinds of flexibility and adaptiveness touted in literature that calls for increased participation. Below I explore how a richer understanding of voice may permit a re-reading of this literature that can enrich our thinking about voice in organizations. Chapter six will revisit the themes presented here in the context of the empirical data gathered for this study in order to further refine our understanding of obstacles to participation and highlight underexplored areas of opportunity for fostering increased voice in organizations.

Organizational culture and voice

As the section above demonstrates, scholars have clearly recognized that institutional barriers exist to achieving broad-based input (access to channels of dissemination) and thus voice for organizational members. As 'policy' becomes

normalized in routine interaction organizational members may be less reflective about the manner in which organizational business is carried out on a day-to-day basis. In this way, formal policies become organizational norms and may be reproduced uncritically. The 'culture' of the organization is in part a function of these norms that encourage, and reward, some ways of accomplishing organizational goals rather than others. Myrsiades (1987) described the characteristics of organizational culture as "symbols, meanings, and values that serve a binding function" (p.91) while Glaser, Zamanou and Hacker use an "organization's shared expectations for consensually approved behavior" (p.173) as a normative definition for developing measures of organizational culture. Recognizing this processual nature of organizational culture has allowed scholars to theorize ways in which obstacles to voice can be challenged and overcome by implementing change at the daily micro-level (Clair, 1994; Deetz, 1998; Deetz et al., 2000; Lewis & Seibold, 1998; Tretheway, 1997).

Work on organizational culture helps us to better understand how this works because it further articulates how voice is related to and important for strong organizational commitment (that might foster 'community'). Deetz, Tracy and Simpson (2000) argue, for instance, that managing organizational culture increases feelings of 'ownership' among organizational members. They further argue that at least since the Golden Age of Greece "scholars and managers have tried to get a handle on the elusive subjective side of work life. Whether the concern has been with 'spirit,' 'climate,' 'meaning of work,' or 'quality of work life,' the core issues have been the same" (p.1). Recent scholarship on culture in organizational communication, however, traces its roots largely to the early 1980s.

During that time, management communication scholars began to shift their attention from bureaucratic models of organizing to examine the effect of models that valued greater input across the organization. Ouchi's (1981) Theory Z demonstrated the value of integrating the values of individual achievement common in U.S. organizations with the strong sense of identification and 'community' characteristic of Japanese organizations. The following year, works by Deal and Kennedy (1982) and Peters and Waterman (1982) drew even more attention to the importance of organizational culture in fostering employee identification. Deetz, Tracy and Simpson (2000) argue, for instance, that managing organizational culture increases feelings of 'ownership' among organizational members.

Defining Culture

Martin (1992) describes three perspectives on organizational culture. The integration perspective suggests that organizations have relatively unified cultures with distinctive characteristics that can be identified. Work such as that by Glaser (1983) and Glaser et al. (1987) that looks to measure or assess culture using survey instruments assumes an organizational culture of this nature. Martin's second perspective on organizational culture, the differentiation perspective, recognizes that oftentimes organizations may be characterized by distinct subcultural units that have different values and norms that may at times be at odds with one another. Kunda's (1992) classic case analysis of TECH is an example of the kind of work that this orientation to organizational culture may yield. At TECH, different subunits find themselves in conflict with one another because different divisions within the organization are driven by different values, and different orientations toward time.

Though Marketing and Research and Development may have different orientations toward work that produce conflicts, however, there remains an overarching organizational culture, and set of values that can be pointed to as being in common. In fact, one of Kunda's critiques is that "the ostensible personal incorporation of organizational goals…leaves them unquestioned." (p.226). In both integrated and differentiated cultural systems, then, the organization uses cultural systems as both an organizational design, and a mechanism for control.

Martin's (1992) third perspective, however, suggests that organizations don't have cultures, but rather are cultures. This fragmentative model highlights the fluid nature of identification and highlights the processual nature of cultural reproduction. If 'the organization' is a culture that is produced and reproduced through interaction the extent to which members do or do not have voice has significant impact on that culture (and on the voice of the organization). It is important to note, however, that Martin does not propose these perspectives as a classification scheme, but rather suggests that they are lenses, or orientations that we might bring to our understanding of organizational culture; they are epistemological and heuristic, not ontological and prescriptive. Taking each set of lenses tells us something different about the organization, and the function of culture in that organization. None of the perspectives, therefore, is inherently better than any of the others as each highlights some things that are not visible using other lenses, and overlooks some things that are more visible when another perspective is adopted. In fact, Martin's study applies the three lenses to a common case: a qualitative case study of OZCO, a large multinational electronics corporation while also illustrating nuances visible from each

perspective by drawing on both quantitative and qualitative data from a wide variety of organizational contexts. Martin remarks

> What is to be learned from culture research is, in part, the usefulness of preserving the differences among these social scientific perspectives and deepening, rather than eradicating, the conflicts among them (p.5).

Using these lenses allows us to see that on the one hand, culture may be tied to the underlying beliefs and values of organizational members that then affects the behavior that they engage in. On the other hand, regular engagement in particular sets of day-to-day behaviors and interactions may function to shape the beliefs and values of organizational members. Martin's perspectives highlight the necessity of both change in routine behaviors, and changing underlying beliefs about how to 'do' organizational life. At CU-Boulder, the Building Community Campaign has approached the campus climate from both directions by developing some initiatives designed to change behavior as well as others designed to encourage the questioning of core beliefs. This study further suggests, however, that these remain important cultural elements not visible through any of these lenses. Chapter seven proposes a fourth heuristic: that of multivocal culture to round out our understanding.

Managing cultural change

In addition to theoretical descriptions of cultu a substantial body of research on 'managing culture,' (Deetz et al., 2000; Kunda, 1992; Schein, 1992, 1999; Zorn, Page & Cheney, 2000) and 'managing diversity' (Brinkman, 1997; Cox, 1993; Fine, 1995) has gained in popularity during the 1990s. This literature often focuses on organizational change processes and reinforces the notion that the involvement of organizational members in decision-making processes fosters stronger identification

with the organization and produces better decisions. Brown (1990) and Brown and McMillan (1991) suggest that stories and narratives often provide key indicators about an organization's culture (see also Ashcraft & Packanowski; 1996; Clair, 1993; Mumby, 1987, Porter & Catt, 1993). Brown (1990) further argues that

> organizational change, either planned or unanticipated, could be monitored through stories. Reflections of change (for the better or worse) should be readily apparent through story use (p.73)

While many authors adopt a managerial lens and approach the study of culture from a perspective designed to facilitate change, these authors are also clearly aware that implementing change does not always translate neatly or cleanly into practice. And, while not often addressed directly, difference is often presented as a stumbling block to successful change even while it is advocated as enhancing to decision-making processes. Cox (1993) argues, for instance, that

> enhancing creativity and problem-solving quality are prime concerns of organizational leaders. To the extent that the existence of group-identity diversity facilitates these, it adds an important motivation for actively seeking to maintain a diverse workforce rather than merely managing one if it happens to present itself. Likewise, if increased diversity can hamper communication and reduce member attraction to workgroups, managers must find ways to minimize these effects (p.17).

This area of research emphasizes that the face of the workforce is changing rapidly, and suggests that today's organizational culture must be adaptive to difference and change.

The relationship between voice and culture

All of these arguments suggest that voice is critical to the success of the (post)modern organization. In order to achieve increased organizational identification a broader-base of input is needed so that organizational decisions are more reflective

of and responsive to the make-up of both its internal and external stakeholders. Yet explanations of what voice does and strategies for achieving it are still lacking in this body of work. This leaves organizational leaders knowing that a broader base of input is important to organizational success. Theorists have not provided these practitioners with a rich description of the difference between creating additional forums for input and fostering a culture that values and recognizes multiple voices in the decision-making process, however. Undertaking this task can both enrich our theory and improve practice, and the Building Community Campaign provides a rich context for exploring this question.

Toward 'multivocal culture'

Throughout this study, I have found a stumbling block presented by existing frameworks for understanding organizational culture to be their lack of space for accounting for difference as a positive, and potentially unifying characteristic of culture. Peters (1999) argues

> The problem of communication is not language's slipperiness, it is the unfixable difference between the self and the other. The challenge of communication is not to be true to our own interiority but to have mercy on others for never seeing ourselves as we do (p.267).

Following from this understanding of communication, and given existing understandings of cultural reproduction, I have sought a heuristic device that can make visible the behaviors that, when sustained in culture, create the condition of multivocality.

As we saw above, in Martin's (1992) three perspectives, the integrated perspective (which she describes as being characterized by harmony and homogeneity) allows me to see broad, overarching values and norms (which by

default typically reflect the values and norms of those who hold institutional power) that both shape interaction in the organization and function as a mechanism of control. Similarly, the differentiation (characterized by separation and conflict) perspective accounts for difference only insofar as it recognizes the potential for subcultural groups to exist. While this set of lenses may be used to examine conflict or tension between disciplinary units it can also account for group-identity driven differences in orientation. Nevertheless it accounts poorly for the ways in which these differences may enhance or enrich the organizational climate. By viewing subcultural groups as distinct and differentiated, it is difficult to attend to how multiple subject positions may be adopted and/or appropriated differently at different moments, and toward different ends.

Martin (1992), of course, attempts to account for this in her discussion of the fragmentation perspective, which she describes as being characterized by multiplicity and flux. Nevertheless, this perspective, still caries with it a negative connotation. Martin describes this perspective, indicating that

> The Fragmentation viewpoint explores the complexity of relationships between one cultural manifestation and another. Rather than seeing consensus within the boundaries of a subculture or a culture, the Fragmentation viewpoint presents a multiplicity of interpretations that seldom, if ever coalesce into a stable consensus (p.130).

Here, Martin argues that this perspective "brings ambiguity to the foreground" (p.130) and suggests that this perspective describes "a world without simplicity, order, and predictability" (p.131). None of these perspectives, however, provide the tools necessary to examine cultures whose core unifying values are centered on a celebration of difference.

Given what we have seen in the review of literature on both voice and culture, this strikes me as problematic. If we put forth a broad range of ideas and perspectives as an ideal that has the potential to foster more sound organizational decisions, and if we suggest that organizational culture is a strong mechanism for promoting organizational identification, and that buy-in is needed across levels of the organization (implying that input from different members of the organization will be needed) then it seems important to have a way of examining and describing the characteristics of, and processes involved in creating and sustaining culture that is not rooted in homogeneity, or divided along subcultural lines, but rather finds spaces of unity around matters of difference. If we take Peters' (1999) admonition seriously that "Communication failure… does not mean we are lonely zombies searching for soul mates: it means we have new ways to relate and to make new worlds with each other" (p.29) we must question what our attention might be drawn to in exploring those elements of culture that support and encourage new ways of relating and making new worlds. Throughout this dissertation, I work to develop the notion of multivocal culture to capture the essence of an organization that is characterized by a valuing of different voices, and that is organized to promote the sharing of those voices. Before I turn to a closer examination of these matters of difference, I first highlight how issues of voice and culture have been addressed with regard to universities as particular organizational contexts.

Culture and voice on campus

A relatively sizeable body of work has emerged in the last decade that has explored how these issues pertain to university campuses: Barnett (1994) argues that

the move towards an open, value driven, empowering and pluralist academic community has in part been a response to external influences, but nevertheless such changes have been increasingly called for on campuses across the United States; the University of Colorado at Boulder is no exception. Bergquist (1995) draws attention to the organizational challenges that this presents for institutions of higher education, arguing: "with their unclear boundaries, diverse educational values, and situational models of leadership, postmodern collegiate institutions are by their very nature hard to manage or define" (p.213). He echoes the cultural imperative stated above, however, by asserting also: "in the successful postmodern institution, quality is enhanced through increased access" (p. 35). So, as the structure of universities has changed along with other organizations, attention has also focused on how the climate or culture of university campuses can facilitate or complicate these changes.

In some ways, the university is a type of organization uniquely positioned to grapple with these changes. Ambrozas (1998) argues that the university is an important 'public sphere' for debate on matters of difference. She argues, however, that the 'chilly climate' of universities towards women and other minorities has stunted opportunity for significant impact on organizational voice. She further argues: "chilly climate studies have opened up new research questions and increased our understanding of social processes and cultural privileges. They have thus revealed the politicized university to be a desirable state of affairs" (p.83). In this way, universities may have a slightly different task before them than do corporate organizations.

The university has traditionally been a site of identity struggle and transformation. University students are typically at highly formative stages of their life, and the 'pursuit of knowledge' orientation of faculty also positions this as a site where matters of difference might be expected to be especially salient. At the same time, universities are also steeped in tradition, and those traditions are typically very Western. These traditions have served to uphold White male ideologies, and devalued both the experience and scholarship of 'Other' members of the institution (Ambrozas, 1998). Further, there is no clear agreement on whether or not universities should play an active role in shaping the identities of the students who attend[2], or whether, in fact, this is contrary to the mission of the university. Bérubé and Nelson (1995) argue that "…such is the image of higher education in the current public debate: it has abandoned its mission by arrogantly seeking to shape students' moral and civic lives, and, worse still, it has abandoned its mission to shape students' moral and civic lives" (p.2).

Boyd (1999) provides an interesting discussion of how the university can also challenge and constrain faculty identities, reminding us that "the university functions as part of a wider constellation of institutions devoted to sustaining and reproducing the dominant socioeconomic organization, and the critical intellectual finds himself or herself inevitably drawn into some form of complicity with these large-scale interests" (p.386). On the one hand, then, the university provides something of an ideal forum for exploring matters of difference. On the other, this context is no more immune to participatory paradox than other organizational contexts. In Boyer's (1990) Carnegie Foundation study he found that "97% of the college and university

presidents we surveyed said they 'strongly believe in the importance of community'" (p.64) on their campuses. The survey also indicated that they believed that in order to build community on campuses, strong leadership was necessary. The survey does not, however, problematize or define what community means, and who is able to define what 'counts' as community. While it upholds community as a desirable end it does not adequately explore what community looks like in process. This study of the University of Colorado at Boulder provides an opportunity to explore this question in greater depth.

Work on both voice and organizational culture has helped us to better understand the relationship between organizational climate and identification with the organization. Many of the same premises that undergird the literature on participatory decision-making drive this line of scholarship as well. As we have seen, participation of a broad base of organizational members is often listed as an important criterion for effective cultural management (c.f. Buzzanell, 1994; Cheney et al., 1998; Deetz et al., 2000; Guzley, 1992). Nevertheless, as the university presidents above attest to, attitudes persist that such 'management' and any potential 'change' requires strong leadership (Boyer, 1990). Of course, there may be some truth to this. In practice, however, 'giving voice' still implies a condition of power-over (hooks, 1992; Starhawk, 1988) that reinforces existing positions of some sets of voices in relationship to others. CU-Boulder has repeatedly struggled with these challenges as it seeks to define its campus climate.

Summarizing Culture

Both literatures reviewed above suggest that broad-based voice is critical to organizational success. While these literatures imply that 'different' voices must be a part of this equation the connection to difference is often unclear. As with the notion of voice we find that in practice 'different' voices have been given token entry into forums for participation yet those 'voices' have not always been reflected in the voice of the organization.

In this section I reviewed literature on organizational culture to further explore the notion of voice. Much of this literature presumes a need for organizational members to be highly identified with the organization. In this way, members 'choose' to behave in ways that reproduce the existing organizational voice. As we saw earlier, however, when social norms favor some positions over others opportunity for organizational voice diminishes for those with less relative power. This may decrease rather than increase identification. While more recent literature on managing culture has reinforced the importance of a broad range of different voices to the health of the organization, processes of cultural reproduction have often complicated this in practice. The following section turns to literature on 'managing diversity' to examine how voice is implied in that literature. By integrating these literatures we are able to further enrich our understanding of the notion of voice and its interrelationship to organizational difference.

Managing different voices in organizations: drawing connections

Over the last decade or so, a substantial body of literature has examined matters of diversity in organizational settings (c.f. Allen, 1995, 2000; Cheney, 2000;

Cox, 1990; Flood & Romm, 1996; Gregg, 1992; Groth, 1997; Hall, 1992; Kikoski & Kikoski, 1996; Kossek & Zonia, 1994; Kulik, 1998; Nkomo & Cox, 1996; Orbe, 1998; Rinehart, 1994; Swanger, 1994; Sykes & Brown, 1997; Wharton, 1992). Some of this research is closely related to the topics and challenges addressed above. Its particular emphasis on diversity, however, provides us with an added dimension as complex ideological systems become intermingled with other organizational issues. Closer examination of these challenges has the potential to reveal strong connections to both questions of voice, and its impact on organizational culture that have not often been made explicit.

Much of this literature treats the production and reproduction of systems of power, and/or examines the influence of socially constructed ideologies on various groups within the organizational setting. Comparatively little work has been done in this area to examine the manner in which organizational "structures" get enacted in daily practice, however. Nor has careful attention been paid to the mechanisms by which such practices may help to produce a climate more or less conducive to the dissemination of diverse perspectives[3].

These are important connections, however. A review of relevant literature points to four key questions that allow us to explore how matters of difference have been examined in organizational settings. This, in turn, allows us to see and draw important connections between both systems that allow or disallow organizational voice and the underlying culture of the organizational context. This combination provides a more robust framework for both exploring and learning from the struggles of BCC members

The first important question is: "How have matters of difference been defined in prior research and literature?" The words "difference," "diversity," "multiculturalism," "whiteness," "racism," among others get bandied about with seemingly increasing frequency in both popular and scholarly literature. Cheney (2000) remarks "difference and diversity are no longer novel words in organizational communication research. But as a result, we risk being too comfortable with the terms' use" (p.132). As we will see in chapters five and six, the very language of diversity has been a stumbling block at CU-Boulder. By examining how terms related to matters of difference have been used in this literature we can see the complications they sometimes present in context. In doing this I identify what seem to be encompassing and useful definitions of the terms for the purposes of this project.

The second question I ask is: "What are some of the recurrent findings in research on difference matters in organizational contexts, and what have we learned so far?" While still a relatively new area of inquiry, research on matters of difference has been conducted for several decades. It is, therefore, important to examine what findings appear to recur regularly and identify some of the things that we "know" about difference matters in organizations. This keeps us from 'reinventing the wheel.' It also draws attention to the kinds of assumptions that people bring with them about what diversity is, and how it impacts organizational life.

The third question: "Why 'manage' difference?" may appear straightforward, but is anything but. As mentioned above, scholars and organizational leaders are increasingly extolling the importance of managing organizational culture, and diversity. Yet, there are both benefits and potential dangers to this approach. The

very notion of 'managing diversity' raises important questions about power and decision-making authority. By exploring rationales provided for actively managing diversity in organizations it becomes easier to question the implications of such an approach. This can allow us to note concerns, raise cautions and develop recommendations for addressing matters of difference in organizations constructively and ethically.

Finally, it is useful to ask: "Are there any strategies for the successful 'management' of diversity?" While the sections that follow will problematized the notion of 'managing diversity,' existing literature does point to strategies that may promote more productive negotiation of difference in organizational contexts. Clearly, there are several themes and "key components" that tend to be included in recommendations for negotiating difference. By exploring these in the context of concerns raised in the previous section, I identify those strategies that appear to hold the most promise for moving organizations, including CU-Boulder, toward achieving a climate that genuinely values a breadth of differences: toward creating a more multivocal culture. This question also synthesizes notions of participatory decision-making and organizational culture as we see even more clearly that in order to 'negotiate difference' effectively and ethically, the organizational climate must foster voice for a broad spectrum of participants.

Finally, this section identifies traditional approaches to the study of matters of difference, and leads us into a discussion in the following section of which of these appear most relevant for the project at hand. How we look at a 'problem' often shapes

the answer(s) we find. This project is no different. First, however, let me turn to these four questions in greater detail.

Definitions of difference in prior research and literature.

We keep hearing (and I keep saying) that difference matters. But what is difference? Though the terms difference and diversity are, at times, used interchangeably, I think that it is important to distinguish between the two. Nkomo and Cox (1996) tell us that "current definitions of diversity range from narrow to very broad, expansive conceptualizations… Broad definitions imply that the term refers to all individual differences among people- that is, everyone is different" (p.338). In keeping with the premises underlying the organizational culture literature discussed above, they further add, "the concept of identity appears to be at the core of understanding diversity in organizations" (p.339). This question has provided a complicated set of struggles at the University of Colorado at Boulder that very much foreground questions of voice. The original definition of diversity adopted by the CU-Boulder campus Diversity Committee in 1994 reads

> The University of Colorado at Boulder is a community in which diversity is a fundamental value. People are different and the differences among them are what we call diversity. Diversity is a natural and enriching hallmark of life. It includes, but is not limited to, ethnicity, race, gender, age, class, sexual orientation, religion, and physical abilities. A climate of healthy diversity is one in which people value individual and group differences, respect the perspectives of others, and communicate openly.

As we seek to develop an understanding of what it would mean to negotiate difference, what exactly are we talking about? The list of classifications provided in CU-Boulder's description addresses those "out-groups" (Cox, 1993) that are most often the direct targets of diversity initiatives. The definition remains broad,

however, in that it explicitly states that "people are different and the differences among them are what we call diversity" and is explicit in not limiting diversity to the specific groups that it identifies. As we will see later, the University of Colorado Board of Regents have since adopted a new definition of diversity that is even more broad.

Thomas (1991) points out that while the first four of the categories listed above (ethnicity, race, gender, age, and in some cases, abilities) may be fairly readily observable, the others, and additional factors that may make us "different" (education level, lifestyle, goals, values, beliefs…) are not so readily observable. This places us in something of a dilemma. On the one hand, we have a tendency to define diversity as "differences among us," and to urge a valuing of different perspectives etc., yet we live in a society where historical inequities have been most sharply felt by those whose "difference" manifests itself exteriorly.

It is in part due to complicated situations such as these that some scholars argue for a discourse of multiculturalism rather than of diversity. Bowser, Aueletta & Jones (1993) argue that

> In a race conscious society, race, racism and other ways to oppress people of color take primacy in framing discussions about diversity and the multicultural perspective (p.2).

Race is not only visible, and therefore lends itself to the perpetuation of generalizations and stereotypes that help to reinforce systems of oppression, but it has deep historical roots in the fabric of U.S. society. Cox (1994) also notes that the term 'diversity' is often inappropriately confounded with race and gender (and more specifically with women and racial minorities).

As we saw above, the notion of group-identity pervades organizational culture literature even when the emphasis is not on racial or ethnic diversity, or diversifying the workforce. Differences in attitude towards work, value orientations, and resource needs may vary greatly between engineers, clerical staff, marketing teams and management, and those differences matter when coordination, or organization is required. Cox (1993) defines group identity as

> …a personal affiliation with other people with whom one shares certain things in common. Such identities are central to how cultural diversity impacts behavior in organizations (p.43).

One of the greatest challenges that this may pose for attempts at negotiating difference is that no inherent or necessary correlation exists between externally visible differences, and the internal values, beliefs, goals, hobbies, and attitudes that serve to create and reinforce group identity. Socio-historical conditions have created situations in which racial or ethnic groups may have shared a breadth of common experience that promote group identity. However, both Cox (1993) and Fine (1995) have argued that basing management decisions and implementing cultural change strategies based on the notion that members of similar visible groupings share group-identification serves to perpetuate stereotypes and may be counter-productive for the organization.

This holds true for majority or "in-group" members as much as it does for "out-group" members. Omi and Winant (1995) use the notion of racialization to describe the process whereby a group that was previously unidentified becomes racially classified. "Whites" are a good example of this. While fair skinned individuals may have had relatively less difficulty overcoming obstacles to

advancement than people of color in the United States, "Whites" come from a broad spectrum of historical, political, and cultural backgrounds, may of which share few common values, beliefs or norms (Bowser et al, 1993; Cerbone, 1997). Discussions of whiteness as an ethnic category (Crenshaw, 1997; Carillo Rowe, 2000; Giroux, 1997; Martin, Knopoff, and Beckman, 1996; Nakayama & Krizek, 1995) have helped to reinforce an understanding of race as a social concept.

If race is a socially constructed concept, then even in our attempts to be all-inclusive in our discussions of difference, it is not unusual that race-ethnicity take a prominent position in our discussions given its salience (Allen, 1995). The same holds, I would argue, for gender. While the circumstances of oppression may vary, both classifications are socially constructed and discursively reproduced (Spender, 1989). Bowser et al. (1993) define racism as

> (a) a cultural presumption in one race's superiority and another's inferiority; (b) institutional practices that reinforce and fulfill the cultural presumption; and (c) individual beliefs in the racist cultural presumption and institutional practices (p.xii).

This definition includes both individual agency, and an understanding of structural practices that perpetuate inequity even in the absence of nefarious intent (see also Omi, 1989). Yamato (1995), however, draws a distinction between types of racism based on intent of the perpetrator and manifestation of the discrimination.

All of these classifications apply to sexism as well (Andersen, 1993; Buzzanell, 1995). In addition, the social class and sexual orientation of individuals may similarly affect not only the likelihood that they will be targets of discrimination, but also their access to systems of power (c.f. Collinson & Collinson, 1992; Ellis,

1999; Foeman & Pressley, 1996; Gregg, 1992; Hall, 1992; Hearn & Parkin, 1993; Houston, 1992; Spradlin, 1998).

What is fundamentally at issue for distinctions based on these dimensions of group-identity, however, is the manner in which one group systematically oppresses and mistreats another group (Hearn & Parkin, 1993; Yamato, 1995). The notion of oppression carries with it notions of active discrimination, institutionalized inequity, and internalized ideologies that allow and encourage complicity in one's own disadvantage. Oppression exists not only when individuals actively set out to disempower others, however, but also when institutional policies and procedures inherently favor certain groups over others. Oftentimes these systems can lead to repetitive patterns of interaction and 'ways of doing' that then further reinforce taken-for-granted assumptions about roles, values and norms that affect the ideological position of both the privileged and the oppressed (Clair, 1993, 1994; Hearn & Parkin, 1993; hooks, 1992).

Mumby (1997) draws attention to an additional duality in hegemonic systems, however. He argues that the current understanding of hegemony as domination through consent has created two opposing views of power: a dominance model that reaffirms the status quo and a resistance model where resistance is not adequately problematized. He further suggests that hegemonic systems need to be understood within Gramsci's (1971) larger view of praxis and that systems of domination inevitably require counter-systems of resistance. This insight encourages scholars to attend not only to the ways in which organizational actors both oppress and are complicit in their oppression, but to restore agency to the traditionally disenfranchised

by exploring moments of resistance as well (c.f Allen, 1996; Clair, 1994; Mumby, 1996; Nadesan, 1996; Townsley & Geist, 2000; Trethewey, 1997). Advocates of organizational change management will have to negotiate the complexities of oppression in each of these guises if fundamental and lasting change is to occur.

All of the terms and concepts discussed above have relevance to this project, yet as we can see there is often overlap in meaning between terminologies, and words are sometimes used differently across contexts. As indicated above, Cox (1994) has problematized the way that discourses of 'diversity' have increasingly narrowed the scope of differences that may be claimed for discussion. While he argues for a broadening of the notion of 'diversity,' I argue that the term 'difference' better captures the breadth of commonalities and uniquenesses that this project concerns itself with. For the sake of clarity, then, I will use the term difference to talk about all those things that make us different. When I discuss the notion of negotiating difference, then, I am referring to the process of fostering an environment conducive to the expression of multiple perspectives that does not privilege one way of knowing, or method of problem solving over another in all circumstances. When I refer to 'diversity,' then, I am generally referring to bodies of work that have examined, primarily, issues of race-ethnicity and gender. This emphasis is a function of the relative quantity of work that has been done in this area. When available and appropriate work on issues of class, sexual orientation, and other differences is also included. To date, however, gender and race-ethnicity have been the differences that have mattered most in published research. This project hopes to begin to redress that

imbalance by addressing a broader scope of difference, and calls on others to do the same.

Within this discussion, however, is an awareness that different groups of people have been oppressed differently, and that that particular socio-historical reality poses unique challenges to the process of fostering and embracing an institutional climate characterized by difference. I operate from the assumption that both race and gender are social constructs that hold salience for interactions in an organizational setting. Other differences, while also salient, may be more or less foregrounded depending on the context of interaction. While all differences matter, some matter more than others in certain circumstances. Below I turn to my second question and examine what we have learned about difference in organizations to further elaborate this point.

What we have learned about difference in organizations

First, as mentioned above, much of what we know has tended to focus predominantly on matters of race and gender. While there is research that is beginning to address other differences, until now, race-ethnicity, and gender have been the foci of "diversity" research. Allen (2000), Chow (1994), hooks (1992), Houston (1992) and others have drawn increasing attention to the complex interrelationships between these, however. So, the section that follows serves as a checkpoint of sorts. In retrospect we can see that our knowledge is incomplete.

Nevertheless, looking back on the knowledge accumulated over the last several decades allows us to see how far we have come, to take note of challenges faced, obstacles met and mistakes made along the way. It puts us in a position to look

forward, more secure in the knowledge we have gained, and more aware of the questions still left unanswered. The primary themes that emerge in diversity research are that 1) organizational experiences are influenced by race-ethnicity; 2) structural barriers to the achievement of equality remain along gender lines, and multiple oppressions enhance this inequity; 3) oppression is reproduced through informal organizational channels; 4) resistance does exist and generally occurs at the micro-level; and 5) assimilation is both a less desirable, and less acceptable goal in the diverse organization of today.

Time and again, research indicates that members of different racial and ethnic groups experience organizational life differently. Allen (1995, 1996, 2000) identifies the multiple ways in which race-ethnicity impacts processes of acculturation and socialization in organizations. Allen, Orbe and Olivas (1999) extend this to matters of gender and class and explore how individual standpoints affect members' experiences with and responses to a university setting. Many others have explored the particular experiences that members of different identity groups have in organizational contexts (Shuter & Turner, 1997), and have repeatedly found that the experiences of white lower class women (Ganguly, 1992; Trethewey, 1997), Chinese women (Chen, 1992; Chow, 199[illegible] esbians (Hall, 1992; Spradlin, 1998) Chicana and Mexican immigrant women (Segura, 1994), to name just a few, do not parallel the experiences of the White middle class that has typically been the focus of organizational research.

Bowser et al. (1993) explore tensions that arise on university campuses around these matters of difference, arguing that

> People of color are perceived as threats. This is true for more than just the often-cited reasons such as they bring down high academic standards. The more that admissions slots for students and tenure and tenure-track positions for faculty are viewed as limited and scarce, the less tolerance and more fear there is for "outsiders" (p.8).

Kossek and Zonia (1994) make similar observations regarding the corporate organization, and recognize that members of minority groups may face resentment or assumptions of inferiority as co-workers presume that they were hired for affirmative action purposes. At the same time, notions of whiteness may be taken for granted, and not called into question (Crenshaw, 1997; Carillo Rowe, 2000; Martin et al., 1996; Nakayama & Krizek, 1995). This should be of significant import to those concerned with negotiating difference, as there is a demonstrable link between diversity climate and job performance (Cox, 1993). Increases in turnover, higher rates of absenteeism and lower morale all affect the organization's bottom line. At the same time, if we wish to move beyond environments that 'tolerate' outsiders to ones that embrace and value difference, a behavioral as well as theoretical shift is required. Peters (1999) suggests that

> Given our condition as mortals, communication will always remain a problem of power, ethics and art…This fact is not something to lament: it is the beginning of wisdom. To treat others as we would want to be treated means performing for them in such a way not that the self is authentically represented but that the other is caringly served (p.268).

This work seeks an understanding of those conditions that promote an attitude of caring service in organizational contexts.

Literature on diversity in organizations indicates that a wide variety of factors including but not limited to socialization processes, access to information channels and resources, and expectations for varying degrees of conformity to organizational

behavioral norms may contribute to a negative climate for members of groups who do not identify as members of the majority. Research also demonstrates a likelihood that members of different racial-ethnic backgrounds will bring different values and norms to the decision-making process within an organizational setting (Cox, Lobel, & McLeod., 1991), have different leadership style preferences, and exhibit different styles of communication (Cox, 1993; Jeanquart-Baronne,1993).

While all of these factors contribute to different perceptions of organizational life that will need to be negotiated as institutions diversify, the need for concern about "managing diversity" exists because real and perceived structural barriers to equality remain. A great deal of research has focused on the extent to which contemporary institutions, including universities, continue to perpetuate gender-based inequity (c.f. Ambrozas, 1998; Ashcraft & Packanowski, 1996; Buzzanell, 1995; Cox, 1993, Martin, 1990; Mumby, 1996; Nicotera, 1999; Nkomo & Cox, 1996; Wharton, 1992). Women's speech continues to be devalued, and women often must adopt masculine ways of speaking to be perceived as successful, and when they do, face the possibility of being regarded as unfeminine or bitchy (Johnson, 1983; Spender, 1989). While this line of inquiry deserves qualification, and assumptions about its unequivocal generalizability should be cautious, its claims have been time tested, and reflect the personal experience of many women.

This disparity is further evidenced in the way that male sexuality dominates the workplace (Collinson & Collinson, 1992; Mills, 1992). Sexual harassment remains a very real concern for women (Keyton, 1996; Kramarae, 1992; Motley & Reeder, 1995; Solomon & Williams, 1997), and the "glass ceiling" effect still inhibits

advancement. Additionally, while women are entering the workforce in increasing numbers, the types of positions they hold and the kind of work that they are expected to do is still highly "feminized." Often, female-dominated trades have high expectations for "emotional labor" (Hochschild, 1993; Martin et al., 1996).

Oppressions are often felt at multiple levels, however (Cannon, Higginbotham & Leung, 1988; Chow, 1994; hooks, 1992; Houston, 1992; Hearn & Parkin, 1993; Martinez, 1996; West & Fenstermaker, 1995). Women who are also members of other traditionally disadvantaged groups may feel these oppressions even more forcefully. Assumptions about their qualifications may be augmented as co-workers perceive them as being a "twofer" hire (Allen, 1995); presuming that the organization was able to fill two affirmative action goals with one hire. Segura (1994) and Chen (1992) raise additional questions about the challenges faced by minority immigrant women as their cultural norms and values conflict with the dominant institutional and/or organizational systems. Addressing these inequities can be particularly difficult as they are often reproduced informally (Mumby, 1998). Organizational policies affirming a strong commitment to difference are commonplace today, yet the obstacles outlined above persist. Bowser et al. (1993) argue that

> Through the informal life of an institution, one can maintain historic racial and cultural privileges while professing and giving the appearance of fairness (pp.1-2).

Mumby (1987) has argued that it is through the sharing of narratives, and organizational discourse that power relationships become reified and reproduced (See also Brown, 1990; Brown & McMillan, 1991). The study of the BCC has the

potential to demonstrate how institutional obstacles can persist even while proactive measures are taken to foster forums for inclusion.

It makes sense then, that if identity formation (Deetz, 1992), and group-identity salience (Cox, 1993; Wharton, 1992) occur at this day-to-day micro level, that resistance should be found there also. As Mumby (1997) has pointed out, these hegemonic systems operate in constant tension between both oppression and resistance. Many scholars have demonstrated this, indicating that often members of oppressed groups find space for resistance through reframing, conversation with co-workers, small acts of subversion, self-disciplining, and using the logic of the employer against them (Hossfeld, 1993; Nadesan, 1996; Papa, Auwal, & Singhal, 1997; Rollins, 1997; Segura, 1994; Trethewey, 1997).

All of these factors gain in salience as institutional life comes to include an increasing breadth of perspective, and as "fitting in" or working toward assimilation becomes both less desirable and less acceptable (Thomas, 1991). Kossek & Zonia (1994), demonstrate that one's relative advantage within the existing system is correlated to one's attitude toward diversity training and management. Resistance may be met on many fronts, however, if organizational 'Others' do not perceive a genuine commitment from leadership and if organizational members themselves are not invested in change. For these reasons among many others, a great deal of scholarship has focused on the importance of 'managing' diversity. While there are problems inherent in this approach, it is clear that difference is a critical component of organizational life that must be 'managed' or negotiated by organizational members.

Why negotiating difference matters

Several potential reasons for negotiating difference have been alluded to in, or can be surmised from the discussion so far. A large number of studies of 'diversity management' cite the findings of Workforce 2000 (Johnston & Packer, 1997) as incontrovertible evidence that attention to difference matters. The face of the contemporary institution is changing rapidly, and will continue to do so over the next several years (Brinkman, 1997; Cox, 1990; Stohl, 1995). We are no longer looking ahead to Workforce 2000, however, and the issues raised by this literature are upon us.

Authors also often cite moral, legal and economic reasons for taking this matter seriously (Cox, 1993; Fine, 1995). Inclusion is the right thing to do. This perspective also foregrounds more clearly the critical centrality of participatory communication to this topic and is in keeping with the work of many critical organizational scholars (c.f. Bordenave, 1994; Cheney, 1995; Cheney et al. 1998; Deetz, 1992, 1995; Glew, O'Leary- Kelly, Griffin & Van Fleet, 1997, Kumar, 1994; Marshall & Stohl, 1993). Affirmative action and equal opportunity employment are still the law in most states (though many also point out that they are often seen as toothless). Increasingly, however, evidence simply indicates that having a diverse workforce is good for business. Some of the findings above indicate the potential disadvantages of not attending to matters of difference. There is some indication, however, that when difference is allowed to matter, factors such as organizational entry and assimilation (Cox, 1993; Jablin, 1987), group task behavior (Cox et al.,

1991; Hirokawa, 1980), and organizational flexibility are enhanced. Thomas (1991) warns that

> Those who try to force today's reality into yesterday's management patterns will seriously jeopardize the viability of their enterprise (p.9)

Moreover, the contested nature of the modern organizational terrain (Edwards, 1979; Chow, 1994) means that power is at stake. As Bowser et al. (1993) mentioned above, when resources become perceived as scarce, tensions rise. By developing a better understanding of how to manage and negotiate these tensions, we can perhaps gain insight into the complexities of strategic communication and the role that it plays in reinforcing unequal power relationships.

Before discussing the strategies that have been proposed in order to "manage diversity," however, it is important to question the assumptions that are embedded in this perspective. First of all, the presumption that organizational cultures are something that can (and should) be managed and changed (Bate, 1994; Kunda, 1992; Schein, 1992) often places agency squarely in the hands of management. This deserves a cautionary note. While it seems clear that change will not occur, or will occur much more slowly without the investment of management in the process, recognizing the agency of those currently most disadvantaged by the system is an important step in redressing that inequity. Deetz, Tracy and Simpson (2000) address the importance of participation across organizational levels when attempting to manage the hearts, minds and souls of employees. Starhawk (1988) similarly encourages that we recognize the power within individual agents to affect change in their lives. If the system that we seek to change is one of power-over, then beginning

exclusively from a managerial position continues to reinforce that system (hooks, 1992).

Such an approach also assumes that a change in managerial style is what is most needed, and that it will benefit the organization. Studies of alternative management approaches, however (Ashcraft, 2000; Eastland, 1991; Simpson, 1998) demonstrate that these can often pose real challenges for an organization. It is important to maintain an awareness of this at the outset. Otherwise, the possibility for viewing these challenges as a failure of the rationale behind change, rather than as a product of the particular approach taken within a particular context has the potential to create further setbacks.

As we saw above, research on participatory approaches to communication demonstrates that when participation supercedes action often a return to more authoritarian modes of management occurs as people prefer some action to none (Bordenave, 1994; Stohl, 1995; Stohl & Cheney, 2000). If the goal is to create an environment in which multiple perspectives are brought to bear on important decisions, it is imperative that such an approach allow for action or not only will the organization suffer from inaction, but perceptions of the utility of such change may diminish. In order for the dissemination metaphor to bear fruit, opportunities to sow seed that may fall in fertile ground must exist.

Another important assumption to examine is the claim that everyone will benefit from these changes (c.f. Bowser et al., 1993). While evidence does seem to indicate that better decisions can be made if diverse perspectives are brought to bear on them early on, and that the sharing of a broad range of experience enhances

learning environments, the changes will not be comfortable for everyone. First of all, if systems of power are upset, those privileges to which some have become accustomed will be more scarce. Secondly, redressing centuries of inequity will be a slow and gradual progress. Some will see tangible advantages more readily than others, and if the system does ever change fundamentally, success within a new system may not look like success as it does now. Ideological systems will need to be upset to affect real and lasting change, otherwise we will simply find ourselves in situations where different groups of people rotate through positions of relative domination and oppression. Yet many of those who critique the nature of this system also dream of success within it. The corner office with a view may not hold the same meaning if fundamental change is achieved.

It is also important to be very clear about whom we are talking when we discuss what "management" must do to 'manage diversity'. Thomas (1991) reminds us that

> It is not about white males managing women and minorities; it is about all managers empowering whoever is in their workforce (p.12).

This approach allows all members access to mechanisms of empowerment. We have seen that assimilation is an increasingly undesirable option, both because it homogenizes the diverse perspectives brought by individual organizational members and because it requires members to "check their identity at the door." Finally, this awareness helps to keep us focused on the long-term, over-time nature of cultural change.

This section has begun to tie together the issues raised by literature on participatory decision-making and organizational cultural change as it has sought to

answer the question 'why negotiate difference?' As organizations increasingly diversify, differences among organizational members may matter more and more. The value of 'negotiating difference' comes from maximizing the advantage that all organizational members gain from increased voice in organizational decisions. This may not only foster increased identification with and commitment to the organization, but also has the potential to lead to better decisions.

This approach holds promise, but is also fraught with potential pitfalls. If powerful members of existing organizational systems set about 'managing' the less powerful in the organization for personal or economic gain, opportunity for broad-based voice diminishes. Perhaps one of the greatest challenges of negotiating difference is that while it requires support from the top, true change can only occur with input and commitment from those less powerful as well. In this way, negotiating difference is not a managerial task, but rather a collective organizational process. Before I proceed let me offer a caveat concerning 'strategies' for negotiating difference. Unlike models that advocate 'managing diversity' the strategies below are not intended to alleviate the pain and struggle associated with encouneters involving diversity (which most do). Peters (1999) argues

> The conceit that techniques can correct the painful and happy fact of our mutual difference not only is misguided, it is based on rare scenarios in which the ambiguity of signs can be fatal. Most of the time we understand each other quite well; we just don't agree…The moral: Build redundancy into messages on which life and death depend…But in relations among friends, colleagues, and loved ones, what might be called failure to communicate is more often a divergence of commitment or a deficit of patience. Communication, again, is more basically a political and ethical problem than a semantic or psychological one…We ought to be less worried about how signs arouse divergent meanings than the conditions that keep us from attending to our neighbors and other beings different from us (p.269).

In developing 'strategies,' then, I hope to offer not corrective techniques but rather to identify areas in which behavioral change can affect the political and ethical challenges of attending more carefully to our different neighbors.

The section below draws on the knowledge we have gained through study on 'managing diversity' while remaining sensitive to the concerns raised above and highlights what appear to be useful strategies for negotiating this world of difference in organizational contexts

Some useful strategies for negotiating difference

> A popular basic text in organizational communication tells us that
>
> Because we tend to forget that strategies of organizing are *choices* among a variety of options, we also tend to forget that differences in opportunity are not natural or normal, but instead are embedded in our choice of organizational strategies (Conrad and Poole, 1998, p.349).

Even this awareness presumes a managerial approach, however. While I have raised concerns about this above, it is also important to recognize that within the given system, management needs to be involved in facilitating change. As we will see, however, one of management's biggest roles will be to include others, in a genuine way, in the decision-making process. And, one of the greatest challenges may be in determining how this can be accomplished without creating a dilemma of participationitis (Bordenave, 1994).

Thomas (1991) defines managing diversity as

> A comprehensive managerial process for developing an environment that works for all employees (p. 10).

As with any project of cultural change, several elements are essential to achieving success (Brinkman, 1997; Cox, 1993; Deetz, Tracy & Simpson, 2000; Fine, 1995;

Schein, 1992). First of all assessment of the current organizational climate is important. This should examine how both formal policies and informal practices influence the diverse membership of the institution or organization.

Secondly, support from the top is essential. A commitment to change should be part of the broader vision of the organization, so that decisions are made within the context of valuing difference. This support should be visible, and it should include not only "lip service," but also resource allocation to make change both possible and successful.

Third, employee [or member] involvement is imperative. While I have already raised several caveats on this front it is worth reiterating that participation must be about bringing diverse perspectives to bear on an issue, and facilitating the dissemination of these perspectives in potentially fertile ground. Participation should not lead an organization to inaction, nor should it disregard the valuable input of its members in order to act rapidly. At the same time, tokenism should not serve as a substitute for participation. Negotiating difference is important because it recognizes the value that already exists in the knowledge and experience of institutional members. Changing the appearance of the faces around the table is not sufficient if this does not also change the perspectives that are contributed to the process.

Another frequently cited component of diversity management, and the fourth element I offer here, is training (see for example Brinkman, 1997; Cox, 1993; Fine, 1995; Kulik, 1998). It is also important to recognize, however, that mandatory trainings are often seen as a waste of time, or as common-sensical. Training should be done within the context of the larger vision of the organization. As we saw above,

simply conducting sensitivity training may lead to an atmosphere of political correctness that, as we will see in chapter three, precludes debate about important issues rather than fostering opportunity for the potential of dialogue to arise. Similarly, the notion of diversity has the potential to foreclose, rather than open space for such dialogue if not approached with sensitivity to perspectives on all sides. Cheney (2000) highlights the challenges and opportunities that difference affords organizations arguing:

> Fully understanding diversity requires a careful look at local-global tensions in a variety of social contexts and discursive communities. The concept of diversity itself is prone to a kind of centralization and discursive closure in Stanley Deetz's (1992) terms. The area of diversity management as an identifiable set of policies and training activities in today's organizations has been accused of interpreting the Other largely from the perspective of the Euro-American manager…diversity is expressed as something to be permitted, controlled and managed—with subordination of alterative perspectives to the dominant, orchestrating view… despite high-minded, ethically oriented calls for greater diversity, the perspective ultimately taken in most organizational discourses is instrumental, with a concern for order, unity, and the bottom line. Working toward real diversity yet keeping the conversation going is hard work (p.140)

In fact, Bastien (1992) uses linguistic theory to describe how different cultures behave in organizations when first brought into contact with one another after a merger or acquisition. He notes that "when two communities come into contact with one another, dialect geographers would expect to see convergent cultural change within at least one of the groups" (p.411). He finds that this does, in fact occur, with greater convergence noted among lower-status members of the organization. He further finds that when convergence is not complete (i.e. if members adopt new modes of speech, but do not alter divergent modes of dress) that those members who do not converge are less likely to be maintained in the organization.

These findings have significant impact for our understanding of training as a component of 'diversity management.' If, as we have already established, part of the value to the organization comes from preserving and supporting difference, then training that focuses on assimilation of one group into the more powerful group is counterproductive. Furthermore, as I will elaborate in chapters seven and eight, training must be understood as a change process not only at the individual level, but also at the cultural and institutional levels. This kind of approach can more readily both demonstrate and enact a systemic commitment to change that is the fifth strategy for success. When the manner in which decisions are made, and actions are taken, begins to shift, change becomes possible.

Finally, just as taking a managerial approach means recognizing that managers are not all white men, and a commitment to cultural change requires the empowerment of all institutional members by everyone in managerial positions, so does a commitment to negotiating difference require an acceptance, and acknowledgement of both differences (Brinkman, 1997; Cox, 1993) and similarities (Thomas, 1991) among organizational members. Approaching diversity management from the presumption that differences are the primary obstacle to be overcome is overly essentializing. Recognizing instead that difference is inherent and inevitable and creates the very conditions in which interaction can occur opens new possibilities.

Table 2.1 summarizes these strategies for negotiating difference. These strategies will be revisited in the analytic chapters that follow to more closely examine the role that difference plays in building community at The University of

Colorado at Boulder. While many of the works reviewed here suggest a perspective that places middle management in charge of securing both support form the top, and investment from below, each of these components is important to an organizational environment that supports and values difference.

Table 2.1 Strategies for successfully negotiating difference

Step	Purpose
1. Organizational assessment	Determine the impact of formal and informal policies and practices on organizational members.
2. Support from the top	Demonstrate the commitment to change at top org. levels through development of vision and provision of resources to achieve successful and lasting change.
3. Member involvement	Involve organizational members in decision-making processes. Ensure mechanism for action. Avoid tokenism.
4. Training	Promote dissemination of differences. Enhance cultural awareness within the broader context of organizational vision.
5. Systemic commitment to change	Recognize that negotiating difference will result in fundamental and systemic change. Be willing to commit to long-term change in practices and commitments.

If we begin with a systemic orientation from the outset, steps 1-3 must occur concurrently. In this way, investment from management is clear, yet it does not drive the change process. Instead, the members of the organization are able to collectively define the differences that matter through access to the means of dissemination and redefine both attitudes and behaviors accordingly.

Summarizing difference

We have come a long way toward recognizing that difference matters. We have learned some things about how people live, work and interact with people who share different perspectives, values and beliefs. Yet much of our scholarship has continued to use external markers to delineate difference. While certain groups have been placed at a disadvantage socio-historically because of these external markers, the value in negotiating difference lies beyond these superficial characteristics. Research indicates that in efforts to manage an increasingly diverse workforce, the nature of management will need to change. Calls for participatory involvement in decision-making practices are advocated both on moral grounds, and as good business practice. Yet, often these prescriptions fall into similar dilemmas faced by prior research. Broad assumptions are made about attributes of out-group members, and while participation is called for, agency resides with management.

We have made progress in understanding these issues, yet there remains a long road ahead. While our differences may be what draw our attention to the need for cultural change, a failure to recognize the generative potential of these differences has equated diversity with division and divisiveness. If we seek a system that recognizes the inherent value of multiple perspectives, "implementing" such change from above may not move us there. While managerial involvement is necessary, the collaborative nature of the project must be embraced before the problems are identified. And, resources must be allocated to allow for action to arise out of the collaborative process, rather than have it contribute solely to an ultimately authoritarian system. A forum without voice does not address the underlying issues.

This work suggests that differences in perspective lead to better decisions-for the organization and that participation in decision-making processes fosters greater identification with and commitment to the organization. Participation exists in a reflexive relationship to culture as increased participation may foster a more open climate, while a hostile climate may preclude open participation. The study of the Building Community Campaign at The University of Colorado at Boulder provides a powerful opportunity to synthesize this literature, address lacunae and offer greater theoretical and practical insight into how and when differences come to matter in organizations. Throughout this study I have found that discourses of community often employ the subtexts of voice, culture and difference to describe, define and delineate what community 'is' or 'should be.' I use the understanding of these three concepts as developed above to probe and explore the process of 'building community' throughout this study to better understand the interrelationship between them in organizational practice.

Bringing it all together: Using deeper understanding to produce richer theory.

Today, many organizations have policies that affirm their 'strong commitment to diversity.' This commitment often sounds like a commitment to broad based voice. A great deal of research, however, indicates that inequity persists along race (c.f. Allen, 1995, 1996, 2000; Bergquist, 1995; Bowser et al., 1993; Buttny, 1997; Cannon et al., 1988; Cerbone, 1997; Chen, 1992; Chow, 1994; Flood & Romm, 1996; Foeman et al. 1996; Hearn & Parkin, 1993; Hess et al., 1995; Houston, 1992; Kenton & Valentine, 1997; Kossek & Zonia, 1994; Martin & Nakayama, 1999; Matinez, 1996; Nkomo & Cox, 1996; Omi & Winant, 1995; Orbe, 1998; Segura, 1994; West &

Fenstermaker, 1995; Wharton, 1992; Yamato, 1995) and gender lines (c.f. Ambrozas, 1998; Ashcraft & Packanowski, 1996; Buzzanell, 1995; Cox, 1993; Johnson, 1983; Martin, 1990; Mumby, 1996; Nicotera, 1999; Nkomo & Cox, 1996; Spender, 1989; Wharton, 1992). Beyond disparity in pay for different races and genders, job expectations are often different as well (Hoschild, 1993; Martin et al., 1996). Further, research continues to demonstrate that the workplace climate reflects male heterosexual norms (Collinson & Collinson, 1992; Mills, 1992) that makes sexual harassment an ongoing concern (Keyton, 1996; Kramarae, 1992; Motley & Reeder, 1995; Solomon & Williams, 1997). None of these are proscribed by organizational policy; yet they continue to be reproduced informally through day-to-day organizational interaction (Bowser et. Al., 1993; Mumby, 1987).

We know that both identity formation (Deetz, 1992; Knights & Wilmott, 1989), and group-identity salience (Cox, 1993; Wharton, 1992) are produced and reproduced at this day-to-day micro level. When some members of the organization find that their input does not translate into voice, resistance to the existing system emerges at this level of daily interaction. Silence can speak volumes as well and often members of oppressed groups find space for resistance in spaces of daily micro-practice (Clair, 1997; Hossfeld, 1993; Papa et al., 1997; Rollins, 1997; Segura, 1994; Trethewey, 1997).

Each of these becomes increasingly important as institutional life comes to include a broader range of perspectives, and as "fitting in" or working towards assimilation becomes both less desirable and less acceptable (Thomas, 1991). The more privileged one is within the existing system, the more likely one may be to see

diversity training, or other programs aimed at changing organizational norms, as unnecessary (Kossek & Zonia, 1994). This makes change especially difficult as those in power must 'give voice' without preserving the power-over status that this implies. The literature on 'managing diversity' reviewed above can help us to see both the greatest weaknesses in the implementation of participatory systems and remind us of the potential rewards that a renewed commitment to such an approach can offer.

Scholarship on 'managing diversity' has echoed the call of both participatory decision-making and organizational cultural change work. First, it suggests that one of the greatest benefits of a diverse workforce is the ability it affords to bring a rich set of different ideas and perspectives to bear on critical organizational issues. This literature often encourages that organizational leaders attend to the organizational climate and ensure that it is conducive to expressing differing ideas an opinions. This fosters creative and critical thought. The focus, however, is on management providing these things. Here, this literature encounters the same challenges of participatory-decision making literatures by promoting a paradoxical approach to changing organizational culture (Stohl, 1995; Stohl & Cheney, 2000). The mechanism suggested for 'giving voice' only produces additional forums for input into a largely unchanged organizational system.

Synthesis and recommendations

Research on participatory decision-making and organizational culture has demonstrated that voice can strengthen organization. Through increased participation, the collective organization benefits from a broader range of perspectives being brought to bear on critical organizational issues. The decisions

that result are more responsive to broad-based social concerns and can produce decisions that are more viable and sustainable over the long term. In order for participatory systems to have this effect, however, organizational cultures must encourage and embrace broad-based input. Forums for participation are not sufficient if they do not provide opportunity for dissemination in potentially fertile ground. It is only through challenges to traditional organizational voice that these more robust decisions can be reached.

This orientation is not only socially and ethically just, but it is also good for business. Research has demonstrated time and again that increased organizational voice fosters greater investment in and identification with the organization. Greater identification may lead to reductions in turnover and a stronger commitment to the success of the organization. Both literatures on participatory decision-making and organizational cultural change are based on a premise that organizational voice must reflect and respond to the differences that matter in an organization. It is because different voices are brought to bear on organizational problems that more sound decisions will be made and members will be more identified with the organization.

Literature on 'managing diversity' has argued this point even more clearly. The connections between voice and difference have not always been as clear, however. Both literatures on 'managing culture' and 'managing diversity' imply the preservation of existing power relationships in organizations. These approaches highlight the importance of participation to organizational success but fail to clearly articulate how this translates into practice. Indeed several studies of alternative organizational forms demonstrate that flattened hierarchy and more participative

styles of management encounter their own problems in implementation. Nevertheless, the lack of specificity in these literatures leaves us with ideological imperatives instead of practical alternatives.

I have suggested that theories of voice will benefit from a deeper understanding of the interrelationship between difference and voice. Each of the literatures above calls for a form of participation that reflects and responds to difference, yet in practice we find organizations providing more space for discussion without a concomitant increase in decisions that reflect the input that is received. This chapter has attempted to provide a richer articulation of the notion of voice that makes this dilemma more visible. By understanding that voice can only be achieved when the organization both mirrors its membership and moves accordingly we can more readily identify when it is merely the illusion of voice that exists. Since the early 1980s scholars have encouraged organizational leaders to recognize the need for change. The change that has occurred, however, has not responded to the fundamental need for organizations to evolve in a way that is reflective of their changing membership.

The opening discussion in this chapter provided a typology that can allow us to explore how voice is silenced, ignored, socially conditioned and strategically withheld. Both organizational members and scholars interested in organizations can begin to use this typology to explore organizational experience. The chapters that follow take up these questions more empirically. As I work to provide a richer understanding of voice I also remind myself that "we should not always view silence as a form of oppression. Sometimes silence is resistance" (Clair, 1997, p.332).

Below I take up the challenge of more clearly demonstrating how voice is articulated with notions of participation, culture and difference so that we can more clearly see how silence can function to both oppress and break open spaces for social and organizational change. The next chapter introduces the context and people whose quest to Build Community provides insight into these issues.

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[1] Sometimes these terms will be used interchangeably. They are not synonymous, however, and distinctions will be unpacked in greater detail later on.

[2] This of course presumes that the current curriculum is a neutral one and doesn't shape student identities

[3] Notable exceptions that have examined the constitutive role of communication in 'structuring' organizational life include Boden (1994) and Schwartzman (1989). Neither of these pieces, however, addresses the way that this process of structuring in turn affects the cultural climate of an organizational site and its impact on diverse organizational members in any explicit or detailed way.

CHAPTER III

BUILDING COMMUNITY IN PRACTICE

This chapter builds on the understandings of voice, culture, and difference developed in chapter two and introduces the site of this study through immersion in the challenges and struggles of Building Community Campaign members, and of the campus at large. As I introduce the site of this study in more detail I build on the broader social and theoretical issues already outlined in chapters one and two, and demonstrate how they are manifest in a particular organizational context. This section (a) focuses explicitly on the relevance of bodies of literature reviewed in chapter two to understanding the communicative processes of the Building Community Campaign at University of Colorado at Boulder and (b) discusses the potential of this site for drawing deeper and richer connections between these bodies of work.

After introducing you to the site, I use it as a backdrop to examine each body of literature for its heuristic strengths and weaknesses. Highlighting these allows greater insight into the theoretical gaps between existing works on these topics. In doing this we find that this research site can be useful for both integrating knowledge gained in each of these three areas, and for moving beyond such summative knowledge to a more holistic understanding of communicative processes in practice.

This chapter, then, demonstrates the appropriateness of this site to exploring issues of voice, culture and difference. It concludes by tying the theoretical issues raised in chapter two to the experience of organizational members at the University

of Colorado at Boulder and identifies the research questions that motivate my inquiry. Below, I explore tensions around matters of difference on the University of Colorado at Boulder campus and describe how the Building Community Campaign emerged in response to both specific incidents on this particular campus and to a broader socio-cultural climate.

Relevance of this context to this inquiry

The struggles at University of Colorado at Boulder are especially interesting for exploring the interrelationship between voice, culture and difference because matters that arose around 'diversity' very rapidly became framed as 'community' or 'climate' problems. As people at CU-Boulder came together to address these 'community' concerns, attention shifted from specific incidents to recurrent observations that the campus climate at the University of Colorado at Boulder was unwelcoming and/or hostile to people of color. People who attended early BCC meetings felt strongly that many of the 'flare-ups' around matters of difference were symptomatic of deeper cultural problems.

The Building Community Campaign rapidly formed around the premise that people at CU-Boulder needed to feel a sense of connectedness to one another, and to the university, before the root of these tensions could be addressed. From the beginning, the BCC was created to address diversity concerns. And, from almost as early on, the group's efforts became focused on how to assess problematic elements of the campus culture that worked against diversity, and on identifying ways to change the culture to reflect a broader range of experiences. As we saw in chapter one, 'community' refers not to an end state, but rather to a way of being in

relationship to one another. Yet, while this desire for an alternative way of being and doing is evident in what members of CU-Boulder are calling for, translating the desire into practice remains a challenge. This, as we will see, has been a particular challenge of the BCC. On the one hand, the campaign aims to create an environment in which difference is a fundamental value. On the other, the commonsense notion of how this is to happen relies heavily on a notion of coming together, and finding common ground. Levinas argues

> The theme of solitude and the breakdown of human communication are viewed by modern literature and thought as the fundamental obstacle to human brotherhood. The pathos of socialism breaks against the eternal Bastille in which each person remains his own prisoner, locked up with himself when the party is over, the crowd gone and the torches extinguished. The despair felt at the impossibility of communication…marks the limits of all pity, generosity, and love…But if communication bears the mark of failure or inauthenticity in this way, it is because it is sought as a fusion." (Emmanuel Levinas, "The Other in Proust" (1947), in the Levinas Reader, ed. Seán Hand (Oxford: Blackwell, 19889) p. 164 cited in Peters, 1999, p.21)

This dilemma will be returned to throughout this study as I explore how organizational cultures work to perpetuate practices that silence, ignore, discourage, or encourage voice. And, it allows us to explore the role that difference plays in this process more closely.

The context

In chapter one, I introduced you to the socio-historical context that frames the site-specific struggles on which this study focuses. You will remember that as Affirmative Action legislation was increasingly called into question in the late 1990s, the Colorado Commission on Higher Education (CCHE) repealed its statewide Affirmative Action guidelines in the summer of 1998, leaving it to individual campuses in the state system to develop their own diversity plans. In order to better

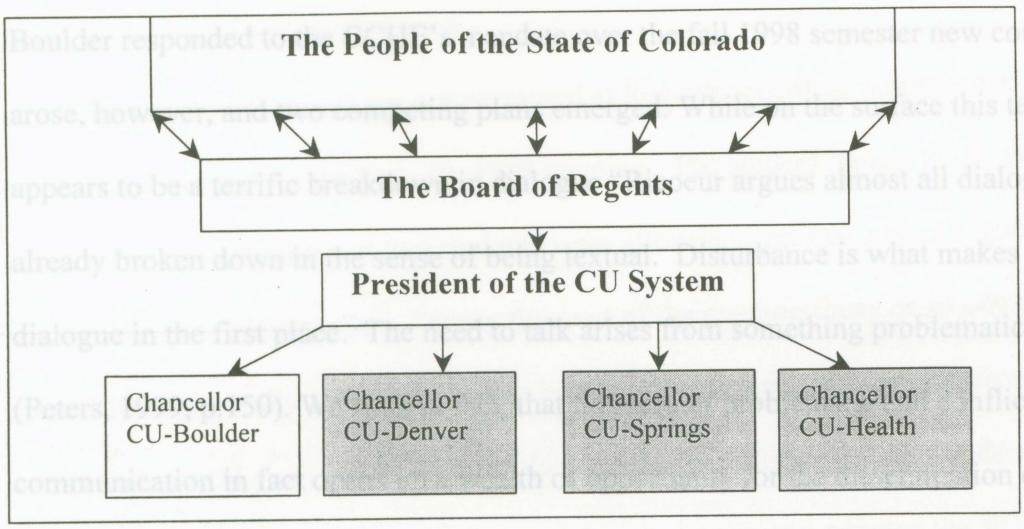
understand the struggles of the CU-Boulder campus, it is helpful to understand the structure of the state university system in Colorado.

The CCHE was established in 1965 by the state legislature and is the state policy and coordinating board for Colorado's public higher education system. The Commission's mission is "to implement the directives of the General Assembly, and promote and preserve quality, access, accountability, diversity and efficiency within Colorado public higher education" (http://www.state.co.us/cche_dir/hecche.html). This body, then, oversees all of Colorado's state schools. In addition to myriad two-year institutions, the state of Colorado has twelve state institutions that offer Bachelor's level education and beyond. Of these twelve institutions, four of them make up the University of Colorado system, which is itself governed by a Board of Regents. The board's authorization reads:

> The board is charged constitutionally with the general supervision of the University and the exclusive control and direction of all funds of and appropriations to the University, unless otherwise provided by law. The Board of Regents consists of nine members serving staggered six-year terms, one elected from each of the state's six congressional districts and three from the state at large. The members select their own chair and vice-chair. Prior to July 1, 1973, the board was made up of six regents, all elected from the state at large. (http://www.cu.edu/regents/Authorization/index.html).

Each of the four schools under the jurisdiction of the Board of Regents is located along the (eastern) front range of the Rocky Mountains. Each campus has a Chancellor and several Vice Chancellors at the highest levels of administration. All four Chancellors report to a President who presides over the entire system, and reports to the Board of Regents. Table 3.1 summarizes this system-wide structure.

Table 3.1 Relationship of the CU-Boulder Campus to the State System



Within the University of Colorado system, the University of Colorado at Boulder regards itself, and is widely regarded, as the flagship school in the state. This study concerns itself primarily with events on this campus. Organizational charts for the offices of the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellors of the CU- Boulder campus are included in Appendix A[1]. Below, I begin my discussion of the struggles at CU-Boulder by examining the campus response to the CCHE mandate.

Struggling with difference at CU-Boulder

The Fall 1998 semester started with a flurry of activity surrounding matters of difference on the CU-Boulder campus. Many members of the campus who had focused their energies on increasing campus diversity saw the CCHE's repeal of state-wide mandates as a potentially lethal blow to a school whose ability to recruit and retain students, faculty and staff of color had yet to prove itself. Nevertheless, some saw the challenge before them as an opportunity to more carefully articulate and clearly define a vision for the future of diversity on the CU-Boulder campus. The CCHE established that campus plans were to be presented to the board of Regents for

consideration on December 10, 1998. As members of the University of Colorado at Boulder responded to the CCHE's mandate over the fall 1998 semester new conflicts arose, however, and two competing plans emerged. While on the surface this tension appears to be a terrific breakdown in dialogue "Ricoeur argues almost all dialogue is already broken down in the sense of being textual. Disturbance is what makes it dialogue in the first place. The need to talk arises from something problematic" (Peters, 1999, p.150). We find, in fact, that this area of problematic and conflictual communication in fact opens up a wealth of opportunity for the dissemination of diverse perspectives. Their characterization by members on both sides of the debate as breakdowns rather than opportunities, however, presents its own set of challenges.

The chancellor, and a committee that he convened, the Boulder Campus Diversity Committee (BCDC), developed one diversity plan, and students who became concerned that the BCDC plan lacked substance and the possibility for accountability formed an affirmative action coalition and drafted another plan themselves. These plans provide an important backdrop against which interaction around matters of difference unfolded over the following year. The BCDC plan stated four primary goals for the university, brief excerpts of which are provided in Table 3.2. The students' plan was much more involved than the BCDC plan and provided very detailed and specific accounting mechanisms, both of which were absent from the BCDC proposal. By the time December arrived, the campus had not even approached consensus on how to craft a 'campus' plan. This lack of consensus being seen as problematic, the BCDC presented their plan to the Board of Regents as the first phase in a two-phase process. The student affirmative action coalition,

meanwhile, was increasingly disillusioned with the BCDC process and sought to present its own plan before the board.

Since public hearings are not permitted at Regents meetings, students had to be sponsored to speak at the Dec. 10, 1998 meeting. The student liaison to the Board provided this sponsorship and two students were allowed to present a brief argument for supporting the student plan. During this part of the meeting thirty or so other students lined the walls of the small room bearing signs supporting the inclusion of concrete numerical goals in the campus plan. The Regents listened to the students present their plan, publicly "acknowledged" their concerns, and adopted the BCDC plan, assuring students that their concerns would be weighed in the Phase II segment of the process. It is important to note in particular that the first goal of the BCDC plan indicates "Phase II of our process will focus on creating the numerical goals for recruitment and retention by the end February 1999," and that goals two and three emphasize the importance of a campus climate of inclusion and respect. Finally, goal four affirms the importance of continuing to solicit campus input in the ongoing planning process.

As Phase II evolved, however, many of these promises went unfulfilled. As we know, this is a particular challenge of participatory decision-making designs. Soliciting input and not acting on it can have serious effects on institutional climate and on trust in future 'participatory' processes (Bordenave, 1994; Stohl, 1995, Stohl & Cheney, 2000). This process of developing a campus-wide diversity plan provided a very public forum for airing campus concerns surrounding matters of difference. At the end of the process, however, the organizational voice that was given life in the

plan was seen by many as more a reflection of the will of the Board of Regents than of the broad range of voices that had contributed to the process. Meanwhile, with this set of struggles as an institutional backdrop, the Building Community Campaign was struggling to find its own voice.

Table 3.2 Excerpts from the BCDC Diversity Plan

Goal 1: Access and opportunity
As the flagship public University in Colorado, the University of Colorado at Boulder provides access to quality education to all Colorado residents, with a special obligation to reach out to groups traditionally under-represented in higher education (1-5 years) Phase II of our process will focus on creating the numerical goals for recruitment and retention by the end February 1999.(emphasis added)
Goal 2: Diversity and Community
The University of Colorado at Boulder seeks to nurture a campus of inclusion and respect that welcomes groups and individuals from different racial/ethnic groups, cultures, abilities, economic backgrounds, and perspectives. (1-5 years). (emphasis added)
Goal 3: Learning Experiences for Diversity
The University of Colorado at Boulder seeks to provide students, faculty, staff, and the larger community with knowledge, understanding, and appreciation of the full range of human experience. Interacting with and learning about people who are different from themselves will equip all members of the campus community to acquire the information, skills, and perspectives necessary for leadership and civic responsibility in the 21st century. (emphasis added)
Goal 4: Campus Planning Process
Continue campus input, fact finding, and planning in order to revise, refine, and implement the University of Colorado at Boulder Diversity and Equity Plan. (emphasis added)

Beginning to Build Community

During the time that this first draft of the diversity plan was being developed for the CCHE, the University of Colorado at Boulder found itself grappling with a range of issues, both explicitly related to, and indirectly affected by, matters of difference. In the summer of 1998 incidents that were characterized as overt group-targeted hate drew renewed attention to the cultural climate at the University of Colorado at Boulder. Some of these activities were seen as blatantly discriminatory.

For example, student of color organizations received a series of hate letters signed "White" in the spring of 1998, and the GLBT resource center received letters praising the murder of a gay University of Wyoming student the following fall. The attention they drew, however, also pointed to perhaps more subtle, and certainly less publicized, incidents of bias that occur regularly at the university. Graffiti in bathrooms, racist and sexist comments overheard in the student center, response, or lack thereof, to personal attacks were all seen as commonplace occurrences on campus.

Initially, the hate letters served as a catalyst for the campaign, however. Throughout the spring 1998 semester, several racially defamatory letters targeted student of color organizations (see Appendix B for a copy of the first such letter). In the summer of 1998 these organizations received another in a series of such letters signed "White." A committee was rapidly convened by then Dean of Students, Rick Smith[2] to determine how best to address this particular incident and the underlying circumstances that allowed such events to take place. Initial reactions of the committee were that a "knee-jerk" response to the letter was both inadequate and potentially counter productive. Earlier responses had, in fact, already appeared to stimulate further backlash in the form of additional and/or copycat letters against targeted groups. Instead, discussion in the group quickly began to shift to the development of a process whereby the institutional climate at the University of Colorado at Boulder could be assessed, and modified, to create a "community of learning, trust, and common good." While initially convened to address acts of bias that targeted minority student organizations, the 'community' committee's objective

expanded quickly to create a comprehensive plan to address both targeted acts of hatred and/or violence, and the larger community climate (culture) in which those acts were located. Members hoped that such change would also promote an atmosphere more receptive to differences of perspective and background.

Still struggling with difference

Meanwhile, as the University of Colorado at Boulder campus worked to develop their new diversity plan, complications arose around this very issue. During the Phase II portion of the diversity plan's development, broad-based campus input was sought, as promised, and many students, faculty, staff and administrators worked to develop a definition of diversity that preserved the list of underrepresented groups included in the original campus definition first developed in 1994 (see chapter 2). During this time, however, several members of the Board of Regents expressed a fear that the university would open itself up to the possibility of legal retribution in the form of reverse-discrimination law suits if it was perceived to be granting 'preferential treatment' to certain groups. As we will see in chapter six, their preemptive action precluded the opportunity for campus input to translate into institutional voice.

At the University of Colorado at Boulder, myriad organizational documents ranging from student and employee handbooks, to divisional and departmental mission statements profess a commitment to the "differences we call diversity," yet when differences of perspective have been presented to the Regents over the last several years, only the differences have mattered, and hours of collaborative effort have often been overruled with the phrase "all opposed…" The students' plan as it

was initially conceived in the fall of 1998 may or may not have been the best choice for the university, but its dismissal conveyed an impression that 'the university' does not value difference. In this case, the forum for dissemination was limited and the Regents were not perceived as having 'ears to hear' the different voices of many campus members.

Building a better community

Throughout the fall of 1998, members of the Building Community Campaign worked to define their goals and their purpose in light of and in response to these other struggles taking place on campus. Initially, the group was made up largely of concerned students representing student of color organizations, student government and residence life as well as staff from Student Affairs units, the campus police (CUPD), university communications and other service-oriented offices. Some of the people who attended the meetings were closely involved in other struggles around matters of difference on campus, and some were only peripherally aware of those struggles. At the beginning of this campaign, Rick Smith, a White male, was Dean of Students and organized and chaired the meetings.

During this developmental phase of the campaign, the Vice Chancellor for Student Affairs left her position, and Rick moved into that job in an interim capacity. Ella Reynolds, an African-American woman and a twenty-year veteran of the campus, with experience in counseling and mediation took over as interim Dean of Students and began chairing the meetings of the Building Community Campaign in the summer of 1999. Though Rick's involvement has been less focused on the committee meetings since assuming the role of Vice Chancellor (his position was

made permanent in June 2000 following an external search), he has continued to support the notion and the mission of building community in many other ways. For one, he has been instrumental in introducing the language of 'building community' to his division and to the other high level administrators on campus. Again, the ambiguity of this notion and the challenge of reconciling the ideal of and environment that values difference with the confounding imperative of common ground has had to be negotiated across these contexts.

At about the same time that Ella took over the leadership of campaign meetings, the committee began moving from a developmental planning phase to a more action-oriented implementation phase. Since then the Building Community Campaign has developed and implemented many projects and programs, and members have also worked to recognize and support the efforts of others on campus to build a better community. In fact, this group has spent a great deal of time and energy defining itself as 'not just another committee.' Members have staunchly held to a definition of themselves as an 'umbrella group' and works on a very participatory model. The mission of the Building Community Campaign is "to foster an environment that is welcoming, enriching, and inclusive of all members of the University of Colorado at Boulder…" (http://www.colorado.edu/buildingcommunity/commitment.html). Throughout its development, the group has worked conscientiously and self-consciously to enact this commitment. Of course, it has encountered challenges along the way.

As research on the Building Community Campaign, has progressed, I have spent countless hours observing, recording, and interviewing staff, administrators,

students, and faculty surrounding issues of voice, culture and difference. In these conversations, a recurrent frustration has been the general lack of investment by those with decision-making power in the success of programs and ideas that arise out of committee processes. This frustration is not uncommon in situations where 'participation' is the norm but input does not translate into action (Bordenave, 1994; Stohl, 1995; Stohl & Cheney, 2000). Given its explicit commitment to both doing the committee process differently, and to affecting lasting change on the campus at large, the BCC provides rich ground for exploring underdeveloped connections and refining already robust theoretical claims in this area.

What this context can teach us

First, as we saw in chapter two, clearer articulation of the relationship between participation and diversity is needed. Theories of participation often imply the importance of including diverse perspectives (c.f. Ambrozas, 1998; Bordenave, 1994; Brinkman, 1997; Cheney et. al, 1998; Deetz, 1992, 1995b; Kumar, 1994; Stohl, 1995; Stohl & Cheney, 2000; White, 1994). This site provides a context that allows us to observe how 'forums' for participation (Deetz, 1995b) do or do not foster the inclusion of these perspectives. Close examination of this set of initiatives can also help us to clarify what people mean, and do not mean, when they say they 'want diversity.' In particular, the strategies of the Building Community Campaign and the lessons learned from this study break open spaces for potential dialogue around issues increasingly constrained by discourses of 'diversity' and of 'political correctness.'

Narveson (1995) identifies five issues that typically form the focal points of 'political correctness' debates. She identifies these "issues" as: contesting the

"canons" of Western literature, questioning curriculum, problematizing truth and objectivity, advocating affirmative action and redress for underrepresented groups, and development of speech codes. Each of these represents an area of potentially contested terrain, points to spaces that might be rife with discussion and debate, but which have instead often fallen into patterns of stalemate as the same arguments get recycled over and over again. Perhaps the strongest critique of 'pc' is that its adoption has led to polarization. Rather than fostering an environment of inclusion and a valuing of difference it has created "a series of hostile self-absorbed enclaves in a disunited America" (Brustein, 1994, p.31). Political correctness creates a particularly nefarious double-bind as it demands singlemindedness and unity of purpose in the name of diversity. While each of these areas holds potential for discussion about important issues, and each side raises thought-provoking concerns, dialogic potential has often been limited by restricted channels of dissemination.

To anyone who has argued over these issues, the arguments on both sides are familiar and predictable, yet few would argue that there is no validity to the concerns raised on either side. The problem we face, however, is that having framed the issues in the manner in which they have been framed, moral argument positions us as automatically within one camp or the other. The dividing line has been drawn, and as each sides comes closer to dogmatism in defense of their position, the possibility for action becomes more elusive.

Loury (1994) questions how we can

> have genuine moral discourse about ambiguous and difficult matters- like racial inequality in our cities or on our campuses- when the security and comfort of the platitudes lie so readily at hand?(p.143).

Rather than stimulate important debate, adoption of the 'pc' frame has calcified 'victim groups' (Dickstein, 1994) and at times adopted positions of intolerance in the name of equality (Lehman, 1994; Narveson, 1994). Those who criticize 'political correctness' outright, however, often provide no alternative solution, nor do they suggest opportunities for debate. Instead they "would return us to the deplorably homogeneous and exclusionary world of yesterday" (Friedman, 1995). At issue here is not which side of the debate is right, but rather that there exist distinct sides that are framed such that they are irreconcilable. Both sides can cite a preponderance of evidence for their claims. Yet the discussion ends again and again with one side feeling that the other fails to understand the complexities of structural oppression, and the other convinced that adoption of proposed policies will lead to diluted standards, and reinforce or reconfigure a system based on privilege and inequity. Rather than embracing the dialogic potential inherent in difference, it is often construed as a dialogic impasse. I contend here that in order to overcome this dilemma, both voice and difference are necessary for either to be achieved successfully in organizational contexts.

Second, having said this, it is imperative that we deepen our understanding of the way that organizational culture affects, and is affected by these practices. The study of organizational culture provides a logical linking pin between participation and diversity and foregrounds the communicative nature of the organizational process (c.f. Deetz, Tracy & Simpson, 2000; Kunda, 1992; Martin, 1992; Schein, 1992,1999). By exploring the regular interaction of BCC members and their reflection on this process, we can observe how particular ways of interacting (and the sensemaking

done around these interactions) create and maintain particular kinds of culture (that alternately foster and inhibit feelings of 'community'). Exploring these interactions in context allows greater insight into the dialectical tension of such community. As Adelman and Frey (1997) note, "the dialectical perspective helps, in particular, to understand a central paradox that underlies community life: as Tillich (1952) claimed [sic], everyone who joins a group wishes to be both a part of it and apart from it" (p.18, emphasis in original, see also Goodall, 1999).

Third, by developing these connections, I hope to glean, and be able to provide, greater insight into what it might mean to 'negotiate difference' (in a broader sense than 'managing diversity' has often been used). By recognizing the centrality of participatory processes and the role of organizational culture we will, I think, see that diversity is not something that is affected by or can be acted upon by these forces. Instead, I anticipate that we will see that diversity is an inextricable part of the very fabric of these processes.

What we have learned so far

In chapter one I articulated the central concern of this study as one of providing a clearer understanding of the relationship between organizational voice and diversity. I also explored the unique characteristics of the university as an organization grappling with these issues and described how universities, and institutions of higher learning concerned with the future of higher education, have used the notion of 'community' to capture these concerns. I then invited you to explore these concerns with me. In chapter two, we further explored notions of voice, culture and difference and saw both the challenges and possibilities presented to us by

these intersecting literatures. We saw that literature on voice implies much more than 'having a say,' and always already assumes that the voices that are vying for position are differently positioned in relationship to one another. We also saw how organizational cultures can function to perpetuate systems that ignore or discourage voice, and explored opportunities for cultural change processes that would encourage greater voice. And, we saw how literature on 'managing diversity' has begun to draw on each of these concepts in suggesting practical alternatives for the increasingly diverse organization but continues to fall short in its ability to clearly differentiate between forums for participation, and voice in the organization.

In this chapter, you have gotten to know the site better. We have seen how tensions around matters of difference that are brewing all across the nation have had particular ramifications on a particular group of people at the University of Colorado at Boulder. We have seen that while the campus has struggled to manage diversity through traditional channels and has run into typical challenges around issues of participation and voice, the members of the Building Community Campaign have been working to develop an alternative set of organizational practices that create spaces that encourage voice, and work to build a community of difference. The particular way in which these issues play out in this site gives rise to a specific set of questions that have led me to study this site in particular ways. It is my hope that the work that I have done to explore these questions will lead us to a richer understanding of the relationship between voice and difference, thus enriching theory in this area, and that the specific organizational practices that I have observed can help practitioners better understand how to 'do difference' in organizations. Chapter four

will turn to the additional contributions that this project makes to our understanding of the research process itself and will explore the epistemological and methodological commitments that I bring to this project. Below, I conclude this chapter by identifying the research questions that have arisen inductively over the course of 33 months in this site and which have motivated my inquiry in this project.

What I asked of this context

It is important to note that these questions have not driven the inquiry in this site, but rather have emerged as the most theoretically compelling questions to which the accumulated data speak. For many months, I believed I was doing a study of 'community' and of discourses of community. As you will see, and as you may surmise from the focus of my discussion to this point the questions below focus more specifically on issues of voice, culture and difference. Throughout the time I have spent in this site, I have found that 'community' has come to stand as a shorthand for these terms, and that they are all variously implicated in discussions of community. I see this as theoretically interesting, and practically both enabling and constraining. As I have engaged in the reflexive process of data collection and analysis, I have become increasingly interested in understanding the interrelationship between voice, culture and difference in organizational contexts. My first set of questions, therefore, explores how different campus members use these constructs to describe the organizational status quo and various change initiatives underway. This set of questions is especially concerned with the ways in which organizational discourses privilege or hinder certain outcomes or options. Since I am interested in if, and under

what circumstances, discourses of 'participation' or 'voice' encourage or discourage the inclusion of 'different' voices in organizational practice, my first question is:

1. (How) do discourses of 'participation' or 'voice' function to reproduce or disrupt existing organizational norms and values?

Answering this question also requires a description of 'existing organizational norms and values' and chapters six through eight supply this data as they seek to answer the question above. Throughout these chapters, I explore if, and if so how, notions of participation and voice are or are not equated with the inclusion of 'different' voices, and how norms of participation are both reproduced and challenged at the organizational-cultural level. Sub-questions that I explore to address these issues include:

a. Whose participation is solicited/required in organizational decision-making processes?

This question examines who is invited to participate in decision-making processes (solicited) and whose presence is institutionally necessary for decisions to be made (required). As we saw in chapter two, the power to include and exclude individuals from decision-making processes reinforces a power-over model of decision-making. Examining who is invited to participate, by whom, under what circumstances, permits a richer understanding of this process in practice.

b. (How) do members across levels of the organization characterize the university's culture of participation ?

This question examines perceptions of participatory process that allow a richer understanding of how organizational cultural norms promote certain forms of

participation over others. This understanding allows insight into how short-term changes in organizational practice may impact longer-term changes in organizational culture.

Next, because a great deal of recent organizational literature in Higher Education has addressed issues of voice, culture and difference using discourses of 'community' and 'climate' (c.f. Ambrozas, 1998; Banning, 1975; Barnett, 1994; Bergquist, 1995; Bowser, Aueletta & Jones, 1993; Boyer, 1990), and because the central site of this research is concerned with 'building community,' I also ask:

c. (How) do notions of voice, culture and difference become implicated in discourses of 'community.'

Finally, I became interested in understanding if, and if so how, the Building Community Campaign itself has functioned to challenge or support organizational norms and values. By exploring if and when the Building Community Campaign is identified as an agent of change or as part of the status quo I have worked to more clearly identify the role of the Building Community Campaign on the University of Colorado at Boulder campus. This emphasis has helped me to address the question:

2. Whose interests are served by the initiatives and practices of the BCC?

These 'interests' may include both the stated goals of individuals or groups, but also attends to less visible sources of power and status. In exploring this question, I examine how the practices of the Building Community Campaign support or reinforce existing social location and also highlight ways in which positions or norms of power and control may be challenged. Since this question allows me to explore

whether or not the alternative approach taken by the BCC challenges organizational voice or reinforces it, I have also been interested in this related question:

a. Do organizational features of the BCC reflect or challenge existing organizational norms and values?

The 'features' that I refer to here, and the 'practices' that I have mentioned above refer to ways of doing organizational life and business. As we saw in our discussion of organizational culture in chapter two, it is often at the level of daily micro-practice that institutional norms and values are reproduced or challenged. To examine this, I attend to 'features' of the BCC such as group composition, nature of meeting structure, decision-making process, types of initiatives, and methods of implementation. I also compare and contrast the practices of the BCC with other organizational practices at The University of Colorado at Boulder in hopes of identifying useful practical information for organizational actors by asking:

b. Can practices be identified that support or hinder the inclusion of different voices in organizational contexts?

Together, these questions help to develop a better understanding of how organizational practices may function to disrupt or reinforce the existing voice of the organization. Chapter four describes in detail the process I have used to collect and analyze the data that have had bearing on these questions and identifies my role, position, and perspective as a researcher. In chapter five, I introduce you to pieces of empirical data in narrative ethnographic form to both highlight key issues that emerge in this site, and to draw attention to the reflexive nature of the data collection and analysis process. Then, in chapters six through eight we will dive even more deeply

into this site as we explore answers to the questions above and work to better understand the relationship between difference and voice in organizations.

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[1] A new administrative structure has been proposed for the campus as this study is drawing to a close. The organizational charts attached in Appendix A reflect the organization for the duration of this study. Charts for the new administrative structure can be found at http://www.colorado.edu/Chancellor/reorganization.html

2 All names in this study have been changed. Though the name of the institution has not been altered, individual participants are identified using pseudonyms. Though some individuals will be recognizable to one another, I have more carefully camouflaged the identity of less powerful organizational actors and have checked my representation of their words and deeds with my research participants to allow me to both be true to my observations, and to ensure, as best I am able, that this research does no harm to organizational members.

CHAPTER IV

BUILDING COMMUNITY THROUGH RESEARCH

In the previous chapter, I outlined a set of questions designed to help to develop a better understanding of how organizational practices may function to disrupt or reinforce the existing voice of the organization. These questions are important because, as we saw in chapter two, a great deal of literature calls for increased voice in organizations because of the advantages brought by bringing diverse perspectives to bear on organizational issues (c.f. Bordenave, 1994; Brinkman, 1997; Cheney et al., 1998; Deetz, 1992, 1995a, 1995b, 1998; Stohl, 1995; Stohl & Cheney, 2000; White, 1994; Wood, 1998). At the same time, this literature does not clearly make the connection between challenges to participatory processes in practice, and the difference or diversity that is being called for. This project takes a critical-interpretive approach to examining this question more closely. Over the course of 33 months, I have conducted an in-depth qualitative analysis of the process of 'building community' on the University of Colorado at Boulder campus and in so doing have repeatedly found notions of voice, culture and difference to be deeply implicated in this process.

This chapter examines the epistemological orientation and methodological commitments that drive this research project and provides a discussion of methods

used in collection and analysis. I highlight the potential of this project to contribute to not only theoretical understanding but also to methodological practice in detail. I also draw attention to the potential of action research to both help us deepen our understanding and serve as a tool for emancipation and/or institutional change. Finally, I address limitations of this method as well as challenges that have arisen in implementation before demonstrating the reflexive nature of this project through the narrative provided in chapter five.

Chapter three demonstrated the richness of the Building Community Campaign for deepening our understanding of the intersections between matters of voice, culture and difference. The value of this study stems not only from the richness of the site, however. Instead, I contend that the epistemological vantage point that the researcher brings to his or her analysis enables connections that are less visible from other perspectives. In keeping with recent calls for more critical, postmodern and feminist analyses of organizational communication (c.f. Ashcraft, 2000; Allen, 1995, 1996; Buzzanell, 1994; Eastland, 1991; Foss, 1984, 1989; Herndl & Nahrwold, 2000; Mumby, 1996; Mumby & Clair, 1997; Orbe, 1998; Townsley & Geist, 2000) I highlight the epistemological assumptions that undergird the three sets of literature discussed in chapter two. Then, I begin by discussing how the epistemological contributions of critical, postmodernist and a range of feminist scholars can provide an alternative analytic, as well as theoretical lens for exploring these matters of difference at CU-Boulder. Having defined this epistemological perspective, I identify the methodological approach I have used to collect and analyze data in this study. Next, I turn to a discussion of my entry into the site, conceptualization of research

design, and acquisition of human subject approvals. This part of the chapter positions the project in time, and is followed by a discussion of the process of research collection, and of how analysis was conducted in a way that addresses the practical, theoretical, and epistemological concerns raised throughout this thesis.

Before I begin, however, I would like to briefly draw your attention to my own positionality as the author of this work. In keeping with the epistemological orientation of this project, I feel that it is important for you as readers to read the following discussion with an awareness of who I am, and where I am situated socially, politically, and epistemologically. Allen, Orbe and Olivas (1999) among others (c.f. Foss & Foss, 1994; Harding, 1991, 1992; Nicotera, 1999) have emphasized the importance of including our own standpoints in our scholarly writing. In addition, several scholars have noted the potential of White feminists to erase more marginalized voices in their writing by failing to adequately problematize their own potential position of privilege (Carillo Rowe, 2000; Houston, 1992; hooks, 1992; Stanback, 1988).

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On the face of things, I come to this project from a relatively privileged position. From my first year of graduate school, I have been actively involved in graduate student government at both the campus and national level. Through the various positions that I have held, I have had many occasions to interact closely with administrators at the CU-Boulder campus. While I have worked most closely with people in the Dean of Students and Vice Chancellor for Student Affairs positions, I have also worked closely with the Deans and

Associate Deans of the Graduate School. Because of this, I have had access to people, places, and information that is not always readily available to all members of the campus community. In fact, because of work that I had done with then Dean of Students Rick Smith, I ultimately was asked by the office of student affairs to work as a research assistant examining the Building Community Campaign on the University of Colorado at Boulder campus and have been well funded to conduct this research.

Certainly, access to research sites often occurs because of personal or professional contacts with someone inside the organization. I know, however, that my entry into, and ease interacting in administrative contexts is no accident. I am a White woman of European-American descent. The European-American part is an especially salient part of my identity because my ancestors not only trace their roots to all corners of the European continent, but also because I lived in Europe for three and a half years between the ages of eight and fourteen. This experience both speaks to my privileged middle-class background (my father was an academic, and his work took the family overseas), and to the privilege that I have had to experience a wealth of cultural differences from multiple vantage points throughout my life.

These life experiences have socialized me to both be sensitive to subtle difference, and to navigate different social spaces with relative ease. Attending public schools in France as a child, I also learned early on how easily people were willing to treat others in a mean-spirited (and sometimes downright vicious) way simply because they were 'Other' to them. The personal pleasure,

and increased insight that came from engaging difference, however, gave me a deep sense of the importance of overcoming barriers to understanding. I bring these commitments to this project.

Throughout my life, my journey has taken me inside bastions of privilege, and has also left me standing at the gates on many an occasion. I am neither always inevitably positioned within or without systems of power. I hope that my experiences have sensitized me enough to the nature of inequity to not be blind to it when it exists. At the same time, I hope that my position allows me to walk and talk, and be in dialogue with many members of the CU-Boulder community who are all always positioned differently at different moments. This narrative is, of course, only a partial rendering of who I am and what I bring to this project, I hope it gives you a clearer sense of the location from where I am speaking.

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As I alluded to earlier, one way to gain different insight is to shift the vantage point from which we look at a problem. Even Albert Einstein is widely quoted as having remarked "we can not solve problems by using the same kind of thinking we used when we created them." Over the last two decades, many authors have examined some of the unique epistemological and methodological challenges that face scholars doing work of this sort.

At the methodological level scholars have often found resistance within the academy to their desire to explore matters of difference. Extra time and effort may be required of scholars to "account for" the validity of these endeavors (Andersen, 1994,

Cox, 1990; Foss, 1984, 1989). So, for many years, research on organizations largely neglected the impact of differences on organizational life, making broad generalizations from studies that focused on a very limited population (Foss, 1984, 1989; Foss & Foss, 1994, Nkomo, 1992; Putnam, 1982; Rakow, 1987, 1989). Furthermore, when race-ethnicity or gender has been examined in research, often it has been to explain why assimilation has been problematic. Studies examined why groups had trouble adapting to the existing system, often without questioning the fundamental assumptions of that system.

In order to overcome these challenges to research and problematize prior assumptions, several suggestions have been made for conducting research on these matters. The section below draws largely from the insights of feminist, postmodern and poststructuralist theorists to bring a critical lens to the study of difference in organizations. Feminist scholarship is concerned both with broadening the scope of voices that contribute to knowledge production, and also to developing theory that has the capacity to empower and improve the lives of women.

Yet feminist scholarship can give us insight into a wide range of complex power relationships as well. Putnam (1982) argues that in order to understand the impact of gender on communication phenomena we need to go beyond the use of sex as a variable in our research. Doing this has allowed for a more sophisticated understanding of the way that power relationships come to have gendered dimensions. This shift in thinking has drawn attention to the *process* of producing power differentials in interaction.

Other scholars have similarly drawn our attention to the racial dimension of these relationships. Nkomo (1992) suggests that race be used as an analytic category in conducting research, arguing that such an approach centers the analysis on race relations, and the recognition that as a social concept, race is not a stable category with fixed characteristics. For communication scholars, recognition that systems of oppression may be produced and reproduced through discourse calls us to study these questions at the micro-level. VanDijk (1993) has used discourse analysis to explore the reproduction of racism through communication. And, Wood's (1993) call to uncover practices that fix and constrain people's choices is echoed by critical and cultural studies scholars alike who urge an exploration of ideological assumptions carried in institutional images and discourse (c.f. Hall, 1995; Jhally, 1989; Kellner, 1995; Macdonald, 1995).

Additionally, many scholars have turned a critical eye to the voices that have been (re)presented in traditional scholarship, and urged that we recognize the extent to which difference matters in scholarship. The call to give voice to multiple perspectives and include personal experience as evidence has come from many fronts (c.f. Allen, 1995; Allen, Orbe & Olivas, 1999; Andersen, 1994; Best & Kellner, 1991; Calás & Smircich, 1996; Foss & Foss, 1994, Ganguly, 1992; Wallace, 1982). At times, this may mean additional time, or more intensive efforts to gain input into our research from a broader spectrum of people (Cannon et al., 1988). Suggestions for accomplishing this include building rapport with collaborators (Andersen, 1994), implementing participatory research methods (Jones, 1992; Gaternby & Humphries, 1996; Rakow, 1992), and using multi-racial and gender balanced research teams

(Cannon et al, 1988; Cox, 1990). Finally, all of these recommendations point to the importance of both contextualizing the research, and problematizing the assumptions, goals and motivations of the researcher.

In addition, a substantial body of work has explored fundamental epistemological and methodological commitments of a feminist approach to science. Much of this work provides useful and provocative alternatives for researchers. While I do not believe that specific research methods are inherently feminist or anti-feminist, I do believe that the methods we use are informed by our beliefs about what counts as knowledge (epistemology) and our ways of thinking about how that knowledge can be accessed in research (methodology).

Below, I provide a discussion of a particular epistemological orientation and the methodological requirements engendered by these epistemological commitments. In doing so, I identify research methods that have been particularly useful in studying the Building Community Campaign. By taking an approach that is in keeping with these epistemological commitments we can see that a shift in attention may provide new ways of understanding the problem(s) discussed above. In particular, poststructuralist feminist 'arguments' for the development of situated and located knowledges draws attention to different concerns (c.f. Harraway, 1996; Kirsch, 1999). Adopting this lens provides a solid methodological framework for this project that allows me to collect useful and rich information about the BCC as it struggles with matters of voice, culture and difference.

First, while I do not believe, nor do I intend to argue, that there is any *one* perspective that is solely or entirely feminist, I do believe that certain features are

common to good feminist research. Similarly, I feel comfortable identifying certain characteristics of research as particularly non- or anti-feminist. I turn to this body of scholarship because it gives us a useful lens through which to see the connections between voice, culture and difference that have been less visible from other perspectives. In order to demonstrate this, I have chosen four areas of feminist epistemological and methodological concern that have particular relevance to this research project.

In the sections below, I discuss 1) what the relationship between researcher and researched should look like, 2) how personal experience can and/or should be used as evidence, 3) what constitutes a valid way of knowing and 4) how researchers can recognize and challenge dimensions of power centered around difference and/or explore the process whereby subjectivities are constructed and located in particular ways. Each of these allows a useful approach to examining connections between voice, culture and difference in the context of the BCC. Following this discussion, I provide a detailed discussion of how this orientation has translated into particular methods of data collection and analysis.

The relationship between researcher and researched

As several 'diversity in organizations' scholars cited in chapter two indicated, scholars who research 'diversity' topics often encounter institutional and methodological challenges. Feminist theorizing on the relationship between researcher and researched helps us to see that traditional research designs that privilege the researcher may stem from epistemological positions that also favor conclusions and recommendations based in notions of power-over (c.f. Gaternby &

Humphries, 1996; Kirsch, 1999; Starhawk, 1988). Feminist epistemological commitments to a more inclusive 'truth' call on us to question the nature of the relationship between the researcher, and those we research.

One dilemma that feminist researchers have examined at some depth is the impact of reporting our research on those that participate in it with us. Spivak (1988) articulated this dilemma as one that all researchers face in speaking for others in their research. She argues that in our writing it is critical that we distinguish between "representation as 'speaking for' as in politics, and representation as 're-presentation' as in art or philosophy" (p. 275). In arguing this she denounces the 'scientific' illusion of neutrality in 'representing' the <u>others</u> for whom we speak. Instead, she argues that we are always actively engaged in an interpretive process, and that as such we are always re-presenting our interpretation of the lives of those we research.

This insight creates a challenge for scholars on several fronts. First, if we are committed at the epistemological level, to broadening the store of knowledge by including different voices and experiences, then we must, somehow, 'speak for' them. If we are simultaneously concerned, however, that our voices may be 'taken as' theirs, thereby silencing them further, we find ourselves in a methodological dilemma: How do we access, understand, interpret and report this knowledge in a way that does not do violence to the lives and experiences of those whose voices have already gone largely unheard? Lazreg (1995) discusses this dilemma in relationship to the study of women's lives:

> ...in wanting to document the various ways in which different women construct their worlds and manage their lives, researchers lose sight of their involvement in a double problem of crucial epistemological significance… First, <u>they</u> have objectified 'other' women by turning them into objects of their

> study…Second, the process of studying 'other' women results in constructing for them a new subjectivity (p. 53).

While driven and defined by epistemological commitments, this question becomes a methodological concern. How is it that we can study, and share without further objectifying and essentializing the already marginal? Some have argued that whenever we attempt to 'speak for' we inevitably silence those whose voices we are attempting to give audience to (c.f. Alcoff, 1991; Ganguly, 1992; Spivak, 1988).

This position, however, does not require that we give up our epistemological commitment to a more holistic knowledge. Instead it requires a simultaneous methodological commitment to engaging the research process in a way that values the research participants. Alcoff (1991), for instance, suggests that "We should strive to create wherever possible the conditions for dialogue and the practice of speaking with and to rather than speaking for others" (p.25). Similarly, Maguire (1987) argues "collective inquiry builds group ownership of information as people move from being mere objects to acting as subjects of their own research process" (p.30).

Both of these statements suggest a methodological orientation to the research undertaken that removes the researcher from a position of epistemic privilege and returns agency to the research participants. If the impetus for research on marginalized and disempowered people (or on processes of disempowerment/ empowerment) is (at least in part) to help to create conditions for social change, then the restoration of agency to the co-participants in the research process seems to be an important part of that process. Additionally, this orientation provides an analytic lens that draws attention to different definitions of what counts as 'the problem' and, therefore, suggests alternative 'solutions.' The relationship between the researcher

and the researched, then should be one that does not grant the researcher a position of epistemic privilege, but rather fosters dialogue and mutual analysis of the experiences and observations of co-agents in the research process.

This position raises a dilemma, however. Since the researcher is often in a position that grants her some degree of power over the research participants (even if only in access to academic channels of information dissemination that value the voice of the researcher more highly, but perhaps also in multiple other ways), it is important to consider how decisions about what counts as evidence get made. While some have argued that an important dimension of the feminist project is to turn to personal experience as evidence for our claims (c.f. Allen, 1996; Allen, Orbe & Olivas, 1999; Flax, 1992; Foss & Foss, 1994; Hartstock, 1990; Nicotera, 1999; Orbe, 1998), others have cautioned that a blanket acceptance of such experience will do harm to the feminist project by diluting the usefulness of the claims we are able to make (c.f. Scott, 1992) or by essentializing the experience of all women unjustly (c.f. Carillo Rowe, 2000; Harris, 1990; hooks, 1992; Houston, 1992). The following section takes up the question of how scholars can and/or should turn to or rely on personal experience as evidence in their research.

Using personal experience as evidence in research

If better knowledge is more inclusive knowledge, we must include the voices of those who have gone largely unheard in traditional, mainstream, science. Code (1995a), for instance, argues that women have traditionally not only gone unheard, but have been disbelieved because they have always had to speak from the margins, and from non-authoritative positions. Similarly, Maguire (1987) argues, "ordinary

people are rarely considered knowledgeable, in the scientific sense, or capable of knowing about their own reality" (p.36).

The drive, then, to re-value marginalized people's knowledge is fueled by an epistemological commitment to knowledge that recognizes and values a broader set of experiences (note that this is the same commitment that typically underlies calls for greater participation and attention to organizational cultures as well). Foss and Foss (1994) argue that

> The question of what criteria should be used to judge the admissibility of personal experience as evidence is irrelevant in feminist scholarship. Feminist scholars view personal experience as always admissible because they are unwilling to declare some experience to be better than others (p.39).

This position becomes methodologically problematic, however, as we try to define the purpose of our research project and the means whereby we can identify knowledge that is 'better than' that which we seek to correct or extend. Scott (1992) has argued that

> It is precisely this kind of appeal to experience as uncontestable evidence and as an originary point of explanation—as a foundation upon which analysis is based—that weakens the critical thrust of histories of difference (p.24).

This leaves us with the question of how to value experience, without accepting all experience unproblematically as the basis of analysis in our research.

Lazreg (1994) argues further that "contemporary feminists' use of experience as the foundation of a theory of knowledge fits into the tradition of the empiricist school of philosophy and encounters many of the same epistemological problems" (p.55). By this she cautions that uncritical acceptance of personal experience as evidence may prove to be as problematic as such acceptance of positivist positions that privilege the researcher. By privileging the experience of the researched as

evidence, we assume some direct relationship between the experience (or perception of experience, or articulation of experience) with the world that we seek to describe.

It is this unquestioning acceptance that has the potential to lead scholars down the path to uncritical relativism and diluted theory. I will argue, however, that even granted this potential, and especially problematic, challenge, researchers should not dismiss the value of including experience in our studies as evidence. If the problem is uncritical acceptance, then we must develop a methodological orientation that calls for a critical evaluation that remains true to the epistemological impulse behind the project.

One way to address this problem has been suggested by scholars such as Harding (1991, 1992) and Hartstock (1998) who argue for a 'standpoint epistemology' that privileges the voices of those at the margins of systems of power. The argument for this perspective is that from a marginal position one is better able to see the workings of a system because one must actively learn to work within and around it. Those in positions of relative privilege, however, can afford to take these workings for granted, and therefore, their accounts of their experience may be less informative. Recent work in communication has emphasized the value of adopting such an epistemological orientation (c.f. Allen, 1996, 2000; Allen, Orbe & Olivas, 1999; Hallstein, 1999; Orbe, 1998; Shuter & Turner, 1997).

Longino (1996), on the other hand, calls for greater accountability on the part of scholars, urging that we develop interdisciplinary communities of dialogue. From her perspective "one of the difficulties of the standpoint approach…[is that] if genuine or better knowledge depends on the correct or a more correct standpoint,

social theory is needed to ascertain which of these locations is the epistemologically privileged one" (pp.267-268). Such a theory, it seems, would need to help feminist researchers establish criteria whereby they can evaluate the relative positions of individuals' experience to systems of power and domination in order to identify which positions might yield what kinds of insights. Goetz (1991) poses the question in this way

> How can we start to see, responsibly and respectfully, from another's point of view, and yet at the same time find answers for an active feminism determined to make a difference?... We have to agree to a process of mutual naming, a process which will forbid the romanticization of partial perspectives,...each claim to knowledge must be recognized, and must recognize itself, as partial, situated and local...And it is precisely because of the knower's partiality that she will be able to see with others without claiming to be them, or forcing them to see her way (pp.149-151).

This call for a situated or located epistemological position is one that I find to provide a compelling resolution to this dilemma of experience. By recognizing that every position is situated in a particular way, the researcher can value the contribution of experience to the project of knowledge production while simultaneously qualifying that appreciation.

This approach is important for several reasons. First, it addresses Scott's (1992) call to "understand the operations of the complex and changing discursive processes by which identities are ascribed, resisted, or embraced and which processes themselves are unremarked, indeed achieve their affect because they aren't noticed" (p.33). By acknowledging and foregrounding the situated nature of claims to knowledge, we break open the silence that allows for the uncritical acceptance either of a positivistic or of a relativistic position. Second, "the politics of location...is about positionality in society based on class, gender, sexuality, age, income. It is also about

relationality and the ways in which one is able to access, mediate or reposition oneself or pass into other spaces given other circumstances" (Davies, 1996, p.340). By adopting a located orientation we extend and clarify the call of the standpoint epistemologist to embrace marginal positions. One's position may be privileged in any given context based on a broad array of factors that give one particular insight into the operation of the system. Particularly as we have established the notion of voice as a process of social positioning, this epistemological orientation draws attention to this locating process.

Experience does have a useful place in research because it is responsive to epistemological commitments to broaden the scope of knowledge. Yet, uncritical acceptance of all experience is methodologically problematic because of the potential to reify the relationship between experience and the world we seek to describe. In recognizing, however, the situated or located nature of experience we gain a lens through which to analyze and evaluate the relative quality of different experiences as claims to knowledge. Below, I examine this question of what may count as valid knowledge more closely.

Constituting a valid way of knowing

The first question we might ask in establishing a valid way of knowing is "who gets to make this distinction?" The dilemma we found above was between a devaluation of marginalized experiences in 'objective' (read positivistic) social science, and an uncritical re-valuing of this experience that rebuked the need for objectivity entirely. As several of the authors above alluded to, however, this second move served to dilute knowledge claims. So, in defining valid ways of knowing that

are true to feminist epistemological commitments, it is important that we seek a means to develop useful scientific descriptions of the world without reverting to a positivist model of science that has been justly criticized by feminist scholars. In keeping with the commitments of feminist research already outlined above we might simply argue, then, as do Ganguly (1992) and Harraway (1996) that "feminist objectivity means quite simply situated knowledges" (Harraway, 1996, p.253).

While such a response partially addresses the concerns of those such as Mangena (1994) that "the feminist critique has been that objectivity as defined and applied in the male-defined scientific paradigm is one-sided, unrepresentative of the wholeness of human experience and fragmentative because it overlooks the fact of difference in human experience" (p.275) it does little to shape a useful methodological response to this question. If we agree that we must situate the claims to knowledge that we re-present in our research, how do we approach the research project? Since we have already established that the researcher cannot make a claim to neutrality in this representation (Alcoff, 1991), we must develop methods that allow us to both situate ourselves, and our co-participants and place our voices in dialogue with one another.

Participatory research is one way to approach this challenge. Maguire (1987) argues that

> Participatory research assumes that there is a political nature to all we do; all of our work has implications for the distribution of power in society. Given this assumption, there can be no neutral or value-free social science (p.35)

By approaching a research project with a participatory intention we acknowledge the value of the perspective of the researched from the outset. Gaternby and Humphries

(1996) echo this, arguing, "participatory action research embodies two notions. First, collaboration between 'researcher' and 'researched' in determining and carrying out the research process and, second, a sense of some aimed for change resulting from the research" (p.79). At the same time, the entire project must be situated contextually and researchers must position themselves to share in the process of knowledge production and analysis with those engaged with them in the research project. Code (1995b) describes "feminist methods as vigilant methods, dependent on sensitized hearing, seeing and reading"(p.33). I would further add that such methods must be respectful of and responsive to the insights of the researched.

So far, I have argued that in order to produce knowledge that is true to feminist epistemological commitments, researchers must seek out and explore the experiences of the devalued while simultaneously situating them contextually. I have suggested that participatory research is one method that is both in keeping with these epistemological commitments, and which can be responsive to the methodological concerns outlined above. Finally, a key commitment of a feminist project is a commitment to re-valuing that which has been systematically devalued. This can constrain and limit our focus also. If instead researchers commit to exploring and challenging dimensions of power centered around difference and/or explore the process whereby subjectivities are constructed and located in particular ways the insight of feminist theorizing can have broader applicability, and can prove particularly useful for drawing the connections identified in section two.

Recognizing and challenging dimensions of power centered around difference

Simply arguing for a situated approach to knowledge production does not clearly explicate what must be accomplished in research, or how to do it. Such an approach would first need to identify the processes whereby particular positions become privileged and associated with positions of power while others are devalued. Lazreg (1994) argues, "the task before feminists is to determine the conditions under which such activity becomes genderized. It is also to capture what is human in women and men" (p.59, emphasis in original). This only captures part of it though. Houston (1992), for instance, argues that

> Feminist theory illumines more than the differences between women and men, it illumines the inequities of power and privilege based on gender that are ingrained in the social system—the institutionalized sexism that informs and creates instances of personal sexist action. The same basic Western cultural value that creates sexism, the belief that a superior must control and dominate an inferior, also creates racism and classism (p. 47, emphasis in original)

Many different hypotheses have been given for the systematic devaluation of the feminine (and feminized) (c.f. Goetz, 1991; Ortner, 1992; Sartori, 1994), but the question of how to begin to redress this inequity remains.

I am particularly interested with the ways in which this devaluation happens in and through language in organizational contexts. Gaternby and Humphries (1996) suggest that

> the implied gender-neutrality of organisation theory is a facade. This facade obscures the gendered processes of these organizations through which advantage and disadvantage, exploitation and control, action and emotion, and meaning and identity are achieved, based on the distinctions made between male and female, masculine and feminine. These processes of gendering do not occur separately from other processes such as class or race, but are integral to them (p.75).

The BCC provides an interesting context in which to understand this process. As I write, I work to situate myself and the other research participants. And, I also actively seek to work with my co-participants to discover the processes whereby inequitable distribution of power is produced and reproduced.

This approach also allows for a broader application of useful feminist insights. Davies (1996) argues that "the repositioning of women in language occurs when we reverse, interrupt or dismantle the cultural mythologies which position women in language in negative ways; when we challenge how the feminine in language is addressed" (p.348). Such a statement overlooks the multiple positions that women of different racial, ethnic, socio-economic, and sexual orientation affinity groups may hold, however.

My project, therefore, examines the multiple ways in which different people find themselves located in different relationships to power at different moments in different places. These epistemological commitments have informed my methodological orientation to this project and have also provided a useful analytic lens. I will describe this process in more detail below after first outlining the evolution of this research project.

Entry into the site

As the Building Community Campaign began meeting at CU-Boulder in the summer of 1998 I rapidly became an active participant. The committee was open, so access was not a problem, though I did contact the Dean of Students and let him know of my research interest. We had worked together on several issues related to graduate student government and he enthusiastically invited me to attend. As the

nature of the project became clear, I wrote a proposal to the Dean outlining my potential role as a researcher following several discussions with him and other members of the committee about this possibility.

During this process I discussed the potential usefulness of audio-taping committee meetings. My hope was that in doing so, I could both provide the group with a detailed chronicle of the campaign's evolution, and be able to produce both richer fieldnotes, and ones more true to the voices of participants. Following the approval of the Dean and other committee members, I obtained Human Subjects approval to begin audio-taping committee meetings in the Spring of 1999.

Collection of Data

Prior to obtaining human subjects approval to record meetings I also closely tracked the development of the Diversity Plan, the press coverage it got, letters to the editor written about it, as well as the various iterations that it went through in its developmental phase. During this time I did not record the actual speech of meeting participants, but have general meeting descriptions coupled with the formal agendas and minutes that were sent out for many of them. This material represents a substantial body of data that has been useful for providing contextual information. Even after receiving HRC approval, I have continued to collect useful and relevant documents, and textual analysis provides a great deal of useful contextualizing information for this study. Given the relevance of this project to Student Affairs programs and services, beginning in the summer of 1999 the office of Student Affairs has provided financial and logistical support for this project. Having recorded every meeting from April of 1999 to April of 2000, I have learned a great deal about

participatory process and the process of cultural development. My particular orientation has been useful in this process, but has posed challenges as well.

Managing the relationship between researcher and researched has been a dilemma that I have had to face throughout this project. One of the primary challenges I face as a researcher on this project is that of remaining true to feminist commitments to problematize and re-value the devalued while engaging in research funded by the administration of the school that I am studying. Certainly the office of Student Affairs has an interest in the outcome of my research, and as they are also largely responsible for funding the BCC, it may seem as though conflict of interest is inevitable. This is certainly a question I have grappled with at great length. In embracing a methodological commitment to engage in research practices that situate the knowledge of both the researcher and the researched the challenge becomes more manageable, however.

For example, Ella, the new Dean of Students is an African-American woman who also struggles to situate herself within a system that privileges her voice differently at different moments and in different locations. Understanding this process is no less valuable than understanding the production of subjectivities among other groups on campus, and neither would be complete without the other. In many ways, my position as a graduate student researcher gives me greater latitude than the administrators who fund me to raise critical questions, and may allow them to raise those issues to others in positions of power in the institution in ways that might be more politically challenging for them to do on their own.

In order to balance the multiple voices of the members of the BCC with others who are disprivileged or disadvantaged by institutional discourse, I have used a participatory action model (Gatternby & Humphries, 1996) from the outset. I act as an active member of this committee. Yet I have always worked explicitly to make it clear to members of the group that I am engaging in research as well. At every meeting between April 1999 and 2000 I was surrounded by recording equipment, and as my relationship with members of the committee has evolved, my 'audio-visual readiness' has become something of a standing joke. I treat this potential marker of epistemic privilege by informing all participants both verbally and on their informed consent forms that I will turn off the recorder at any time if they wish to speak 'off the record' and make clear to members of the group that discussions or conversations that we have outside of meeting contexts will not appear in my writing unless they give me explicit permission to include them.

In addition to the use of recorded observation and textual analysis, however, I have also conducted in-depth interviews and used participant checking in analysis to further strengthen my research project as I will describe in more detail below. While the approaches identified above help to remove me, as the researcher, from a position of epistemic privilege, and allow for a situated analysis of experience, problems remain. First of all, given the nature of this project, such an approach invariably privileges the voices and accounts of those who both attend and actively participate in BCC meetings. Clearly, those individuals are not representative of widespread campus attitudes or feelings about issues of community. Secondly, while the use of textual analysis allows me to make perhaps more informed inferences about how

subjectivities are constructed, it still relies quite heavily on me to both make those inferences, and to accept that my interpretation is a valid one. Using interviews and participant checking helps to address these concerns.

All told I collected 23 hours of recorded meetings (19 meetings) of the Building Community Campaign; conducted 20 in-depth interviews, ranging from 30 to 90 minutes, with members of the campaign, top administrators, and a cross-section of students, faculty and staff representing many different races, ethnicities, genders, sexual-orientations, and positions of institutional privilege; and gathered roughly 500 pages of organizational documents, institutional surveys, newspaper articles and personal communication. Of the recorded meetings, I transcribed 6. The other 13 tapes were used to add richness (and verbatim quotations) to field notes of those meetings. In addition to recorded meetings, interviews were important both as a step in the process of reflexive analysis (they enabled me to test themes that were emerging from preliminary analysis of fieldnotes, meeting transcripts and documents) and were also important because I wanted to capture the voices of individuals not present at all BCC meetings who were implicated in the process of building community at CU-Boulder. I used a targeted approach in selecting interview participants, interviewing key informants and decision makers, and also using opportunistic and snowball sampling methods to ensure that members of a wide range of genders, races and ethnicities, sexual-orientation and positions of privilege were included. Table 4.1 summarizes the breakdown of interview participants by gender, race (differentiated as white or of-color as several members have multiple targets of identification), sexual orientation (as self-identified) and institutional position.

Several participants have been counted as both faculty and administration and/or both white and of color if they identified as bi-racial).

Table 4.1 Demographic Breakdown of Interview Participants

Male	Female	White	Of color	GLBT	Faculty	Staff	Student	Admin
13	7	13	8	2	6	4	6	6

I began by interviewing several members of the BCC of different genders and races, and who held different positions with the organization. From the outset, I contacted the Chancellor, three Vice Chancellors and the Dean of Students to request interviews. All agreed. I used my experience working with Student Affairs and prior experience working with student government to reach out to students, faculty and staff from different ethnic backgrounds, and of different genders, and also asked participants for referrals. Of the individuals I contacted, only one declined to be interviewed, citing a concern that her race and gender would make it difficult to camouflage her identity. While these twenty individuals are in no way representative of the campus at large, they do bring a useful set of perspectives to this project, that, when combined with recorded interaction, document analysis and qualitative data from existing institutional surveys on climate lends rich insight to the process of building community and doing difference in organizational life. The 20 interviews were transcribed in their entirety, resulting in approximately 350 pages of single-spaced transcribed pages. All told, the roughly 1100 pages of data that I have gathered have enabled me to take an inductive approach to my research analysis allowing key themes to emerge from the data gathered.

A detailed interview guide has been attached for your convenience in Appendix C. Given the different degrees to which interview subjects have participated in recorded meetings, it was important for me to retain the flexibility and fluidity of the ethnographic interview genre to explore relevant questions as they arise. All participants were given full disclosure, and asked to sign an informed consent form outlining the nature of the project and informing them of their rights before any interviews took place. Pseudonyms have been used in all transcripts of interviews and the information obtained from interviewees has been used only in those outlets that participants specifically designated as acceptable to them.

Lindlof (1995) argues that

> [t]he instrument of choice for most qualitative researchers is the interview guide. As might be guessed from the term, an interview guide simply organizes a menu of topics to be covered and leaves the task of determining their exact order and articulation to the interviewer in the field. To be sure, it is often expected that certain topics or questions will be asked of all participants in roughly the same way. But freedom exists for the interviewer to employ optional questions, pass on others, and depart briefly to go down an unexpected conversational path"(p.185).

In addition to this approach, I have regularly worked to engage participants in the analysis by obtaining feedback from committee members in meetings as claims emerge. In engaging this process of balancing the use of personal experience in my research project, I hope to develop information that produces richer and more useful knowledge claims. Three examples of reflexive analysis and participant checking demonstrate nicely how I have tended to the concerns and opportunities raised in the literature reviewed above throughout this research project. First, I have used a method of comparing recorded meetings with textual artifacts discussed in those meetings. And, further, as a participant in the group, I have had occasion to develop

and present artifacts, such as a promotional brochure under development, that have allowed me to both assist in the day-to-day operations of the group, and to test and re-test emerging understandings of group interactions.

This strategy was first employed during the summer of 1999, when the Building Community Campaign began talking about having some form of institutional document that would summarize what the group did, and 'who they were' to a broader audience. At the next meeting, I presented a draft document, that attempted to synthesize and summarize the ideas and comments that had been presented to date. This document then provided a focal point for discussion about group identity that crystallized concepts among group members, validated and/or disconfirmed emerging hypotheses on my part, and served the functional task of moving the document closer to readiness for publication. Since this meeting was recorded, I was later able to closely examine the original document with discussion held in the meeting context, and then examine future iterations of the document that emerged as a result of that and subsequent conversations. When I saw the potential that this approach had for engaging research participants in the process of constant comparison, I also found venues to display images and quotations from meetings, interviews, collected documents, and institutional surveys in venues where feedback could be collected, recorded, and compared to emerging themes and hypotheses.

One such strategy that I have used are environmental scanning presentations developed out of the work of James Banning (1975). In this work, I have collected images that demonstrate visually the messages that the campus environment sends about what is and is not valued at CU-Boulder. By presenting these scans in public

contexts I have been able to both raise awareness and promote dialogue and problem-solving around these issues, and been able to gain important feedback and contributions from members of the campus community not directly involved in the Building Community Campaign.

Finally, as the capstone to the reflexive process of collection and analysis, I had the opportunity to help the members of the Building Community Campaign develop a gallery exercise for the January 2001 campus retreat on community. In this gallery, I had the opportunity to display excerpts of quotations from interviews, qualitative data from institutional surveys on campus climate, as well as images from environmental scanning projects, organizational documents, and newspaper clippings that I had collected over the previous 32 months. During the retreat, participant had an opportunity to view and react to these words and images by posting notes and responding both to the display and to one another. This opportunity enabled me to check my own interpretations of this material against that of participants, and also helped to foster an environment in which voice becomes possible around these representations of 'community.' Chapter five demonstrates an example of this process in action.

Each of these methods demonstrates how a participatory approach can yield richer knowledge, provide important organizational intervention, and need not impose undue time constraints on participants. Below, I briefly recap how this approach is in keeping with feminist perceptions of what may count as valid knowledge before moving to a discussion of how such an approach has helped to develop descriptions

of the process whereby organizational culture is produced in ways that make differences matter.

Synthesis and Analysis of Data

My methodological commitments to engaging in research practices that produce situated and located knowledge prevent me from privileging my interpretation of the recordings that I make in BCC meetings or presentations. I refer to the process whereby I develop interpretations and check them against that of others as reflexivity of analysis (Code, 1995b; Joseph, 1996). In order to accomplish this, I compare excerpts of meeting transcripts with written reports or artifacts that emerge from those meetings as well as testing my presentations against the feedback I receive. In the case of BCC meetings, I also routinely feed back my interpretations and observations to the group in meeting settings for two reasons.

First of all, this allows me to check my interpretations against those of others. And it allows the group to challenge, correct, or modify those interpretations in a forum where I will again have recorded information that will allow me to carefully compare the arguments and reactions of group members to one another and to meeting outcomes. Secondly, it is a reflexive process because it both allows me to continuously reassess and modify analytic strategies, and because it allows the group to engage in greater degrees of self-criticism and revision in keeping with epistemological commitments to raise group consciousness about their relationship to systems of power. These methods are also useful for both tapping personal experience, and avoiding the potential pitfalls of relativism.

This strategy is particularly useful in balancing the use of personal experience as evidence. As I indicated above, recorded observation is one of my methods of data collection. This method allows me to collect exact, unsolicited, descriptions of group members' understanding and interpretation of events surrounding the development and evolution of the BCC as they unfold. Since one of the potential challenges of using personal experience as evidence is, however, that that experience, and particularly the articulation of that experience may not be an accurate representation of the events we seek to describe, I have worked to compensate for this in several ways.

First of all, while the descriptions that people give may not be 'accurate' representations of an objective reality, they are not insignificant. By collecting recorded interaction over time I can observe how individuals' descriptions of events and situations evolve over time and/or change based on the composition of the group on any given day. These kinds of insights allow me, as researcher, to begin to draw connections between statements and positions. As I attempt to develop situated, or located knowledge, I acknowledge that if it is up to the researcher to determine who is situated where and how in relationship to others, I have not really addressed the fundamental problem of epistemic privilege. By using this strategy of systematic checking I allow the data to inform my understanding, and that of the group in a clearer way. While comparing excerpts of recorded interaction over time is one way to begin to accomplish this, employing methods of textual analysis further enriches such an approach. This method allows me to contextualize the interaction that takes place in BCC meetings even more clearly and to identify how particular institutional

discourses frame the subjectivity of group members. It also allows insight into the process whereby the group engages in either submission or resistance to these discourses.

Interviews with members of the BCC have also allowed me to conduct my analysis informed by the perceptions and interpretations of other actors, and allowed me to check emerging claims as I formulate them. Interviews with members of the campus community not actively participating in BCC meetings, on the other hand, have both created a forum for greater voices to be represented, and allowed for richer claims about the goals and mission of the BCC in relationship to that of other community members.

In addition, by conducting environmental scans and presenting them to broad audiences, I have been able to gain additional input into the analytic process and to test emerging analytic constructs. As you will see in chapter five, the gallery activity provided an important capstone for this project as well as providing a useful opportunity for dialogue to the campus community. As mentioned above, the text and images displayed in the gallery event had been drawn from years' worth of document collection, interviews, institutional surveys, and environmental scans. Though they were displayed and juxtaposed in such a way to provoke thought and stimulate thinking, much of the arranging was done by, or in collaboration with, other members of the Building Community Campaign. As chapter five illustrates, having the opportunity to observe others' comments and reactions to this material added richness to the data itself, provided useful analytic insight, and served a valuable function for participants as well. Furthermore, each interview or meeting participant

cited in this project was provided a copy of the dissertation to review, comment on and approve my representation prior to completion of this final draft.

Each of these strategies for participant checking has been possible because of early methods used to collect and make sense of organizational life. From the beginning of this study I collected and organized institutional documents, and began to develop potential analytic categories. The analytic process has been informed by Glasser & Strauss' commitment to a constant comparative method (see Charmaz, 1983 for a review). This method requires the constant comparison of data with theory, developing analytic categories, and testing them both against existing theory and against emerging data. This process is cyclical and continuous, and proceeds until the analytic categories become 'saturated.' This method is open to many of the criticisms identified above, however, as it may impose the researcher's interpretative bias on the processes being observed.

In order to compensate for this, I have used the methods described above to reflexively engage co-participants in this constant comparative process. One of the potential challenges of doing this, of course, is that many of the participants in the setting are ill-prepared, or uninterested, in theoretical discussions of participation and organizational culture. Nevertheless, the strategies described earlier for checking emerging themes with participants provided both useful insight and, because they were done during the course of 'normal' organizational business they imposed minimal demands on the participants' time.

In order for knowledge claims emerging from this project to be in keeping with epistemological commitments to broaden the scope of existing knowledge by

including more voices, and valuing different kinds of evidence, I apply a politics of location in the development of both my research project and my knowledge claims. This means that I situate both myself and the other participants in a socio-political milieu that has consequences for our relationships to one another and to the ways in which we experience the organizational context. In order to be mindful of the potential consequences of uncritical acceptance of experience as evidence, I use multiple, and at times conflicting voices as one strategy that is useful in developing more objective knowledge.

In chapter five, I adopt the ethnographic mode of 'the episode' to describe the experience of the gallery event both as a metaphor for this project and as an example of organizational voice. Even here, however, the voices of others (interviewees, public officials, community members, and retreat participants)intermingle with my own as I explore how this richly reflexive process of voicing difference has informed this project. In chapters six through eight, I use a less traditionally ethnographic mode of accounting as I use multiple voices across differing contexts to illustrate how campus members struggle with matters of voice, culture and difference.

By positioning multiple voices in juxtaposition with one another, the power dynamics between individuals and institutional systems can be highlighted in the data. Yet, juxtaposition in and of itself is insufficient to produce these richer claims. Kirsch (1999) for instance, argues, "creating multivocal research reports only goes so far in addressing interpretive conflicts between researchers and participants. Such reports may create their own set of difficulties, namely for readers, especially those—for example, policymakers—for whom multiple voices may be distracting or, worse,

unpersuasive" (p.59). By balancing multivocal narratives with theoretically grounded analysis I produce a report that is more rich, in which my voice is alternately privileged and subordinated, and in which the social locations of both myself and the co-participants in this process are more visible.

Finally, by participating as a full member in the site that I am studying I both benefit from the value of being in relationship with other participants, and face the challenges of remaining engaged in a project that critically evaluates a process and project I want to see succeed. Hsiung (1996) describes a similar dilemma in which she was sometimes torn between voicing her feminist perspective at her research site, and saying nothing for fear of influencing her study. While this is a potential challenge, feminist scholarship has shown us that choosing to do nothing is not value-neutral. Instead, as researchers we must include our situatedness in our analysis along with that of other participants. In fact, I think that one of the greatest advantages to such a position is the ability to observe closely and over time how power and subjectivity are constructed in practice (c.f DuGay, 1997; Knights & Wilmot, 1985, 1989).

I have found that the methods of data collection listed above: document collection, participant observation with recorded interaction, reflexive participant checking, and interviewing have provided me with a rich body of data that permits an analysis in keeping with the participatory-action orientation and epistemological commitments outlined above. I suggest that this epistemological perspective yields useful insight and points to interconnections that have not been elaborated previously in the areas of voice, culture and difference in organizations.

I have used a combination of paper filing, sorting and coding, and electronic searches for key words and themes that emerge to synthesize and analyze this volume of data. As indicated above, in pursuing this inductive approach my analysis has been informed by Glasser and Strauss' (1967) commitment to the constant comparative method and enriched by a commitment to reflexivity of analysis (Code, 1995b; Joseph, 1996) that allows for rigorous checking between sources, reducing researcher bias, and increasing validity of analysis.

Summary and Limitations

This approach to the study of the Building Community Campaign at the University of Colorado at Boulder has the potential to yield important insights on many fronts. At the theoretical level, this site allows for an exploration of the interrelationship between voice, organizational culture and human difference(s). In this regard it is also limited in its ability to adequately problematize the full spectrum of this interrelationship. The university is by its very nature a place of relative privilege, and the experiences of CU-Boulder members reflect this limitation. The University of Colorado at Boulder is also a school that remains relatively homogeneous with regard to race, though it does boast a wide range of geographic, socio-economic, and gender differences. Many other less-visible differences (such as ability, religion, sexual-orientation) are also present, and often overlooked. The way that difference is experienced in this context may not reflect experiences in more racially diverse settings or in settings where the less visible differences are paid more attention.

At a practical level, the process of developing and implementing change through the Building Community Campaign provides valuable insights into the effects that campus climate has on campus diversity. By examining the questions and challenges that arise, I hope to have provided insights that will be useful to other schools, and other organizations as they examine their own cultures. While each context will have its own challenges, the questions that arise point to useful directions for inquiry in these different contexts.

Finally, at a methodological level, this project points to new ways of exploring matters of difference. By answering the call to employ more postmodern and feminist methods I work to demonstrate how we are able to gain different insights by shifting our perspective. At the same time, I have found real practical challenges as I have engaged the project in this way. First, the volume of data that I have collected has at times been daunting and despite the enormous value of having multiple types of data to compare and check against, I have inevitably had to make choices about what to include and what to exclude that dilute some of the benefit to such an approach. Secondly, at a large research university like CU-Boulder the positivist paradigm still dominates. I have had to spend a great deal of time establishing the validity of this approach to a wide range of stakeholders in this project (from administrators providing funding, to participants, to members of my home department). In addition, the culture of CU-Boulder is very 'busy' and a highly participatory model of research is sometimes seen as burdensome. I have felt at times that the attraction that people felt to having me do research on this topic early on was a perception that I would enter the site, as expert, diagnose a problem, and present a

solution. I have had to work hard both to seek out additional voices, and to avoid overburdening my already busy research participants, and have not always been able to do so to the extent that I had hoped at the outset of this project.

While I would not have traded this project for any other as the focus of my dissertation, such a complex and involved study is a lot to tackle while juggling an already busy graduate program, and the inability to be at all places at all times would be lessened were such a project undertaken by a research team instead. Since little empirical work has taken this approach to studying matters of difference in organizations, I hope that knowing what kinds of challenges arise in doing so will be valuable information to future researchers.

The next chapter bridges those that precede and those that follow it. 'The Gallery' provides a narrative ethnographic account of the gallery experience described above and begins to introduce the challenges of voice, culture and difference as they are invoked by members of CU-Boulder while also demonstrating what a participatory-action approach and a commitment to reflexivity of analysis may look like in practice.

CHAPTER V

THE GALLERY

January 24, 2001

As I near completion of my dissertation, my work with the Building Community Campaign provides me with one more opportunity to test, check, and refine my understanding of this scene. I've been working with Ella and several students and staff, all members of the campaign, to put together the Second Annual Campus Retreat on Community. The room in the basement of the University Club is cold and quiet. As I unroll long strips of masking tape, and hang the posters on the wall, I think what a tremendous opportunity this is. I look around the room and see segments of my dissertation cut into pieces, hanging on the wall, framed by colorful shapes of poster-board. Throughout the room, the posters zig-zag back and forth across the walls. The room is divided by makeshift partitions: rolling blackboards (which of course are really green) to which we've affixed more posters. Each poster is a piece of brightly colored poster-board covered with quotes and survey responses I've taken from my research.

Here and there the interview quotes, and survey answers are complemented with pictures. Some of the pictures I've taken around campus to visually capture

expressions of "welcoming and unwelcoming" environments. Some I've carefully cut from newspapers over the last several years. Some I've taken from admissions brochures and other organizational documents. As I look around the room I realize how familiar I've become with it all. It tells a story to me. "What will it say to others?" I wonder. The other committee members helping me hang the posters also helped assemble them: the words and pictures juxtaposed to complement or contradict one another.

It's been interesting over these last several days to watch the other retreat planners engage and work with this material. Last week I brought stacks of quotes, and pictures into a big conference room and set the committee loose with glue and scissors. Many of them were seeing the quotes for the first time; others had been regular sources of reflection and reflexion throughout this study. As they talked with each other about what they were seeing and reading, and worked with me to draw connections between the quotes and the images, to decide how they would be displayed, I thought of all the times I had gotten this kind of feedback on things I was starting to "find." I noticed that everything they said helped refine my own thinking.

In a short while this room will fill with people. The Chancellor will be here, Deans, Faculty members, Staff from all across campus. I frett most about what students will say. Will they feel that their voices were represented on the walls? I wonder what they will think, what they will say: they are going to have the chance to write responses to everything they see and add their own comments to the gallery. What will they have to say? Will they 'get it'? What will they get out of it? How will their comments further refine my own thinking? As I look around I notice how

posters near one another sometimes contradict each other and, as a quotation on one wall catches my eye, I find my thoughts drawn to another and wonder where it is hanging. I wonder how the order in which people encounter the different quotations will affect their interpretations. I also start to wonder how I can capture this experience as a metaphor for everything that has gone before and brought me to this moment.

****

The room is warm with people. I notice that the poster near the air conditioning is drawing a crowd. As I walk around, I am taken with the many different ways that people are engaging what they see. Their task is to read the quotes, and to respond as they saw fit. There is no order to what they see, they simply move from one poster to another as it catches their eye or fancy, or because it has a smaller crowd around it. They will have time later, at dinner, to discuss what they have seen, and what they have felt.

Some participants are very task oriented. They wander the room with their colorful pads of Post-It notes, jotting comments as they go along. Others engage everyone around them. They strike up conversations, share perceptions and stories, and soon the room is a-buzz with conversation. There is another group, though, that seems equally engaged, but much more subdued. They walk quietly, often standing still for long stretches of time, expressions of concern, or deep reflection on their faces. I think about everything I have written about difference in the last few years, and watch attentively as people from all backgrounds, across levels of the organization each engage the writing on the wall in their own way. I will be curious to see what they write.

****

The room is quiet now, and cooler. A few people are starting to pull down posters off the walls. I know that later I'll have time to look over all the comments, to transcribe them, and see what everyone had to say. Right now, though, I want to see it as they saw it: on the wall, next to other comments, in this room… Afterward, I struggled with how to do justice to this event in my representation. The non-linearity of the event seemed to defy transcription. Comments sometimes referred to both a quotation and a picture on a give poster. Sometimes the comments spoke more to one another as the voices in the room merged with those on the wall and became both a part of and apart from the display. I had no way of knowing in what order some posters might have been viewed or how that might have influenced interpretations. Below, I've tried to capture my experience of reading the posters with their comments for the first time. Each poster is separated by ********** from the next. **Boldface** text indicates material that was presented to participants, and *italics* indicate participant responses. My own reactions are separated from posters and appear in regular type. As you read the gallery with me, that night, when the room had cooled, I invite you to move around, among and between the posters, as the participants did and notice how the introduction of new voices shifts earlier interpretations…As I move around the room I feel tentative at first, but also curious as I start to read the quotes I know so well, and the responses I'm seeing for the first time.

****

Everybody is not welcome in this community. Let's get that out on the table, but we know that and we're trying to do something about it and everybody has a part to play in it pretty much. Female Staff of Color

I appreciate this statement because it is provocative and realistic. I read and hear strategies!

This addresses the issue that we all, each and every one of us, needs to make a commitment to valuing others.

****

I wonder how much these responses are influenced by the public nature of this exercise and move on to the next poster.

****

Where I think we have not done as well, where students are much more on their own, is after that first year experience, we have not figured out how you can buy some continuity, stay within a community that you already started, find ways to support exploring new communities, it's there and it's available, but there's very little in the way of guidance or thoughtfulness about how do you provide some continuity over a period of time. White Male Administrator

One of those "skills" that no one teaches you. You are expected to ***know*** *how to do it by osmosis.*

I think we have just assumed that students will know how to access resources after their first year and stay connected. It's not that easy.

We need a recruitment and retention center!

****

I notice the different orientations that people have toward a common end goal.

I also notice that people's personal agendas are finding space for advocacy. Voices are seeking ears to hear. I wonder if the seeds are falling in fertile ground here.

****

When I try to share some of our community values and practices with the larger community, they shake their heads and say you can't do that. Female Faculty of Color

Fear of a paradigm shift, of change. A campus should be open-minded.

How to educate (formally & informally) people about "culture" that we all participate in a culture or cultures? It's as if we need to learn anew.

It's tough to educate someone on culture and diversity when you aren't allowed to practice your culture.

****

Here, I pause for a moment. I remember the interview with this faculty member, and her sense of frustration. As I read the first comment I notice the rationalizing of the behavior couched in support for the position. I notice the word "should." I feel that same sense of urgent frustration as I read the third comment. I read the next few posters in succession as I let the words wash over me.

****

I still hear from a lot of people about the insecurity, about the feeling like, you know, from faculty, from young faculty, that they don't know if they are respected here. They don't know if they are safe here. They don't know if they're going to have a job here. They don't know if they're going to get tenure and I think that's like part of it, like the whole process that somebody goes through to be a faculty person just sounds like it's about everything else but building community. White Female Staff

We all need to feel safe and respected

Might we think in terms of multiple models (more models) and multiple measurements for tenured and tenure track folks?

What's valued for tenure, eh? It's not about being a community member or even a good teacher. Publish or perish!

Must the pressure to be academically/intellectually "acceptable" necessarily disallow caring, passion, acceptance—community?

****

Nobody likes to be told that they are not valuable and the climate tells people that in ways that administrators I don't think are aware of, you know, it's not overt. It's not forward. It's the subtle messages that people get from institutions, from procedures, from the assumptions that people make as they make conversations, you know, it's those subtle messages that people get that communicate that stuff and you can't pinpoint it to one person or one policy or

one department, you know, its pervasive and I think that's why administrators have a hard time seeing the climate and culture of campus and it is, it's dehumanizing. White Male Staff

You can't pinpoint a problem that has multiple causes.

It is very sad to hear, over and over again that people don't feel valued.

True! I feel the administration is openly hostile to multicultural efforts on campus (i.e. look at the struggles of Ethnic Studies and Women Studies to gain departmental status).

Let's help individual voices be heard!

We need to improve marketing about student services—students are continually getting the run around. Staff are too busy & not informative enough.

Imagine international students! White female staff

****

Do we then lament the fact that we haven't been able to have a lot of senior faculty of color? Well, I can tell you why. It's because nobody cares about them enough, you know, and then after awhile, when nobody pays attention to your work, when they're not interested in your work, when they don't value it, when evaluation time comes, what do you think happens? We get discouraged… Female Faculty of Color

The way to being comfortable begins with being uncomfortable.

Unfortunately this attitude then trickles down to the students.

When people who care give up—what have we left to build on?

What will it take to value diverse ways of thinking, approaching research and writing?

We marginalize & devalue topics dealing with multicultural issues—infact, we segregate them. How about integrating diversity into every course in this university?

This is why faculty of color don't stay

Importance of support/mentoring

Overuse and multiple demands placed on a few people with standards of success different for different people.

And what about work done in other languages? There is a strong English-only bias at UCB.

When an entire field of study (i.e. Ethnic Studies or Women Studies) is called into question as a legitimate field for scholarly pursuit—what type of message does this send?

Faculty insensitivity trickles through the whole structure—can diversity be a part of faculty eval?

****

I stop in front of this poster and wonder why there are so many more comments on this one. Lack of faculty of color has been a recurring concern, and one that's impacted me personally as a student too. I think about all the posters I've just read and notice the range of recommendations, the recurrent themes, and the flip remarks before moving on. I go back and look at the first of these three posters. The comments about publishing or perishing is more vivid to me now.

****

What's really missing is caring and generosity. When a faculty, a typical faculty member is approached by a student group or even by an individual student, there's already a kind of tension of an adversarial relationship. White Male Faculty

Love should not stop when you close the door to your house.

When I speak to faculty about a student concern in their personal life, 90% of the faculty are concerned and helpful. Staff Person

This is sad. What a way to start a collegial relationship!

But it is inherently rewarding damn it!

On which side?

Many faculty are generous and caring but reticent to act on these instincts due to the incentive system in place for them.

How does this affect the learning environment.

The stressful academic culture—pressures for achievement for everyone—makes it difficult to find space and time for generosity.

I have found caring and generosity. What is missing is public support for those who are caring and generous.

If faculty were appropriately rewarded for participating in student activities, there might be more willingness (on the part of faculty)

How do we break down these barriers and create more opportunity for informal interactions?

This has to do with power and control.

I have found that some of the busiest faculty care the most about students and work on diversity.

I AGREE. Perhaps 'community-building' types of things should be given a little more weight as we make tenure decisions

****

Here, I notice both the agreement and the way that this position is challenged. I notice conflict emerging as people seemingly respond both to the original quotation and to one another. I notice that word "sad" again. I notice where the fingers are pointed: incentive systems, rewards, academic culture, time, lack of public support, power and control. I notice that one comment seems to stand out. It seems not to blame, or rationalize, but to challenge that which has been written before: "*I have found that some of the busiest faculty care the most about students and work on diversity.*"

****

There's a schism between people in the academic side and people not on the academic side, you know, there's this thing about hierarchy and status, like a caste system or something…Female Staff of Color

There are also divisions within groups i.e. tenured & untenured "Hard sciences" and Liberal Arts, Acad. Admin & Student Affairs, etc…

Good point! When is the campus retreat for building community going to invite those front line staff members who deal w/ community everyday?

Where are the facilities people, the maintenance workers, the meal service people… at this retreat??

Yeah, I need more people who disagree with me to attend these events. Black Male.

How can staff and faculty better communicate about students? (staff person)

Students

↓

Faculty

↓

Staff

Hierarchy

White female staff.

****

I notice who's missing here too. I know that these voices do not have much space in my dissertation. I have reasons. Good ones, I think. I start to rationalize, but decide instead to make their absence visible.

****

There is a young lady that is involved in BSA and at the end of the year when we were having the inauguration day for some of our new officers, she was just talking to me, but she was saying that if it wasn't for having the support system of the BSA, she would have been gone. She almost broke down and it's like she just didn't know what she would have done without having that kind of support system, so that's the sort of thing that makes me, now makes me feel good, you know, that organizations that I'm trying to support and I'm trying to be a part of are really positive things that are having effects on students' lives. Male Student of Color

We should hire more folks devoted to having a welcome and diverse campus.

Meaningful connections matter! A white male staff member

Student groups are the retention tools at the University. We are tired of doing the administration's work and not getting any recognition or additional resources for it. Students should not be the only ones to have a story like this one.

This is a good example of retention.

Retention needs to be institutionalized, and as this statement makes obvious—students are an important piece to the effectiveness of R & R.

It is critical to support these organizations and it is disturbing that they are often the only safe spaces for students of color. The campus as a whole must become a more welcoming space—academically, socially and in every other way.

****

I notice that only supportive comments found their way to the wall here. I wonder who chose to remain silent. I keep reading.

****

I think that the real passion for technology on this campus that just seems to grow constantly is out of control… I'll tell you if they would put the kind of resources into Building Community that they're putting into technology, ten years from now, this place would be a very different place, but I think that when you look at the massive genuine support for technology and compare it to the very feeble efforts of Building Community, it's hard to take the Community thing seriously. White Male Faculty

Amen!!

Do people really care?

I CARE

Right on!

Or Sports! Ditto!

Or regental retreats in Aspen (or wherever the bowl game is! Hawaii, Miami, San Diego.

And diversity. And recruitment and retention of POCs. And instate tuition for Native students. And everything else that won't "make us $."

****

It's an unwelcoming environment and the way that you can tell it's unwelcoming is the retention rates. We don't keep people of color on this campus very well, not as well as we should and I would, I'd have to say that to either students, faculty or staff that would consider coming here who are members of people of color or GLBT folks or disability folks that, you know, retention is what tells you about culture and climate and the retention rates are not good. White Male Staff

We need to get better numbers to begin our retention work—Black Male

Open your eyes, notice those who are struggling, reach out and help them.

Talk about, with, to people w/ disabilities is more positive and welcoming than just a few years ago. However, there are a few pockets of ouch!

Most of our course structure and pedagogical system is still based on a sort-em-out, sink-or-swim, every-man-for-himself mentality.

The only blind student left CU this semester. CU could not help her become part of the community.

Mentor programs have been proven to work wonders with retention rates.

Objective frames of reference are important and helpful but such "Bottom-line" indicators may miss cause & effect.

****

I think people feel that this isn't a really friendly place for low-income people or minorities, definitely not people from the GLBT community, because we can't get sexual orientation into the discrimination policies and so that's a tough job to sell, to try to get more people here. It's like a Catch-22. You can't get people to come here, so you don't get a critical mass so people don't come and things don't change, because there are not enough people to make it change. And some people, I believe on the Board of Regents and on this campus, in the faculty and the administration, don't want it to change. Female Staff of Color

So let's become political

Regents don't want to hear from me—staff, citizen, GLBT member—Isn't what they communicate via their policies on discussions during their meetings?

My sense, as the daughter of a lesbian, is that things are changing—The Regents are moving slowly—too slowly always. But there is movement!

This really hurts staff recruitment and retention. How can we be a leader among state universities with this kind of a policy?

The conservative and exclusionary political views of the Regents affects everything (e.g. investment policies which don't follow a social responsibility model)

The current structure makes the Board of Regents feel good about themselves and they think they are making a difference.

****

As I continue reading, I notice the fingers pointing at the Regents, at the administration, I notice how the conversation keeps moving back to retention, and that lack of retention is blamed on misplaced priorities. I notice who self-identifies, and how they self-identify. I notice who feels that their voices are not heard. I notice the focus on policy, structure, and culture that inhibit movement. I notice which poster is next, and wonder what people will have had to say.

****

Maybe people will pair off in cliques. We ought to talk about that. What do you think the effect of having interest clubs that allows people to reghettoize in the UMC [Student Center] is? White Male Administrator

Another blatant example of taking a response to institutional racism and framing it as self-defeating behavior by people of color.

And which ghetto is it that you've been exposed to that the UMC resembles?

Balance between support, educating others about your community and finding a place in the larger whole.

Wow. This is sad. We all want to be with people with similar interests.

Excuse me? This is a support group in a university where you can see people like themselves.

Nobody questions my privilege to move among many different groups based on need and interest. Yet when students of color do this, some call it "ghettoization" (white male admin)

Doesn't need to be "fixed." You can do both. Hang out w/ your own group as well as groups different from you or of diverse constituency. And neither is "bad," ghettoing, sell-out etc...

If anything, interest groups in the UMC should be brought out of the basement and highlighted as an important part of the educational and socialization process.

Shared interests is one way of defining community.

As if it is in my interest to be a person of color on this campus. These groups are the only place on campus I feel that things can change for our reality.

Providing a place, allowing space, support, recognition, opportunity to learn or escape or regroup especially when the surrounding community does not provide these readily.

Hopefully this is not an influential administrator. Very short sighted.

****

This last remark catches me off guard. I know that the person who said this is very influential. And, I know that I couldn't use his words at all if I did anything to reveal his identity. I wonder who I'm being more fair to, whose voice I'm privileging. I notice the remark from a (different) white male administrator. I feel the hurt and outrage in the remarks. I notice the comments that seek compromise.

****

I don't think that the particular culture of this University makes a whole lot of difference, except that my department is particularly supportive of the kind of work I do and a lot of other departments might not be, but once you go beyond the department to the college or campus level, I don't think that makes a whole lot of difference. White Male Faculty

Does this comment come from who his is or what he does?

We need to have professors who think outside of the box and reward that thinking. This is a person who thinks inside the box.

The predominately white culture is exactly why this prof. Thinks the kind of culture we have makes little difference. It's set up for people who look like him. A white male staff member.

Though this person likely doesn't see himself as naïve, their comment illustrates one of Peggy McIntosh's insights, that privilege produces naïveté.

Privilege does create a separateness. Also fear. Overcoming the fear is key to finding community.

Ditto. (and we need incentives to let go of our privilege)

****

I had been to Boulder before when I was younger and I knew the City, but the University, you know, everybody still looked liked me and similar interests and it was just, it was almost the same as my high school, except just magnified, so, I don't know, yeah, I felt totally comfortable. The teaching styles kind of matched my learning styles, so I felt at home, yet, I did feel that something was missing. White Male Student

Did this person bring this level of awareness to CU or discover it through his time here?

Interesting that this is one of the few comments of comfort within the community.

This is important—it's the "something missing" that is our reinforcement as allies. I think this statement is on the right track.

What's missing? TRADITION! Something that all students can connect on.

I talk to many Front Range suburban students who have both this sense of familiarity and a sense of something missing. We reflect Colorado's Front Range and have difficulty breaking out of that uniformity.

This student probably spent a lot of time focusing on himself—missing is a vital part of his "EDUCATION"

When things are the same no one wants to change it they feel comfortable. We must constantly be improving.

****

As I read this second poster, I'm struck by the comment "*Interesting that this is one of the few comments of comfort within the community.*" The reactions to the poster before it were much less supportive of the professor's comfort. I notice how social location influences people's perceptions.

****

We don't have, we don't tell good stories all the time... which makes it more difficult for us because if the upperclassmen and the faculty and everybody that's part of the acculturation were telling stories, they tell stories but they don't last in the same way and they, you know, really the good stories are really fiction after awhile, I mean, they start out with a critical incident or event and then they get embellished because they have a symbolic value to the people and the culture about either honesty or integrity or achievement or whatever it is and we don't have much of that right now. I'd say we have too little.
White Male Administrator.

Myths, rituals & dreams—J. Campbell What stories do we tell? How & Why do we celebrate?

When and where are the occasions, the events where we gather to tell the stories and celebrate?

****

As I read this poster I notice first how few reactions there are. I notice also that the comments don't sound like student comments. Stories and rituals may seem important to those trying to craft a new culture, but looking around this room, I see a story being told. It may not be a 'good' story, but it seems to need tending to nevertheless.

****

I was in an education class and we were talking about race issues and being a teacher, you know, coming in and dealing with children of color or children of low economic, coming from low economic backgrounds and I was reminded of my race right away because of the way that people reacted to me, because I was the only person of color in the classroom and we were reading a book about a white teacher and how she dealt with having students of color and I felt like I had to defend or I had to stick up for children of color in a sense because everyone felt like oh, she's just being sensitive, you know, why, why is she caring that much about just these few students she has in her class, you know, these few children of color that she has in her classroom and they felt like she was just really nervous about these few children and that she paid a lot of attention, extra attention to these few children, so I felt like I was reminded again of who I am because in a sense, that to me...I guess what they were saying in a sense reminded me of being a child.

Female Student of Color

Altogether too common an experience for POC, women, GLBT, etc.

This is too much responsibility for one person to take on.

How can we be allies? What act could we do in such a situation? What behaviors? White person.

Allies are often "overvalued" for doing the right thing, and students of color are expected to be the spokespersons for their entire communities.

****

I remember when Sumaya told me this story, and think about it in light of the poster before. Stories like this one are told often. It is not only in the formal channels and sanctioned spaces that stories are told, and those stories that circulate out of view of power-holders may shape the culture as much if not moreso than the stories we tell at commencements and convocations.

****

That's a very telling thing I think. That even a national championship football team couldn't create that sense of unifying the campus around one central thing that everybody cared about. White Male Faculty

Involve the students too. We need to know the faculty and staff as individuals. White, female, student.

Where is the loyalty? Why aren't students graduating with an overwhelming pride to CU? Lack of tradition, lack of community!

I don't think any one thing will unify an entire campus. We need to value more than the athletic teams.

That's because we 1st have to worry about how we are going to pay for tuition next semester, and how we are going to study when rape and hate crimes are occurring next door.

Maybe our unifying thing could be learning and education. Isn't that why we're here?

****

Again my attention is drawn to those things we assume should foster community and the clash between those things and what the writing on the wall is pointing to as being at the root of a lack of community.

****

"How can you be welcome if there aren't many people you can relate to?" African American Female Student

Community is created by people identifying with each other. An us-and-them mentality—on all sides—has created a schism.

SPEND TIME WITH SOMEONE VERY DIFFERENT, hopefully you'll either find some common ground or a NEW way to relate.

You're not only welcome w/ people just like you. Who wants to be in a cookie-cutter society? Expand to different groups and people and you'll be amazed.

Think about being 18 yrs. old again—we're very group identified. We need groups of people like us, so we have support to explore difference.

****

I notice that the voice of support at the bottom sounds very quiet amidst the others.

****

<u>GLBT Resource Center –FUNDING</u> -- The CU Regents have forbidden use of state funds to support the GLBT Resource Center. As a result, the center relies upon gifts and grants to fund its activities [from GLBTRC brochure]

This is a crime necessitated by politics.

Are the regents making their decisions as educators or as businesspeople? The two aren't always compatible.

Regents should get on campus more—do they see themselves as part of CU or not?

Or perhaps they should stay as far away as possible! Leave us alone!

I don't think of the Regents as part of our community at all.

The regents should represent the interests of ALL students.

This tells me that I am not a welcome community member on campus. GLBT staff, Alum.

A question of priorities. Resources, including $, are available for those things "we" value, but who are "we"?

****

I am simultaneously aware that this excerpt from the GLBTRC brochure fans the flames of frustration against the Regents, and that the vehemence of the responses is not a function of the statement in the brochure alone. The next poster speaks to the faculty issue again. It has two quotes from students, and a picture of an African American Faculty Woman taken from an Admissions brochure.

****

"In 5 years I have not had one minority teacher. This is part of the problem." African American Female Student

I hope this becomes less true in the near future. In an institution of learning the least we can do for our students is offer education from a diverse faculty.

In order to keep faculty of color you need more support

[Picture of Black Female Faculty from University publication]

False advertising?

Polly is a great teacher. Should we ignore her?

It will be a great day when the correlation between retaining and recruiting faculty and retaining and recruiting students is made.

"It would be nice if the faculty were more diverse- at least in my experience the faculty has been overwhelmingly white." White Female Student

How true.

Very true. I have only had 1 teacher who was not white.

After 4 years, only 3 female professors and 0 of color. What's wrong with this picture?

We may be white but does that mean we are the same? White woman faculty.

I don't have a white male prof this semester. 4 women. 1 man. 1 African American. 1 Chicano. The experience is essential to a good education. Everyone should have this opportunity.

My dept. is very diverse, but there are few women, African-Americans, Native Americans... The diversity that IS there is never celebrated. We only think about the groups that are missing.

It's not just the status of profs (e.g. white), it's the way classes are taught. Every subject should be multicultural.

Are we able to expand "faculty" to include visiting scholars, guest lecturers, commencements speakers, etc?

@least they are aware that the # of faculty of color is far below where it should be – something to work with.

****

In reading these comments I'm very aware that in five years of graduate education I've had only one professor who was not white. I notice the comment about false advertising. A few posters over, a picture from a Fraternity Rush cover asks "where are the minorities?" There seems to be a criticism concerning representation either way. I also notice the comments about valuing what we have, and not focusing only on what is missing. I think about community as a process, and about valuing the present condition and contributions without stagnating or thinking that we have 'arrived' or 'succeeded' at community. No matter how many times I see the comment on the next poster, it still catches me off guard.

****

"Really don't care. I'm leaving" African American Female Student

Everyone is always in the process of leaving. It's time to accept the responsibility of being.

People need to be able to give back to the community.

Responsibility for staying should not lie with the victim of oppression—Think survival & happiness.

She was probably contacted several times by different depts. & staff members. But how do we build enough trust and credibility for her to be confident in responding to these overtures?

What are our alumni saying about these matters?

This is sad!

I find this incredibly depressing!

Many (most) don't say anything when they leave.

Very frustrating to have someone reach the point of just not caring. What can be done for those people—how can they be reached?

I've heard this too many times.

****

There's that "this is sad" comment again. I'm struck that people seem to interpret the comment in multiple ways. Some assume she's leaving early, that she was dissatisfied. Others assume she's graduating, and bemoan her unwillingness to give back after she's left. Some rationalize that we must have done everything we could. I wonder who "*those people*" are and how the author of those words sees him or herself in relationship to "*them.*"

****

"Have the president talk with me. Seriously. Have the Chancellor talk with me. Seriously. Re-educate faculty, staff, and students about their own lack of awareness on racial issues. They all need to understand their lack of awareness helps to continually perpetuate racism." African American Male Student

And this president would!

Before responding like this, TEST IT OUT, and have a student of color call the president and see if the student can!

A great session for the Freshman experience class...which every student should go through!

****

Here I'm struck by the force of both the first comment and the second. People in different positions are equally certain that opportunities for voice exist, and that they don't.

****

You hardly ever see a faculty member or a student or even an administrator who when they are asked questions start speaking with pride about the University of Colorado Boulder. White Male Administrator.

I agree. CU staff and alum (1988). I thought about purchasing a CU license plate, but reconsidered based on the racist and homophobic reputation and the message it may send.

Simply don't agree. I think lots of my colleagues and acquaintances take great pride in their work and their contributions to this place.

Not my experience!

As much as possible, every meeting should start with sharing "good news."

I like the "good news" idea. Maybe at the indiv/dept graduation ceremonies our students, staff and faculty are incredible. Women firefighters and the #1 collegiate triathlete 1999 was a UCB student! There are more accomplishments on this campus among our community than there is time to celebrate such achievements!!

I've always been proud. And people usually are impressed. But some people only know how the football team is doing.

Pride can only be expressed in words so much—must be expressed in other ways- just look around.

I am a very PROUD CU student. White male student.

As I walked up and down the rows reading the comments I counted 15 negative comments and 3-4 positives. Is this exercise contributing to lack of pride? Do we see only our problems? Where are the positive steps? Where are the goals and aspirations? Where is all the good this campus does?

I believe this stems from the unbelievable amount of bad press CU receives—lack of diversity, riots...some students feel there is little to be proud of—CU has a reputation that people don't see until they arrive.

This seems consistent w/ the attitude that the Chancellor mentioned. When did this 'institutional inferiority complex' start and where does it come from? How do we change it?

It's sad to work in a state system where individuality is not appreciated. As a staff person, I find that within my particular division I'm constantly forced to follow rules and regulations that really have nothing to do w/ all the time and hard work I dedicate to this university. And that's all they care about sometimes. Following rules and regulations and not looking at everything you do!

How am I supposed to feel proud here when I am challenged everyday because of race, gender, political beliefs? I tell people not to come here.

****

I notice a lot of conflicting remarks. Many people say they feel pride, or that they see people expressing pride around them. I wish they had commented on what they were proud of. I notice that the comments about lack of pride say why they don't feel pride. The next several posters are student responses to a campus climate survey. I'm especially interested to see what people have to say to those students who say they do feel welcome.

****

"I do not know. I feel very welcome." Native American Female Student

What can we all do for the people who don't feel welcome?

It would/will be important to validate all experiences of diversity on this campus.

"I have not encountered any problems. Therefore it is hard for me to see what needs to be done to make things better." White Female Student

Just because there aren't any problems doesn't mean we can't improve.

Look beyond self. Look @ the entire community.

"Therefore it is hard for me to see" How can we get beyond our firmly held ideologies?

Cognitive dissonance needed here?

Is this only seeing sameness? Selective sight.

****

I notice that there is little curiosity about why these students feel welcome. People around me are finishing up, and as I help pull posters down off the wall, and carefully place the post-it notes on top of the appropriate quotes so that I can transcribe them later, I keep reading.

****

"CU puts so much emphasis on ethnicity these days that I'm beginning to feel like a minority." White Female Student

A "minority" huh? Sounds uncomfortable and not at all like something she likes to feel? Left out? Not used to feeling "less than" or outside the mainstream? I smell privilege. A white male staff.

Maybe because there is no ethnicity.

The "Backlash" against POC on this campus is rampant and totally undeserved. It makes you nervous even to talk about discrimination here—as if it were our fault that people are ignorant.

Being female would actually put you in a target group.

And how does that make you feel? Welcome to the real world.

So—why is that negative? Maybe a taste of what that can mean.

Would probably do you some good.

All across the nation institutions are afraid of being sued racial issues more than ANYTHING else. Race is our nation's hot button Achilles heel.

It's too bad that people aren't proud of who they are, and where they come from. Everyone comes from somewhere.

What about sexism? It isn't done with...

We need to be creative in how we engage people so as not to alienate or separate.

****

I'm struck by the first comment, and to the attention people place on her gender. I think how we are all sometimes privileged and sometimes not. I wonder what the responses would have been like if her gender had not been identified. I wish some of these respondents had written more. As I peel the next poster off the wall I think again about all of the different perspectives that people bring to this question of how to create a welcoming community. I'm drawn back to wondering how to conceptualize community as a process rather than only as a product, and am reminded of all the times the Building Community Campaign has been asked to define 'this community that we are trying to create.'

****

"Nothing different—a special effort should not be made to make certain people feel welcome—they need to learn to do it for themselves." White Female Student

Sometimes special efforts need to be made to ensure a common, supportive environment for everyone.

No, not to make certain people feel welcome, but all people. Doing, learning, being by oneself seems to me to be very hard and lonely.

Feeling welcome is not a learned behavior.

Conflict may be as important as happiness.

How can people feel welcome when their feelings are so unimportant?

How can we reach students who feel that things are being shoved down their throats? How can we engage them?

This would only make sense if there were a level playing field. This person (I believe mistakenly) assumes there is. A white male staff member.

AS if we choose the historical and present discrimination we face. As if the white community need not take any responsibility. Asian student of color.

"It seems that you have convocations for people and personally I think that should be enough. If you do any more it may be looked at as favoritism." White Male Student

One can never do enough or stop trying just because they have reached a point of constance and stability. Don't stop trying until there's nothing left to fix.

Sounds like a "special" rights argument.

We need to address this viewpoint held by so many—that affirmative action and attempts to rectify injustice appear as unfair.

****

The room is almost empty now, the walls nearly bare. As I reflect on these last comments my thoughts wander to the meetings, interviews, and reams of paper I've read over the last several years. I think about Martin's (1992) cultural perspectives, and think again about that title I'm wrestling with. How do we create a multivocal culture? How can I possibly capture this range of perspectives and difference without imposing my interpretations unfairly? Clearly I have a perspective, and there are things I know I'm going to highlight, how can I do it so that my readers might feel some of the struggle, angst and conflict that underlies the lofty words? 'Multivocal culture' captures what I mean, but it doesn't capture the process. It doesn't demonstrate the struggle, or the wide range of voices that speak to this issue that might be erased by those two little words. As I pick up the portfolio and carefully arrange the posters on top of one another, making sure all of the masking tape has been removed, I notice the bright red of the graffiti picture. This poster had been

hanging in the hall all night, and I hadn't been able to get close enough to really look at it. I notice again the jarring contradiction of the words and the image, and read what others had to say in response.

****

"I don't know because from experience everyone seems to enjoy themselves and feels welcome." White Male Student

"My" experience is assumed to be "everyone's" We should help each person to work at this assumption.

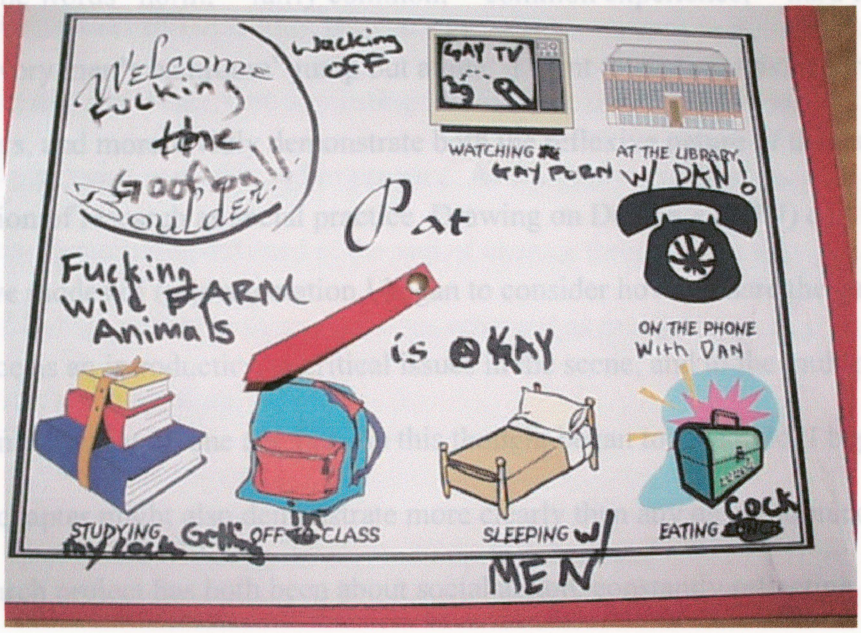
And they always know exactly who "everyone" is!

And your experience is from a place of privilege.

Everyone?

Seems like there's a lot of glancing around but no dialogue to really feel the climate.

A residence hall door at CU



!

This is a real and common experience.

This kind of thing is in almost every men's bathroom I have been in.

This makes it hard to work here!

Ignorance and disrespect!

People are mean!

First reaction: What grade are these people in?! Horrible.

Why wasn't this erased or taken down? To leave it up sends the message that the behavior is acceptable.

WOW—this is TERRIBLE!

What's sad is that it doesn't shock me. It's the norm now.

The prevalence of ignorance at an ed. Institution how do we really educate!

It is disturbing to see this, but worse to consider that this way of thought is likely fairly common.

****

The words "norm," "fairly common," "common experience," "hard to work here," "every men's bathroom" jump out at me. I want to capture this experience for my readers, and more vividly demonstrate both the reflexive nature of this project and the function of research as social practice. Drawing on Denzin's (1997) call to use alternative modes of (re)presentation I began to consider how to share the gallery experience as an introduction to critical issues in the scene, and to the multiple voices that are in tension with one another. As this thought began to take hold, I began to see that this chapter might also demonstrate more clearly than any description could, how this research project has both been about social action, constantly reflecting back upon itself, and presenting actors in the scene with new items for consideration, and has emerged inductively. Herndl and Nahrwold (2000) argue that

> researchers adopt a qualitative methodology as part of their sense of what works and what will lead them toward interesting and productive research that

> serves a purpose they already espouse. The methodology is a tool used by a researcher who, having some notion of his or her purpose and project laid out ahead of time, feels his or her way through the development of the process (p.266).

That is the spirit I hoped to capture as a I sat down to write this chapter. As I have felt my way through this process, there have been many voices talking to, with and alongside me, constantly shaping and influencing my interpretation of this scene, and focusing my understanding of how voice, culture and difference are implicated with one another in organizational life. As I have read and re-read these remarks I have understood more fully Peters (1999) claim, "that any achievement of communion consists in a concert of differences is a blessing rather than a curse" (p.65). The seeming cacophony of difference presented here only begins to hint at the achievement of communion on the night of January 24th.

Chapters six through eight take up each of these themes in greater detail, drawing on data from interviews, meetings, and documents to highlight how community is and is not achieved in practice. As I turn my attention more specifically to the research questions outlined at the end of chapter three, I hope that this chapter has helped to highlight how those questions emerged as multiple voices contributed to this evolving understanding.

CHAPTER VI

BUILDING COMMUNITY TOGETHER: THE ROLE OF PARTICIPATION.

The previous chapter introduced you to the challenges and struggles that emerge in discourse at the University of Colorado at Boulder as people talk about matters of voice, culture and difference. This chapter begins to explore insights provided by examining the research questions presented at the end of chapter three in more detail with a particular eye to matters of voice and participation. As you will recall, this project seeks to provide a greater understanding of the interrelationship between voice, culture and difference in organizational contexts. This chapter begins to address the question: "(How) do discourses of 'participation' or 'voice' function to reproduce or disrupt existing organizational norms and values?" by examining the role and nature of participation around matters of difference on the University of Colorado at Boulder campus, and in the Building Community Campaign.

In exploring this question I am particularly attentive to:

- Whose participation is solicited/required in organizational decision-making processes?

The data presented below examine whose voices are included and excluded in decision-making processes, and when and why some voices are included or excluded from these decisions. Exploring this question also helps to more clearly elaborate

what constitute "existing organizational norms and values" around matters of participation. This chapter also begins to explore the question of

- (How) do members across levels of the organization characterize the university's culture of participation ?

In exploring this question, I draw on data taken from in-depth interviews, meeting transcripts, institutional surveys, and letters written to local newspapers to highlight how members at many different levels across the organization discuss the organization's orientation to participatory process. While this question will be taken up more fully in chapter seven, which attends specifically to matters of culture, data presented here also helps illuminate our understanding of this question. Similarly, the question

- (How) do notions of voice, culture and difference become implicated in discourses of 'community.'

Will be addressed in greater detail in chapter eight, but finds useful insights in the data presented below.

This chapter also begins the work of examining how the Building Community Campaign, specifically informs our understanding of organizational practices surrounding voice, culture and difference. In chapter three, I suggested that my last set of research questions would help us to understand if, and if so how, the Building Community Campaign itself has functioned to challenge or support organizational norms and values. This chapter begins to examine "Whose interests are served by the initiatives and practices of the BCC?" by highlighting how organizational practices support or challenge the goals of individuals or groups, reinforce or undermine

existing social locations, and sustain or defy norms of power and control. In examining this broader question, I also work to illuminate the question:

- Do organizational features of the BCC reflect or challenge existing organizational norms and values?

While each of the three analytic chapters that follow will speak to this question, this chapter explores, specifically, how the BCC may reflect or challenge existing norms and values about voice and participation. Finally, this chapter provides important insight into the question:

- Can practices be identified that support or hinder the inclusion of different voices in organizational contexts?

Chapter Two provided a discussion of existing literature on matters of participation and voice. This chapter uses empirical evidence to extend and refine this existing understanding by demonstrating how organizational practices may function to silence, ignore, socially condition or strategically withhold voice. To frame this discussion, I play on the distinction between forums for participation and organizational voice (Deetz, 1995b; Simpson , 2001) by exploring organizational spaces of both silence and struggle. Then, I extend this understanding by exploring in greater detail how organizational spaces may, in fact open up the possibility of broader organizational voice. This section, entitled spaces of community also begins to illuminate how voice becomes implicated in understandings of 'community.' Below, I briefly situate this chapter in the context of literature developed more fully in chapter two before turning to the empirical evidence that speaks to these questions.

Deepening our understanding of voice

As we saw earlier, Bakhtin (1981) argued that the notion of voice implied more than 'having a say.' One's 'voice' positions one's self in relationship to other selves. Voice is a collection of communicative behaviors that are socially valued and devalued in such a way that the presence of some behaviors and the absence of others become equated with positions of privilege or lack. A great deal of current literature that explores matters of voice, however, is adamant that everyone has multiple voices, multiple positions, from which they might speak, though some of those voices are more socially sanctioned than others.

Discussions of organizational voice sometimes confound the notion of participation with the notion of voice. Where 'participation' may simply require a forum for input this does not satisfy the requirements of voice (Deetz, 1995b; Simpson, 2001). Voice is an act (and a method) of social positioning that places individuals and groups in relationship to one another. Strine (1997), for instance, argues, "voices locate individual persons as speaking subjects socially and culturally by enabling communicative interactions and, through interaction, the formation of self-identity" (p. 448). Within the organizational context the privileged voice(s) favor some subject positions over others and encourage the reproduction of the institutional status quo.

As we saw in chapter two, calls for increased participation in organizations are based on a premise that organizations must be increasingly adaptive and flexible in a rapidly changing world (c.f Bordenave, 1994; Brinkman, 1997; Cheney et al., 1998; Stohl, 1995; White, 1994; Wood, 1998). This presumes the importance of

multiple and competing voices that are able to challenge assumptions and practices as the organization evolves. In practice, however, organizational leadership often remains in a position that enables them to choose to 'give voice' to some groups and not others, thus leaving existing power dynamics fundamentally unaltered (hooks, 1992; Starhawk, 1988).

Regardless of who or how many hold(s) organizational power, by its very nature organization requires collective action on the part of individual organizational actors. These actors invariably, and increasingly, bring varied viewpoints and perspectives on organizational issues with them. Yet whose voice(s) get reproduced as the voice of the organization has far-reaching implications for leadership as well as membership. Existing literature on issues of organizational voice describes both implicitly and explicitly how members' voices may be inhibited, discouraged or encouraged, in organizations (c.f. Allen, Orbe & Olivas, 1999; Bell, 1997; Clair, 1997; Dow, 1997; Huspeck & Kendall, 1991; Nadesan, 1996; Nakayama, 1997; Ono, 1997; Spender, 1985,1989). Each of these has implications for organizational life. As more and more managers and employees call for increased participation in the name of globalization it is important that we distinguish more carefully between the benefits of forums for participation and voice for organizational members.

This chapter explores how organizational leaders, and other members of the organization at the University of Colorado at Boulder invoke notions of participation to talk about organizational life. In it, I demonstrate that more broad-based voice is seen as important at all levels of the organization (if not by all members of the organization), but that members with different degrees of power within the

organization demonstrate differing degrees of satisfaction with the process in practice. By comparing organizational practice and perception with theoretical articulations of voice developed in chapter two, I demonstrate that while forums for participation abound, those forums have not permitted a significant shift in organizational voice. Finally, I demonstrate that ideological and rhetorical convergence are not adequate to bring about this shift and that organizational practice(s) must be altered to support this changing paradigm of organizational life. This chapter uses a metaphor of space to identify vivid examples of organizational practices that work to inhibit, discourage or encourage organizational voice and points to practices that have the potential to both increase member satisfaction in organizational contexts and also enrich and improve organizational decision-making processes and practices in a changing world.

Locating voice in organizational spaces.

The section that follows is divided into three broad categories and uses ethnographic data to demonstrate how voice is variously inhibited, discouraged or encouraged in organizational practice. The first two sections, spaces of silence and spaces of struggle, identify obstacles to voice by exploring instances when voice is either inhibited or discouraged through organizational practice(s). The third section, spaces of community, examines how an understanding of obstacles to voice can create opportunity for organizational change that is open and responsive to a broad range of organizational voices.

Spaces of Silence

In an era of increasing sensitivity to the importance of broad-based organizational voice, developing a richer understanding of how voices may be inhibited is important. Traditional bureaucratic styles of management cannot address the diverse needs of organizational members, do not maximize the advantage gained by differences in perspective and cannot respond rapidly enough in a high-speed environment (Cox, 1993; Deetz, 1998; Fine, 1995; Johnston & Packer, 1987; Stohl, 1995). In addition, one of the greatest potential advantages of more broad-based voice in organizational decision-making is the potential to foster greater levels of identification with, and commitment to, the organization among its membership (Brinkman, 1997; Cox, 1993; Deetz, Tracy & Simpson, 2000; Fine, 1995; Kunda, 1992; Marshall and Stohl, 1993; Ouchi, 1981; Schein, 1992).

Throughout my interviewing, top administrators across the university acknowledged the importance of broad-based participation. Rick Smith, now the Vice-Chancellor for Student Affairs, stressed how important it is that participants not only have a say (are given a forum), but that they also feel heard and have a genuine sense of collaborative involvement:

> I think if you're not collaborative, people are going to say, well, you know, it's [her] meeting and I'm not sure I'm going to come here next week. If it seems to be that something is of importance to her, but she is not listening to me, you start to lose people.

Similarly, Peter Trask, the Vice-Chancellor for administration felt that one of the most important elements of the Building Community Campaign was its ability to stimulate dialogue and broad-based involvement across campus:

> The value of the building community approach is that the ideal theme is that the community has to be involved in building the community and I think what it's, what we're able to do with that theme is to try to engage our population here in the dialogue and discussion of what has to be done and just having a dialogue can create change. No dialogue, you won't have change and so I think we've taken a first step, but it's not, it's not going to make it all by itself.

Yet, there remain many who do not feel heard, and do not feel engaged in any dialogue.

One undergraduate woman was particularly frustrated by her experience trying to work with student government. She felt that the student union was not representing the majority of students on campus and was instead driven by the agenda of a vocal minority. She argued that "CU as a university responds to those voices that are loudest." Still others feel, however, that a sometimes even a lot of noise isn't enough. A faculty member who often acts as a mentor to minority students argued "If you are institutionally perceived as insignificant or new or weak, you know, you don't get that place at the table. You have to fight for that place at the table." She later added, "The less powerful don't have the same voice as the more powerful, so in order to be heard, they have to adopt a different set of tactics." Indeed, Jake, a student who has worked to further the cause of GLBT students on campus told me that

> We know what to do if you listen to the students and you listen to the people who work with the GLBT Resource Center and you listen to people in Women's Studies and the Women's Resource Center, there are people on this campus who have great ideas. We know what to do. We know what needs to be done. It's just that the Regents and the administration are not doing it.

Actually, as we saw in the gallery, a great deal of the frustration that members of the University of Colorado at Boulder campus feel around matters of voice is directed at the highest levels of the organization. Traditionally, as the example in chapter three

attested to, no public comment has been permitted at meetings of the Board of Regents. As we saw with regard to the student diversity plan, if university members have concerns that they wish to be brought before the board, they must do so through a spokesperson, or obtain prior sponsorship from a Regent to speak at the meetings. Though this practice is currently being challenged, a long-standing perception that the board does not value the interests of campus members persists.

Below I examine the challenges presented by organizational practices that work to inhibit voice by (a) restricting people from speaking (i.e. though physical restraint or restricted access to space or resources) and/or (b) ignoring what is being said (i.e. by controlling organizational resources that are associated with power and/or choosing to foreground/favor some positions over others). We see that in these circumstances, even when organizational members have something to say, they still perceive the spaces around them as spaces of silence.

When voices are restricted

In order to restrict voice in an organization an individual or group must have power-over (hooks, 1992; Starhawk, 1988) the group that they are silencing. As we saw in chapter two, this greater power is often a function of social positioning (Dow, 1997) rather than physical force. When this type of power is used to silence, access to cultural and/or material capital is limited or restricted thereby limiting the ability of individuals or groups with less power to offer a voice that contests or challenges their social location.

In practice, we find that this means of restricting voice fosters discontent and disillusionment that work against higher levels of investment and identification with

the organization. Elena, a senior faculty member at the University of Colorado at Boulder, expressed her frustration that students and junior faculty in her department often had trouble gaining audience with decision-makers on campus. In her comments, she highlights the role that social positioning plays in gaining voice in an organizational context:

> Sometimes, students and faculty come to me and say, 'Elena, I can't even get an appointment. Nobody will listen to me.' That's when I can get to work, because this unique position that I sit in in this environment where diversity still counts, gives me tremendous, this is the word you might like in this culture, 'surplus visibility'.

Here, Elena highlights the fact that students and junior faculty with fewer markers of power have trouble being heard on unpopular issues yet that she, as a professor of higher rank and with greater institutional responsibility can gain audience to voice those same concerns. Some of Elena's earlier remarks, however, highlighted the fact that even having a certain degree of institutional power does not necessarily translate a forum for participation into organizational voice:

> They [junior faculty] say, "… we know that when you do speak up, they [decision-makers] have to listen or at least they have to give you an appointment. They may not listen in the real sense, but they can't turn you down."

For staff members, social location can be further calcified by job requirements and rigid work hours that preclude opportunity for other kinds of involvement. One staff member suggested that:

> if you're told that you have to be at work at a certain time and you have to leave at a certain time, then you aren't allowed to do anything community oriented, then you're pretty much coming in, punching the clock and leaving.

As Elena's comments above suggest, however, simply having access to a forum for participation does not guarantee the opportunity to have one's voice weighed in organizational decision-making.

In chapter three I told you that after the CCHE repealed its Affirmative Action mandate in the summer of 1998, campuses had until that December to present their own plans to the Board of Regents. You will recall that at CU-Boulder there was a great deal of controversy around whether or not to include numerical goals in the plan. Many members of the Chancellor's advisory committee (BCDC) argued strongly for goals to be included, and when they seemed to not be getting far enough, a separate student plan was developed that included numerical goals and a fiscal accountability mechanism.

Since agreement could not be reached by December, both plans were presented to the Board of Regents. The students were able to gain a hearing at the meeting, and argued strongly for the importance of including goals. Many members of the Board, however, were very sensitive to ongoing legal battles at universities across the country and believed that the Hopwood case (prohibiting the use of race in admissions decisions) would be upheld over the earlier Bakke decision (which allowed for the use of race as one criterion among many in making admissions decisions). Several members of the Board were concerned that numerical goals were tantamount to quotas and might open the university up to potential litigation. After hearing the students speak the board approved the plan presented by the chancellor's advisory committee: a provisional plan that included a commitment to solicit campus input over the course of the Spring 1999 semester and to develop numerical goals for

recruitment and retention by the end February 1999 (see Table 3.2). In this case, students were provided a forum for participation (though still greatly restricted in its length, and in the fact that only two students were permitted to speak), yet their voice was not translated into organizational decision-making, but rather deferred to a later date. Below, we find that this pattern is also evident in situations where participation is encouraged, but where participants continued to feel unheard.

When voices are ignored

In chapter two I identified many reasons why some organizational members may choose to ignore others. In organizational contexts, those with less relative power must often rely on more powerful individuals to 'give them voice' through formal organizational channels, as Elena's narrative illustrated above. When these are not provided, less powerful members may resort to informal channels of communication to voice their concerns. Jackson, a student government leader and former president of the campus' Black Student Alliance (BSA) emphasized that the feeling of not being heard, and not having one's voice supported on campus was one reason why groups such as the BSA were so important to students:

> There is a young lady that is involved in BSA and at the end of the year when we were having the inauguration day for some of our new officers, she was just talking to me, but she was saying that if it wasn't for having the support system of the BSA, she would have been gone. She almost broke down and it's like she just didn't know what she would have done without having that kind of support system…

Jake, the GLBT advocate introduced above, also expressed his frustration at not only not being heard, but at feeling invisible to an unresponsive administration:

> They [-ism issues] just don't get talked about enough and that's what you need to do is to really foster a community, a sense of community where everybody is accepted and valued for who they are and where people are

> respected. You have to change people's hearts and minds and attitudes about people who are different from themselves and there's not enough of that going on because there's a lot of resistance, especially from conservatives and religious people is where I see it coming from, who are set in their beliefs and set in their ways and they have closed minds and they think they don't have anything they can learn from a little self-reflection or anything that would come out of something like diversity training or a multicultural course and those are the people who are resistant to it and it's, the majority of the Regents are that way and that's why things aren't changing.

One member of the Board of Regents supported this assessment:

> I think that if the political climate would ever change in the State, we could make an enormous step forward if we could get the Regents to agree to provide spousal benefits for gay partners, but we're not there. Everybody in the world knows it and no one's likely to change. This is religious based. It's not in my mind hatred based. It is, "I am not going to do anything that encourages anyone to believe that I think your, a gay's, behavior is morally acceptable."

When organizational members' perspectives are ignored, however, it can have lasting repercussions for both organizational members and for the collective organization.

Nakayama warns, "we are constrained in the ways that our voices construct, and contradict our identities" (1997, p. 236). If we return to the notion of voice as a social locator, then having one's voice denied legitimacy in one's place of education or employment both affects self-concept and affects identification with the organizational collective. Jake's frustration and disenchantment further affirms the argument advanced above that in the absence of legitimized vehicles for organizational voice less powerful members may resort to informal channels of communication to voice their concerns:

> So, my approach is to do the "pie in the face", do a sit-in in their office, you know, really shake them up, because to me, it's a matter of life and death. People get killed for being gay and they don't want to put sexual orientation in the nondiscrimination policy and it's such a bunch of shit. I have absolutely no respect for that and, you know, that's something that affects me at a really fundamental level and if somebody can't understand that and, you know, it's

> the year 2000 and it's in the news and people have been talking to them about why GLBTQ people should have equal rights. After all of this time if they have so much hate in their heart or they are so stupid that they don't understand that, I don't know what difference anybody is going to make. I don't know what it's going to take. I'm stumped. I feel really helpless.

As this example illustrates, ignoring the voices of organizational members may encourage alternative, unsanctioned, mechanisms for airing one's views. Doing this not only allows organizational members to have a say, but also may eventually challenge proscribed 'positions.' Nadesan's (1996) description of how female service workers at a large university use informal channels to define themselves in ways that affirm positive aspects of their identities also supports this point. These moves may serve as acts of resistance when organizational members are ignored, but it does not necessarily give them organizational voice. Those in positions of greater power can still choose not to hear, or to act on what they have heard.

Nevertheless, not all alternative venues for voice need be as confrontational as those suggested by Jake. Sumaya, an undergraduate woman, is also frustrated and feels "like what we're doing here isn't helping." She's tired of "feeling kind of hopeless, like things won't change." Yet she continues to seek out ways of being involved, and making a difference at the university. She likes "helping others become aware of issues surrounding international men and women of color in general," through her involvement with student government and student of color organizations. Over the last several years, she has helped coordinate special events for women of color on campus and has been active in advocating for institutional change on their behalf. She also suggests, however, that there is an added benefit that she finds from participating in these activities: "in that process, I learn as well, so it's

kind of a learning process for me, as well, being involved with different things on campus." Throughout these examples, we see a recurring tension between frustration at not being heard, and a continuing desire to carve out a space for differing voices.

As we saw earlier, Deetz (1995b) has argued, "the presence of diverse goals rather than creating costly conflicts and impasse, creates the conditions whereby limited decisional frames are broken and the company learns." (pp.267-268, emphasis in original). It is this very logic that undergirds arguments for participatory organizational models. Time and again the literature suggests organizational leaders should adopt a participatory model because organization itself benefits from a broader range of more diverse viewpoints being brought to bear on critical organizational issues (c.f Bordenave, 1994; Brinkman, 1997; Cheney et al., 1998; Stohl, 1995; White, 1994; Wood, 1998).

The examples given above have explored how organizational practices can inhibit the voices of organizational members. Often, however, the line between heard and not heard, voice and silence, is more ambiguous. Elena's remarks above indicate that often the location that one holds is empowered at one moment, and disempowered in another. Sometimes the very markers that marginalize organizational members may also give them a degree of institutional power, in some circumstances. When asked to describe the campus climate at CU-Boulder, Deanna, a staff member in a position of moderate institutional power, remarks that:

> Well, it's really mixed, as it is with most institutions. I find that there are many times that I feel tokenized, that I'm filling a female slot, a brown slot, a queer slot on a committee and being sought more for that than for whatever opinions, contributions, etc. I bring. I find that things, as again on any campus I've had any experience with, move way too slowly for me and there's way too much paperwork and committees and task forces and not enough action

> and that gets very, very frustrating. I've also really enjoyed support and respect from both my supervisors and my colleagues across campus. I've always felt free to disagree and to voice very strong differing opinions without fear of consequences and I still feel that way, so it's a mix.

In this example we find a tension between opportunities for input, and feelings of tokenization. Though Deanna suggests that she feels free to voice strong differing opinions, she also commented frequently that she did not see herself reflected in the campus culture, and that attempts at change were often thwarted or undermined. Below I examine these spaces of struggle more closely. While the examples above clearly highlight the disillusionment, frustration and disenfranchisement that organizational members may feel when they are restricted from speaking or ignored when they do speak, the section below examines the organizational dilemmas presented when the struggle to give and withhold voice is enacted both by those in positions of institutional power, and among those with less power. Who gives and withholds voice at any given moment, and for what reasons is not always easily predictable.

Spaces of Struggle

As we saw in Bell's (1997) description of her 'Women in Communication.' Class, in a culture where power is distributed unevenly some people may learn to not speak, or to not view their voice as valuable (see also Allen, Orbe & Olivas,1999). Organizations may send messages both implicitly and explicitly about whose voices are valued and devalued that promote increased participation among some groups, and decreased participation among others. As we will see below, spaces of struggle

also emerge when potential options are pre-empted or removed from the table before discussion can be had around them.

When voices are refused legitimacy

Following the approval of the provisional diversity plan (Phase I) in December of 1998, students, faculty, staff, and administrators spent the much of the spring semester of 1999 in campus forums and small group discussions talking about the diversity plan and contributing ideas that would shape a common vision for the university's future. These meetings were convened by a wide range of constituents on campus. The Chancellor's Advisory Committee on Minority Affairs (CACMA) sponsored several campus-wide discussions, the newly created Office of Diversity and Equity staff met with departments and units across campus, faculty governance groups and many student groups held discussions and forums designed to provide opportunity for input into this process. Themes that consistently emerged were inclusion of some form of accountability system, and specific identification of disadvantaged groups that the campus would pledge their commitment to. In May of 1999, however, the Board of Regents issued a "statement of principles for developing campus diversity plans." In this statement, the board pre-empted many of the wishes of members of the campus community by issuing a description of diversity that did not identify any particular groups as important to a diverse campus, but rather stated that "People are different and the differences among them are what we call diversity- a natural and enriching hallmark of life" (Blueprint for action, May 24, 1999, p.4). In chapter two, I presented the existing 1994 definition. This move by the Board of Regents in the Spring of 1999 shifted the campus definition from one that was both

specific in enumerating groups, and broad because it did not limit its definition to those groups, to one which was instead, very broad and not at all specific. One member of the Board of Regents suggested that this move was driven largely by concern over the changing legal and political climate in the country:

> …if our University gets in a legal dispute, as we have been threatened with, then I want to win for the right reasons and I want to win because we take the risks that are measured and the risks that are wise and not the risks that are dumb for some sort of social correctness principal or because somebody demands that with the students that you must have numerical quotas, you must have numerical goals. I'm sorry. I said it [quotas] again.

As a result, the 'statement of principles' also explicitly read, "Quotas, 'set asides' and/or discriminatory practices must not be included or inferred from campus diversity plans" (Blueprint for action, May 24, 1999, p.4).

Finally, in June of 1999, the Office of Diversity and Equity and the BCDC presented the Board of Regents with a plan that attempted to reconcile campus input with the Regents' 'principles.' It contained no numerical goals, even though many constituent groups on campus had advocated strongly for them. Its definition of diversity also removed the long list of groups from the 1994 campus definition of diversity that campus members had sought to include. It did, however preserve that list in its vision statement, which read:

> …we envision a campus environment that welcomes and respects all people of diverse perspectives, races, ethnic backgrounds, ages, genders, religions, sexual orientations, disabilities, economic status, family situations, national origins and other individual differences...(Blueprint for action, May 24, 1999, p.5)

On June 23rd, 1999, the day before the plan was to be officially presented to the Board of Regents, a sub-committee of the board met and discussed the plan. The following

excerpt illustrates clearly that forums for presenting perspectives often do not translate into organizational voice:

> …**Regent Steinbach**: Well, we chatted a little at our May 13th meeting. You know there was a long discussion on the, which is now in the vision statement of your plan, where a majority vote of the board did decide to leave out different classes, age, religion, gender, et cetera, in there, and I noticed that it is in the vision statement there. Could you address that?
> **Chancellor Blake**: We really, what we really were trying to do here was to clearly adopt your definition of diversity and the principles. And when we were thinking about how to explain the environment and the climate that you're trying to create on the campus to enhance the learning process, the groups on campus were really, really felt that there needed to be a bit more definition and some examples of what we meant by multicultural groups and the kinds of experiences that would enhance the living, learning environment. And we're really trying to explain our aspiration and to do so understanding that there are some legal constraints… (Meeting of the RAFAC sub-committee of the University of Colorado Board of Regents, June 23rd, 1999, Tape 4).

At this point the chancellor deferred to the university's legal counsel to give his opinion on whether or not quotas or "set-asides" could be inferred from the vision statement. The counsel replied that such a statement "probably looks less like a policy statement than an aspiration."

Yet immediately following this assessment another Regent made this statement:

> **Regent Anvil**: I kind of go along with Paul [Steinbach]. The board voted to leave this out. We clearly voted down [Regent] Sarah [Klark]'s amendment [to reintroduce the list of groups to the diversity definition], and this is clearly put back in just because they think it's important. I don't think that's the will of the board… (Meeting of the RAFAC sub-committee of the University of Colorado Board of Regents, June 23rd, 1999, Tape 4, emphasis added)

The board adopted the new plan the next day, with an amended vision statement that eliminated all reference to individual groups.

This example, and those that precede it demonstrate how social positioning impacts organizational voice. Frequent repetition of organizational practices such as these conditions some organizational members to view their voices as less valued or important than others. Additionally, the ability of those in positions of power to restrict access, and limit the scope of the discussion (and the site of dissemination) precludes many of the advantages of participation lauded in recent literature. The section below examines how social conditioning further combines with organizational practice(s) to limit organizational voice.

When voices are socially conditioned

When people do not see their input translate into organizational voice, frustration with the 'participatory' process may result (Bordenave, 1994; Stohl, 1995; Stohl & Cheney, 2000). At CU-Boulder, one staff member suggests that the climate on campus is beginning to change, but that there is a long history of learning to not speak:

> I know there are a couple of people at the top, the Chancellor included, who would perhaps be persuaded to take some bold steps but have been slapped on the wrists by the Board of Regents privately and publicly and actually [the former Vice Chancellor for Student Affairs] was chastised for taking a stand as well. So, until that changes, I don't think any great gains are going to be made because the leadership just won't let you. They stifle, one thing about this campus that I think has changed is that it's, it's real conformist and it's like there's just this climate of, well, and actually I think this is starting to change, but recently there's been a climate of not speaking out, you know, that it's all about conformity, you know, and like here is a university that is supposed to be a haven for, you know, a bastion for free speech and people were scared to speak out, you know, things were and thoughts and ideas were suppressed instead of brought out into the open and dealt with.

In this example, Marianne suggests that many people on campus have a vision of how things might be different. She indicates a perception that even "a couple of people at the top, the Chancellor included" might be willing, even eager to challenge organizational norms were it not for the 'stifling' activity of decision-makers at the highest levels of the organization. Literature on paradoxical participation recognizes this potential paradox of design (Bordenave, 1994; Stohl, 1995; Stohl & Cheney, 2000) and makes clear that many of the benefits of participation are lost when organizational members are asked (or required) to participate without being given the concomitant agency to act on decisions made in this collaborative context.

When this happens broad social rules and norms may become institutionalized in organizational contexts in ways that reinforce and reproduce existing power differentials. Studies of climate or culture often speak to the way that formal rules and policies become reproduced and naturalized in organizational interaction. Ambrozas (1998) argues, for instance, that universities are also organizational sites in which some voices are routinely privileged over others. David, a white male staff member told me that:

> we're not trying to make the campus a better place for people and I know we have the ability and I think, I even think we have the vision, although the vision has not been accorded any legitimacy, any voice and, you know, and it's a waste of resources.

Here, this staff member affirms Marianne's earlier sense of the climate as stifling organizational voice. David suggests again, that both the ability and the vision are present on campus, but that "the vision has not been accorded any legitimacy, any voice" and thus is not reflected in 'the organizational voice.' This, as we saw in

chapter two, may affect identification among members who do not see themselves reflected in the voice of the organization.

Another way that social norms may affect how we can say what we have to say is by structuring the language we have available to us (Nakayama, 1997; Spender, 1985, 1989). When so many rules govern what can be said, how, and when, those with less access to cultural capital may self-censor to avoid 'saying the wrong thing' or 'putting their foot in their mouth.' Elena, the senior faculty member introduced above suggests that social rules and norms may, in fact, change or become foregrounded when they benefit those with institutional power:

> Now civility comes all of a sudden crashing down on us because we're told that our [marginalized members of campus] manners are no good, you know? This is the thing that strikes me as amusing and also very sad, that is, usually, the very powerful people who have all kinds of means to express themselves, who have never had to protect their freedom of speech and their right to be heard, right to speak, all of a sudden, they say "Civility. Civility. Wait a minute, you know, the rest of you have bad manners and so we're going to do the civility," so I can tell you for a fact that I'm very uncomfortable with the whole question of civility, not because I have a problem with good manners, my gosh, you know, if anything, but I think it's the context in which the question is raised, but it's easily framed as a cultural issue, but I don't think culture is neutral in an environment in which power is so unevenly, you know, distributed.

In this passage Elena further highlights the ways in which social conditioning may impact whose voices are heard in organizational contexts. She argues that 'civility,' one of the key terms that has surrounded the debate about the diversity plan and broader 'community' issues on campus (you will recall that the Building Community Campaign emerged after a multi-year campus discussion about civility), functions not to level the playing field, but to further silence the already marginalized. Here again we confront the dilemma of the dialogic imperative. When the manner and form of

acceptable discourse is regulated by the powerful few, voice is inhibited. In Peters' (1999) words "The notion that communication mingles souls makes it difficult to distinguish between refusing to communicate and asserting one's dignity, for who but a bad person (in this vision) could renounce the call to engage in a dialogue?" (p.66). In Elena's example we hear the frustration that results whenone renounces the call to participate and refutes the notion that doing so makes one a bad person.

The passage above suggests that whose behaviors are interpreted as 'civil' or 'uncivil' are also a function of social location. Her perception is that it has been o.k. for "the very powerful people who have all kinds of means to express themselves, who have never had to protect their freedom of speech and their right to be heard" to express themselves in any manner that they choose, but that when positions are offered that challenge those positions of institutional power, those who hold power use a discussion of 'manner of interaction' to shift the focus away from the content of those challenging arguments. In this passage we see that who gets to make the rules that govern voice has deep implications for power relations and relative social locations in organizational contexts. Whose voice is able to say what, from which position, is a function of already existing social locations. Below, I turn to another source of struggle around organizational voice. In situations where proscribed, official, or sanctioned channels of participation are seen as not conducive to having voice, organizational members may choose not to engage in those channels, and may demonstrate resistance either through silence, or though appropriation of alternative, unsanctioned vehicles for gaining voice.

When voices are strategically withheld

Spaces of struggle also arise when organizational members refuse to participate in systems that they perceive as inequitable and/or biased (Clair, 1997). Throughout this study, there has been a recurring tension between administrators who express frustration at 'apathy' among campus membership and the challenges of achieving broad-based involvement, and less powerful campus members who don't see their voice(s) represented in the organization. While at face value these may seem contradictory, I suggest that this tension is, in fact, a result of the challenges that result when an organization seeks to increase participation by providing forums for input, but does not alter the underlying organizational practices that give and reproduce voice. Vic Carbone, Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs, for instance, recognized the impact of tenure and promotion reward systems on faculty involvement in community building efforts:

> Faculty will put it, building community, as a lower priority, just given their day-to-day work of teaching and service and research and we talk about, we talk about service and that this would certainly be a service component, but you have to realize that service is, you know, 20% of one's evaluation and so when you look at that small piece, it's no wonder that the priority gets pushed down or put on the back burner. I'd much rather look at some other type of incentive, rather than to say it's part of your service activity.

In this case faculty may recognize that participating in activities like community building are not socially sanctioned in the same way that excellence in teaching and research is. In order to participate in these activities, then, faculty risk jeopardizing their chances for success in the academic environment, and may choose not to engage in these activities. Lack of participation may not be a function of lack of interest, but may instead reflect skepticism that their participation will truly be valued when

decisions are made about tenure and promotion. By withholding participation, faculty members are exercising the only vehicle for voice that they have available: not participating sends a messages that there are fundamental flaws in the reward structure and that faculty will not engage in activities that will not be recognized in concrete ways as valuable to the institution. As we saw in the gallery, concerns over reward systems are a recurring concern on the CU-Boulder campus.

These concerns are not limited to faculty, however, Deanna, the senior staff member who earlier remarked that she often felt both tokenized and listened to, describes the challenges that students face in participating:

> When you have a committee that affects students' lives and there's one student position on that committee and again, the student isn't being compensated or given internship credit or some type of academic credit for that, that means that they're having to do it on top of their paid job, on top of their accredited course work and they may or may not be able to consistently stick with that with all of their other responsibilities, plus you are asking them, in an imbalanced hierarchy of power, to be one voice against 15, 20, 30 other voices and to speak for all students and often, they are interrupted, they're not taken as seriously, there's this condescension, intentional, unaware, it doesn't matter, it's still there…

Here, students may feel that participation hinders their ability to excel academically and may feel that their input is not valued. Such an arrangement requires significant sacrifice on the part of students if they choose to be involved. As with the faculty incentive example discussed above, when students perceive that participation in organizational life and decision-making is not valued as highly as other experiences that they have on campus, choosing to withhold participation may, in fact, be a statement about organizational norms and values, not simply a reflection of apathy.

Jackson, the former BSA president mentioned above, remarks that beyond the practical constraints alluded to by Deanna above, students often find that the meeting

format, often scheduled, organized and framed by someone else, does not provide a genuine opportunity for organizational voice:

> I think a lot of people have been taking the avenue of, okay, let's call a meeting, let's sit down, let's talk about this. When that doesn't work sometimes, then there are other people that are prepared to sit in, walk out, picket, you know, march, rally, protest, whatever it may be and I think a lot of times, it seems a little unfortunate, but the perception can be that the only time we get progress is when we have the latter is when people are kind of up in arms, but I think in reality, it's a little bit of both.

In this example we find that frustration with the format of forums for participation may encourage individuals to turn to alternative venues in which they hope to find voice. As I will discuss in greater detail in chapter nine, this tension around involvement and participation also has significant implications for participatory (action) research projects.

The many examples above indicate that even in the presence of (limited) forums for participation, greater identification with the organization does not occur when input is not reflected in the voice of the organization. Many authors, however, continue to argue that increased participation is important for increased identification with the organization (c.f. Guzley, 1992; Marshall & Stohl, 1993; Trombetta et al., 1988). Below, I turn to a closer examination of the Building Community Campaign to explore how institutional practices and behaviors may help to challenge the organizational status quo and open opportunities for broader-based organizational voice by creating spaces of community.

Spaces of Community

Since its inception in the summer of 1998, the Building Community Campaign has made a conscious and conscientious effort to identify obstacles to

organizational commitment. Early on, this meant that the group moved slowly, taking a great deal of time to define itself as a group, and articulate its purpose before moving forward. Regina, a staff member who has regularly participated in campaign meetings emphasized the importance of this phase of the group's development:

> You need to have time to get together and kind of define who you are as a committee and then kind of talk about, like it would seem like from what I remember we got together and we talked a lot about definition and then we talked about how were we going to let other people know about what we were doing. So it's sort of at first, you need to become a community within the Committee before you're out publicizing yourself to the rest of the university.

During this early stage, group members became identified with the group itself through participation, and often explicitly discussed the behaviors associated with fostering a sense of community.

David, an administrative staff member and sporadic meeting attendee, who earlier expressed frustration over the lack of legitimacy given to the campus' vision, described the early formation of the group as "trying to be the community that you are trying to create." In this way, the group worked very much to enact Buber's notion of dialogic community (Arnett, 1986). Community was developed through the process of interacting with one another, and discovering one another's differing perspectives. Even though a great deal of that early discussion focused on grappling with a definition of what 'community was,' the process that the group engaged in was influential in informing that understanding.

Early on, this meant that it often felt like not much was 'getting done.' As we saw in Deanna's earlier comments, this feeling of always meeting and never doing often breeds frustration. Bordenave (1994) characterizes this feeling as 'participationitis,' arguing that when individuals are repeatedly called on to

participate, and little action is seen to result, disillusionment may ensue. During this formative time of the Building Community Campaign some campus members, particularly BSA students who had brought people together to address the defamatory letters (see Appendix B) in the first place, felt disillusioned. Jackson remembers the early days of the campaign like this:

> To tell you the truth, at first I had my doubts and my speculations about the Building Community Campaign, because as far as a lot of the members of BSA were concerned, we had an issue that had affected us, that had hurt our community. We wanted to see something immediately done to address that. We weren't sure what. We didn't know how we were going to have this addressed or what was going to be done. We wanted to see something done. We wanted some action and action now and so I think it was like Rick or somebody that came to us with this idea about, you know, forming this campaign and developing this process by which, you know, over the span of a few years, we kind of changed the climate and the environment on campus and make things better and we were like, WHAT?

In fact, early on in the campaign, there was a great deal of tension about who 'the campaign' was and what its purpose or vision would be. Over time, however, people who have been involved closely with the campaign have indicated that they feel an increased sense of identification with the institution, and feel positively about the work that is being done. This section explores three strategies of the Building Community Campaign to examine how an awareness of those things that inhibit or discourage voice can lead to revised organizational practices that encourage more broad-based organizational voice.

Creating spaces for speech

One of the greatest strengths that has emerged in my analysis of the Building Community Campaign is the conscious and conscientious effort made to include a broad range of voices in the decision-making process. As we saw above, simply

having opportunity for input is insufficient. It is, however, an important point of departure, and the regular commitment of this group to seek out input from a wide range of sources has been an asset. By promoting access to opportunites for dissemination, the BCC has worked to increase the likelihood that a broader range of voices might find ears to hear. Throughout its development, the group has held open meetings, and explicitly reached out to students, faculty and staff from across a wide range of backgrounds in developing its initiatives.

Though remarks in the gallery highlighted a lack of involvement on the part of front-line staff and maintenance workers, the office of Employee Development has been involved with Building Community from its early days, and has worked to develop programs to address matters of community identification among these staff. Additionally, the group has worked with the Chancellor, and the Chancellor's Advisory Committee on Minority Affairs (CACMA) to sponsor campus-wide forums on matters of community (such as the gallery event presented in chapter five) and have then used the input and feedback received at those sessions to focus future plans.

Nevertheless, including everyone equally has been a recurring challenge for the group. Andrew, a student leader who was deeply involved in the first years of the campaign told me that:

> I'd like to see it [the Building Community Campaign] continue, I'd like to see it expanded, I'd like to see more people involved, because, you know, the same people can't be doing it all of the time. It needs some new people.

Perhaps the greatest challenge has been attracting faculty involvement. Earlier, Vic Carbone, Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs, suggested that the university reward

structure might be an inhibiting factor in faculty involvement. Even given this, however, he bemoaned their lack of involvement:

> I'm a little bit concerned about how much the faculty, individual faculty members have bought into the program and how much do they know about it, and I think that we have to do a better job on the, at the campus level in getting the faculty much more involved in Building Community and so I know the program and have been part of the program. I think it's more of a program right now in the Student Affairs area and at the campus level and we haven't gotten the faculty involved enough.

In fact, faculty members that participated in my interviews tended to be more skeptical about the campaign than either students or staff. One tenured full-professor who serves on the campus faculty assembly told me that "maybe that's why I hesitate to get involved because I fear that anything that I might work on or that my Committee might work on would end up being reduced to a PR gesture."

For students and staff who have been involved, or become aware of the program, however, the increased spaces for speech have had some effect. Shortly after the Regents refused to have the list of diversity groups included in the diversity plan, for instance, concerned members of the campaign included a statement in their promotional brochure which read

> The Building Community Campaign is committed to developing a campus environment that welcomes and respects all people of diverse perspectives, races, ethnic backgrounds, ages, genders, religions, sexual orientations, abilities, economic status, family situations, national origins, and other individual differences (http://www.colorado.edu/buildingcommunity/commitment.html).

By including language identical to that which was initially removed from the diversity plan by the Board of Regents, the campaign created an alternative space for a widely held view to have voice. As we will see in chapter seven, this move has

implications both as a comment on the existing culture of the organization, and as a mechanism for challenging power relations at the level of daily micro-practice.

Deanna also spoke about the impact that the campaign was having among students she interacts with:

> I think in terms of a climate of expectation among students, it has had a very tangible impact because there's an awareness that there's a culture that's being formed that people can participate in and there's more clarity about what some of those expectations are in terms of celebration of differences and moving beyond this tolerance garbage like anyone wants to be tolerated, but the climate of expectations is clearer.

Additionally, David suggests that he finds participation in Building Community Campaign meetings helpful because of the information he receives there, even though he holds an administrative position and is active in many other groups on campus:

> One of the things that does me good for being involved in the Campaign is and I know, you know, as I'm involved in diversity stuff, then I kind of know what's going on here, what's talked about. I hear things in those meetings that I wouldn't hear otherwise, so it just helps me to sort of keep tapped in and tuned in to what else is going on on campus. So that's the big advantage of participation to me.

Above we saw that a great deal of literature posits a correlation between increased participation in organizational decision-making, and increased identification with the organization (Deal & Kennedy, 1982; Ouchi, 1981; Peters & Waterman, 1982; Marshall & Stohl, 1993). I suggest that it is not only the spaces for speech that the Building Community Campaign has created that have enhanced opportunities for identification, however. Instead, I argue that people who participate in Building Community meetings or activities feel that their perspectives have been given voice and are more likely to see their input translate into organizational action. This illustrates the importance of not only 'having a say,' but also of believing that one's

voice has the potential to fall on fertile ground. This does not necessarily require that one's perspective be acted upon, but rather that there is a perception that the input was received, considered, and taken into account in making organizational decisions. The section below examines how decision-making takes place in a BCC meeting to demonstrate more clearly how opportunities for input can translate into organizational voice.

Learning to listen

Elsewhere I have argued that sections of the meeting excerpt that follows demonstrates the process of group identity formation at work (Simpson, 2000). It also serves as a nice exemplar of how members of the Building Community Campaign negotiate differing and sometimes competing visions to produce a result that is mutually satisfying, and is enriched by broad-based input. This example also illustrates one mechanism for soliciting feedback from participants during the research process, and provides a useful model for participatory action researchers seeking strategies for engaging participants in organizational settings where time is perceived as limited and scarce.

Below, Barb, Jerri and Marianne are administrative staff members. Rick, whom we've met before as Dean of Students in 1998 and Vice Chancellor for Student Affairs in 2000, at the time of this meeting, has just been promoted from Dean of Students to Interim Vice Chancellor for Student Affairs. Odette is Interim Associate Vice Chancellor for Diversity and Equity. Ella will be stepping in the following day as Interim Dean of Students and will be chairing future BCC meetings. The other

participants are student leaders. All excerpts below are taken from transcripts of the June 2, 1999 meeting of the Building Community Campaign.

The group begins this segment of conversation by focusing explicitly on the development of a promotional brochure designed to begin publicizing the group to the rest of the campus. As the conversation progresses, it begins to use the artifact as a starting point for a discussion that becomes more and more explicitly about group identity, and provides an opportunity for multiple members of the group to voice and synthesize their vision for the campaign:

> **Odette:** I just think that the impact is that these are the four projects Building Community Campaign's about and I think that limits its breadth
> **Jennifer**: um hum
> **Rick:** Yeah
> **Odette:** So I would prefer not to see the individual ones except mentioned and then maybe add a one where the different projects were.
> **Rick:** Well what if we downsized the description of each one of the strategies and had all the strategies in there with maybe just a sentence or two on each.

Here the conversation begins to shift from a discussion of the brochure, to a discussion of group identity and representation. We see that different group members associate the campaign with different outside goals and objectives. The conversation about who the group is begins by focusing on what the group does, and multiple members of the group contribute their understandings to the conversation:

> **Marianne:** But what were the other strategies you're talking about are like the diversity plan and
> **Andrew:** I think these other things that are on here [a list of notes from the previous meeting]
> **Rick:** Yeah on the well look at the April 22nd
> **?:** [the last meeting]
> **Rick:** Such as brining groups together,
> **Andrew:** Community building in a residential area
> **Jennifer:** recognition of community building efforts

While Marianne focuses on the diversity plan (a project largely directed out of Odette's office, that was supported by the Building Community Campaign, but not one of its central projects), each of the elements identified by Rick, Andrew, and myself are initiatives developed by the Building Community Campaign to address the notion of building community from different angles. This passage makes visible a conflict in understanding of what the groups' focus is. As we will see, the individual members of the group may not disagree at a fundamental level about what the campaign should do, but do describe their vision differently at this point.

The next shift toward a discussion of group identity happens when Barb suggests that in keeping with the inclusive nature of the group they need to find a way to involve the audience; to make the brochure 'active:' Notice again that at the surface, Barb is talking about very mechanical elements of layout for the brochure, but that her statement has a sub-text that is about who the group is (a group that seeks to involve, not exclude, members of the community).

> **Barb:** What if you had just kind of a one-page thing and just had a sentence or two about each of the strategies and then for the last thing say " Your idea here" or something like that that makes it active?
> **Odette:** Well and the other message that we were trying to send is that anything can be part of the Building Community campaign. The CACMA summit for example is part of the campaign. It should all feed into a central location you know that we're all trying to support the mission of the Community Campaign. So these are examples but maybe shorter things and then you know something like "how does yours contribute?" or " what's your group doing to contribute?" or whatever you know.

Odette's voice is also an important one here. Not only is she a senior level administrator, but as the person primarily responsible for promoting the diversity plan her encouragement to have the BCC act as an umbrella unit, rather than as an autonomous group is significant. Her talk plays a central role in the fusion of the

BCC and the initiatives coming out of the Office of Diversity and Equity. Nevertheless, she concludes her statement by reaffirming Barb's suggestion that the statement be active. In this way she merges her vision (that activities coming out of the Office of Diversity and Equity be considered part of Building Community) with that of other group members (that the group be inclusive, not exclusive, of other campus groups and activities).

Other group members seem supportive of this position, but it is clear that before Odette articulates it as such, not all members held the same idea of "who we are." Note that for some there exists a definitive "we" that can have an identity while Odette and others seek to articulate a non-identity that bridges gaps between existing groups and projects. Below, we see that as a point of conflict arises, Marianne enters more centrally into the conversation to offer a competing interpretation of the group's goals and reminds the group that they have not had an opportunity to discuss this point and reach a common vision:

> **Marianne:** You know, I think I think some of those connections we need to articulate cause I don't know that they've been articulated.
> **Odette:** You mean to the groups?
> **Marianne:** or even among ourselves I don't I don't think concretely
> **Odette**: Well we did on CACMA on the summit
> **Marianne:** No yeah I know I know I know but
> **Odette:** Oh? To this group?
> **Marianne:** Yeah, yeah you know what I mean I don't think that it's really you know I don't think we've really articulated exactly what our relationship is with other groups on a formal basis
> **Rick:** Like with diversity
> **Marianne:** and that's what you were suggesting that we do and I agree with that yeah yeah

In this passage, Marianne begins by claiming a space for discussion of these issues. While Odette suggests that this conversation has been had in other venues, Marianne

stands firm in her desire to explore this issue in greater detail as it relates to the focus of the Building Community Campaign. Here, Marianne's opening up of the topic for group debate gives Andrew license to seek clarification as well:

> **Andrew:** yeah. What do we do? For my clarification? Do we assist? Do we endorse other things that come along? Or or do we I mean…
> **Rick:** I think we're mutually supportive. I think we're complimentary.
> **Marianne:** If we haven't had a lot of experience yet so far except with the CACMA summit.
> **Andrew:** right.

Andrew's request clarifies this topic as one that is not mutually understood by all members of the group, and Rick's answer seeks to bridge the two understandings presented (that the group has its own boundaries and its own projects, but that it also supports and compliments other groups and activities that further its mission). In his next statement, Rick affirms Odette's vision, while also framing his response such that it validates the importance of other things the group is doing to build a community of respect:

> **Rick:** But I think the initiatives that are going to come out of the diversity plan really should be fitting right in with what we're doing here. It is all about building a community of respect and people feeling welcome feeling successful.
> **Odette:** I guess what we don't want people to see is there's the diversity initiative over here and there's this groups' initiative over here and then there's the Building Campaign over here then there's somebody else over here and you know that`s

Marianne, however, again reminds them that this requires further discussion, and that the group needs to find a way to reconcile this vision with other things the group has been working on:

> **Marianne:** Well then we need to talk about that as we talk about developing this campaign because I think when we've been thinking about it we've been thinking about it as a 'Building Community Campaign' which is really kind of

> stand alone I mean when we get into the details we'll have to talk about connections but I think.

The next move is an important one, as Ella enters the conversation after a long silence. Modeling Buber's notion of finding the narrow ridge (see Arnett, 1986), Ella's first remarks do not seek to privilege either position but rather indicate that both perspectives may be useful to understanding the group process. Her remarks echo Peters' (1999) claim that "Open scatter is more fundamental than coupled sharing; it is the stuff from which, on rare, splendid occasions, dialogue may arise" (p.62).

> **Ella:** Well, haven't we been talking about it in two ways? I mean in some of the meetings that I was in one is the umbrella sort of [support]
> **Marianne:** [right]

Ella gains the floor when Marianne acknowledges that she is addressing issues relevant to her concerns. Below, Ella works to merge the disparate viewpoints and articulate a common identity for the group that reflects the importance of listening to both sides in this group:

> **Ella:** [for] other sorts of initiatives like diversity planning, like CACMA, and then there are some things that we do on our own motion: things that we see that need to be done that we take the initiative to engage other people in. And so is there a way to describe sort of how we support and how we initiate ourselves and try to gather the support of the community for the things that we see? Like Bias Motivated Acts [Response Team] is something this group has taken the initiative to do something about and address. We support and try to further the initiatives of diversity plans across campus, of CACMA, so I see it as two kind of pathways as well as having a document that invites people to be a part of all of that.

This exchange is important both to the group's process of identity formation (Simpson, 2000) and to the process of "becoming the community we're trying to

create." After this meeting, Marianne was asked to head up a sub-committee that worked on articulating a mission statement to include in the brochure.

The language that was agreed on reflects both the commitment of the campaign to fostering a more welcoming environment, and indicates that the group "sponsors" initiatives that support these ends. In this way the group both validates its own efforts and recognizes the contributions of others on campus to the process of building community. Over time, the group's identity became more and more clearly articulated as one of building bridges between community-supporting initiatives on campus. More than a year after the meeting detailed above, Marianne told me "Building Community is like the umbrella to pull a lot of these other activities together so that you see some commonality…"

As the example above illustrates, when organizational input translates into organizational voice, both members and the larger organizational collective may reap greater benefits from that interaction. Yet simply providing enclaves for limited voice does not guarantee that the larger collective will see any lasting effects or that moments of increased identification will have an enduring impact on the organizational culture. Below, I examine one additional strategy used by the Building Community Campaign to examine how institutional norms and practices can be challenged to foster increased opportunity for broad-based voice across the organization.

Making the invisible obvious

In my earlier discussion of spaces of struggle I demonstrated how social conditioning and the strategic withholding of voice can inhibit opportunities for voice

as significantly as more overt mechanisms for silencing organizational members. This can become reinforced in organizational practice as 'policy' becomes normalized in routine interaction. When this happens, organizational members may be less reflective about the manner in which organizational business is carried out on a day-to-day basis. In this way, formal policies become organizational norms and may be reproduced uncritically. Recognizing this has allowed scholars to theorize ways in which obstacles to voice can be challenged and overcome by implementing change at the daily micro-level (Clair, 1994; Deetz, 1998; Deetz et al., 2000; Lewis & Seibold, 1998; Tretheway, 1997).

A closer examination of the initiatives sponsored by the Building Community Campaign reveals that the group's actions have focused explicitly on making taken-for-granted assumptions more visible to organizational members, and challenging the campus to think more critically about issues of community. While many projects and programs that have both been spearheaded and supported by the BCC fall under this rubric, the examples that follow nicely capture the efforts of the group to challenge the status quo and open up alternatives for students, faculty and staff.

In the first year of the campaign, students were very concerned about creating a common first-year experience for incoming students that would be peer-led (to create natural mentoring relationships and foster a sense of identification), and would address a range of issues that had been identified as critical obstacles to community in campus forums and discussion (some examples included: substance use and abuse, sexual health, sexuality, body image and diversity among others). The group of students was empowered to work with faculty sponsors to develop a course proposal,

and they successfully piloted a course under the name of University 101in the Fall of 1999 in two Residential Academic Program[1] (RAP) sections. The course was peer-led, and carried one credit of academic weight.

This course reached roughly thirty students in AY 1999-2000, and expanded under a new name in AY 2000-2001. As the group worked to broaden its reach and increase the Academic validity and viability of the course while maintaining its commitment to its original vision, the course was re-named the CU-Experience. Under its new name, the course switched to a lecture-recitation format combining lecture-style classes taught by distinguished faculty and other campus experts on the critical issues that remained the focus of the class with recitations that were co-facilitated by two upper class students. In AY 2000-2001, this class reached roughly ninety students.

This project served several important functions. First, it helped to facilitate increased interaction among the students, faculty and staff who worked collaboratively to make it happen. First year students, and undergraduate Teaching Assistants, worked together with Staff and Faulty to explore notions of community, and issues critical to fostering an increased sense of community. In addition, the service-learning component of the class both involved some of the First year students in other initiatives of the Building Community Campaign, and involved others with other important community-oriented programs and projects. The course also challenged incoming students to think critically about difficult and sometimes controversial issues early on in their tenure at the university. The combination of lectures, panel discussions and interactive, discussion-oriented theatre presentations

about critical issues provided students with the skills and resources to address those issues as they encountered them in their experience as a member of the CU-Boulder community. Only time will tell if the program has a lasting effect, but initial satisfaction ratings are high among participants.

As I mentioned in chapter four,another project that the Building Community Campaign has undertaken builds on the work of James Banning (1975) and uses Environmental Scanning to explore how the visual environment on campus sends messages about what is and is not valued. Over the course of my study, I have worked closely with the campaign to develop the theoretical grounding for this work, and have helped collect images, and develop presentations to raise awareness on campus about how our environment sends messages about what is valued and devalued. While I have already indicated the methodological benefit of this program, these presentations have also often sparked discussion across campus about how matters of community importance are manifest visually. Perhaps the most poignant example of the effect that this initiative has had on making the invisible visible centers around a discussion of Disability Access. As we saw in the gallery, several people expressed concerns that disability is often excluded from discussions about diversity. The Environmental Scanning initiative is one important way in which the Building Community Campaign has helped to promote dialogue around matters of disability and opened space for organizational voice.

Many of the pictures that I have included in presentations have addressed both the ease of access to different buildings on campus, and the visual appeal of the entrances that provide handicap access. One picture, in particular, captures the

handicap access to the building where the office of Disability Services is located (see Appendix D). The picture shows a long narrow ramp bordered by a metal railing that runs parallel to a loading dock at the back of the building. In the middle of the loading area is a large brown dumpster. In order to access the building, wheel-chair bound individuals must circumnavigate the entire building, roll their chairs up the long, narrow ramp, then make a 90° turn to the left at the end of the ramp. This turn brings them onto the edge of the loading dock, which they must then cross, and make another 90° turn to the right to line themselves up with the door that provides access to the building. In addition to this already difficult set of maneuvers, the loading dock also serves as the recycling center for the building, and several large bins line the wall next to the door. Cardboard sometimes spills out into the pathway that wheelchair-bound individuals must use and smokers often use this out-of-the-way area to take their cigarette breaks.

In the Fall of 1999, I was invited to a Student Affairs Director's meeting to present an Environmental Scan. After the meeting, I was both frustrated and encouraged, as the following fieldnote indicates:

> I presented an Environmental Scan to the Student Affairs Directors this morning. Overall I think that the presentation went well, though I have no idea what will come of it. There was a lot of heated discussion about what any of the images can be said to mean, even though I tried to reinforce repeatedly that the purpose of the presentations was not to decide what the 'right' interpretation was, but to demonstrate how multiple interpretations are possible. When I showed the picture of the Disability Access groans went up all over the room. It seems like this is an issue that's been irking people for a while. I guess I wasn't surprised that people knew it was a problem, after all it's glaring enough, but was more frustrated that if so many people, who have the power to do something about it, see it as a problem, and nothing's been done, how well does this bode for community? All they could talk about was how expensive it would be to fix, and who was going to pay for it. On the upside, I think having it up there, on a big screen in front of them had an

> effect. There was this tension in the air like "well now that this is out here, I guess we have to do something." We'll see if they actually do.

Several months went by, and I focused my research on other things. Then, one day, Rick mentioned to me that every time he saw me he thought about how much money I was costing. I was a bit taken aback, and my expression clearly indicated that I didn't understand. "We're fixing the access," he said "and it's costing a fortune." We chatted for a few minutes and he indicated that the presentation that the campaign had done for the Directors as well as elsewhere on campus had sparked a conversation that took on a life of its own, and that people had found the money to do the necessary changes. Building would not begin for a few months, he said, but the plans were already being drawn up.

The Environmental Scanning initiative also powerfully affected students by focusing on the impact of graffiti (see Appendix E) and other messages on people's perceptions of welcoming. Mostly, however, this project was helpful because it helped make visible the small and not-so-small ways in which all members of the campus affect the sense of welcoming and belonging. By involving CU-Experience students in the collection of photographs this project has also helped increase awareness of environmental issues among these students and brought a broader range of eyes to the project. The many other initiatives of the Building Community Campaign are also based on this premise of helping to open spaces for speech, where that speech can translate in to voice, and where the taken-for-granted elements of institutional practice can be challenged and transformed. Judd, a senior faculty member with over forty years experience on campus remarked:

> They're ['community' concerns] not new issues, but trying to do something about them, I think, is new. I think we've talked about this being a kinder, gentler place on many occasions, but I don't know of any serious effort to try and make it that apart from the recent efforts.

This feeling, that problems that have been around for a long time are being addressed in a different way by this set of initiatives, was mirrored in remarks by early skeptics as well. Over the course of its development, Jackson's initial wariness has been abated by the work that the BCC has done. He summarized his change in mindset like this:

> I think when we began to look at the big picture and start to address not just what has happened, but how can we prevent this from happening and as the campaign began to take shape and take form, it really became something that, that personally I bought into and I think the Building Community Campaign finally quantifies or makes tangible a lot of the things that people have been thinking, feeling, talking about for years and years and I think the Campaign kind of formalizes that and mobilizes that and puts a face to it, so to speak, it personifies it. I mean, these emotions and these feelings and these thoughts and these words, these actions and I think as it's evolved, the Campaign, my original perceptions of the Campaign were incorrect or maybe the assessment was correct at that time, but as it changed, it's no longer valid. But I think it's a good idea, it's a good strategy. I think it's something that a lot of people are buying into. When I talk about this notion kind of trickling down and permeating various departments and areas on campus, I think the Building Community Campaign has been quintessentially influential in causing that to happen or encouraging that to happen and so that's good.

Here, as Jackson searches for the words to describe his change in perception, we see that the slow initial process of developing group cohesion and identity has ultimately lent credibility to the project. Peters (1999), echoing Robert Merton, suggests "the only refuge we have against communication fraud is the propaganda of the deed. No profession of love is as convincing as a lifetime of fidelity" (p.271). In this case, persistence and care over time have begun to match the BCCs word to deed.

While initially the slow pace of action was frustrating, over time it created an impression that the campaign has been able to take thoughts, ideas and feelings that have been around for a long time, and has been able to formalize them, give voice to them. Of course, this trickling down, that Jackson describes hasn't permeated all areas of campus, and there is still wariness, and resistance. Nevertheless, the strategies of the Building Community Campaign hold important lessons for organizational members who wish to reap the potential benefits of participatory process. This chapter has begun to provide useful insights into the questions posed in chapter three.

Summing up

First, this chapter speaks to the question "(How) do discourses of 'participation' or 'voice' function to reproduce or disrupt existing organizational norms and values?" by demonstrating that discourses of participation and voice may both reproduce, and disrupt existing organizational norms and values. In some circumstances, calling for participation may serve to reinforce the status quo by limiting what topics are contestable (as with the Regents 'statement of principles for developing diversity plans'), or by denying agency to those who participate in the decision-making process (this was both evident in the development of the diversity plan, and was cited frequently as an obstacle to organizational voice). Mumby (1997) and Clair (1997) suggest, however, that oppression and resistance always operate in tension with one another.

This chapter supports these conclusions, and demonstrates empirically how voice may be employed in the spaces of organizational struggle. Elena's remarks

about civility highlighted the process whereby even in seeming to promote 'civil dialogue' some voices may be privileged over others. This realization further underscored the choices of some organizational members to withhold voice (faculty may choose not to participate if participation is not rewarded in tenure and promotion decision, students may resist participation if their time is not adequately compensated and/or if they perceive their voice as undervalued in a context that is framed by other interests) as one means of resistance. Both Jackson and Jake, however, suggested that if formal channels of communication are not perceived as conducive to voice, some members of the organization are likely to find alternative, unsanctioned venues rather than remaining silent. Refusing to engage in staged dialogue does not mean a rejection of the value of voice. In addition, we saw that some of the strategies and practices of the building community campaign provided a formal, sanctioned vehicle for challenging existing norms and values, but that some of its practices also borrowed on more traditional and accepted organizational forms (i.e. the committee meeting). I will return to this observation in greater detail below.

This chapter also began to address the question "whose participation is solicited/required in organizational decision-making processes?" In particular, we saw the weight of decision-making authority vested in the Board of Regents, the degree to which 'the will of the board' was able to overrule input by other members of the campus community (including the Chancellor), and the lack of trust among organizational members that the board was either interested in their perspective, or willing to act on their input. In the next chapter, I will examine more fully how

norms for participation become instantiated in the organizational culture and reproduced in practice.

Next, this chapter provided many vivid examples of how members across levels of the organization characterize the university's culture of participation. In particular, these examples demonstrate that members of the campus are interested in the future of the campus, have a desire to see their perspectives reflected in the campus culture, and are skeptical that there exists sufficient administrative will (or even support) to implement existing visions. Several participants whose voices we heard in this chapter suggested that they felt unheard, unvalued, tokenized and unimportant to the organization. Meanwhile, we also saw that members of the administration sometimes bemoaned a lack of participation and involvement among members of the organization. As I mentioned above, I propose that this seeming contradiction suggests not a simple misunderstanding, but a more complex difference in orientation toward the dilemma of participation. Developing a richer understanding of organizational voice will be critical for organizational leaders who see the value in participation. Forums for input are insufficient as long as members do not perceive that their participation has at least the potential of translating into organizational voice.

Fourth, the data presented above begins to answer the question "(How) do notions of voice, culture and difference become implicated in discourses of 'community?'" by attending specifically to how organizational members invoke notions of participation and voice when speaking about the characteristics of an 'open and welcoming community." This connection highlights the fact that even when

members talk about 'community' as a thing, a place or a state that might be arrived at, they do so in language that invokes notions of process. As we saw in chapter one, an important dimension of community is its interactive, relational nature. While I will tease out connections between voice, culture, difference and community in greater detail in the chapters that follow, for now it is important to note that being able to participate, and having that input translate into organizational voice is often implied, if not explicitly stated in discussions of community at the University of Colorado at Boulder.

This chapter also began to take an explicit look at if, and if so how, the Building Community Campaign itself has functioned to challenge or support organizational norms and values. Chapter seven explores the question of whose interests are served by the initiatives and practices of the BCC in more detail as I examine how these support or challenge existing cultural norms. This chapter, however, did highlight several mechanisms and projects of the campaign that, at first glance, provide interesting opportunities to exercise voice through alternative, yet also formally sanctioned, organizational channels. This matter will be examined in greater detail in the next chapter as I also explore whether organizational features of the BCC reflect or challenge existing organizational norms and values.

The broad range of data presented here speaks powerfully to my final question, however. These data demonstrate that, in fact, a wide range of practices can be identified that support and/or hinder the inclusion of different voices in organizational contexts. In spaces of silence, I demonstrate that whether voices are prohibited from being expressed, or are 'simply' ignored, the relationship between

soliciting participation and its inclusion in organizational decision-making processes has far-reaching effects on perceptions of the organization's culture of participation. In spaces of struggle, I demonstrate that voice is a complicated relational issue that is a function of social location and how the positions from which individuals may speak are positioned in relationship to one another. Here, we find that how invitations to participate are framed, and rewarded, has a significant bearing on how organizational members exercise their 'right' to participate. If members do not perceive that participation in formal organizational channels will be valued and recognized, then silence may, in fact, speak volumes.

Alternatively, organizational members may find other venues in which to have voice whether sanctioned (as with including the list of underrepresented groups in the Building Community Campaign brochure) or unsanctioned (as with the Student Affirmative Action Coalition developing their own diversity plan and staging protests at the Regents' meeting). Finally, in spaces of community, I identify several practices of the Building Community Campaign that appear to open space for organizational voice. In addition to those just mentioned, this section highlights the deliberate and conscientious inclusion of groups across campus, and outreach to other marginalized groups (such as front-line staff). In particular, the practices of the Building Community Campaign underscore the importance of creating spaces for speech, learning to listen and, making the invisible obvious. As we saw throughout this chapter, however, these lessons have not yet permeated the campus culture. The next chapter further explores the struggles and potential at CU-Boulder in order to more

clearly define how organizational culture is produced and reproduced in daily micro-practice.

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[1] Residential Academic Programs are provided in several residence halls on campus. Students who participate pay an additional fee to live in an "Academic" Residence Hall and take some coursework on-site in seminar-style classes with a cohort of other students who live in the Residence Hall.

CHAPTER VII

BUILDING A 'COMMUNITY' CULTURE

This chapter extends the analysis begun in chapter six by shifting the analytic focus to matters of organizational culture. Building on the insights provided in chapter six, this chapter makes several important contributions to theoretical and methodological understanding as well as to organizational practice. First, we saw in the preceding chapter that discourses of 'participation' or 'voice' do function to reproduce and/or disrupt existing organizational norms and values. This chapter attends more specifically to the reproductive mechanism whereby that 'voice' and/or 'participation' functions to reify or challenge existing organizational norms. In chapter six we saw several practices employed by the BCC that appear to open opportunities for voice. but also noted that the traditional organizational forms employed to 'get things done' (such as committee meetings) may contain assumptions that support the status quo. This chapter explores these tensions in greater detail.

Next, this chapter speaks to the question "whose participation is solicited/required in organizational decision-making processes?" by highlighting how norms of inclusion and exclusion become perpetuated in organizational processes and practices and become normalized in organizational culture. Data that illuminates this

question also points to ways in which members across levels of the organization characterize the university's culture of participation. Just as chapter six addressed the question "(How) do notions of voice, culture and difference become implicated in discourses of 'community'" by attending to matters of voice, this chapter attends more specifically to the ways in which notions of culture and climate are invoked to talk about 'community' on the CU-Boulder campus.

This chapter also examines how the Building Community Campaign itself functions to challenge or support organizational norms and values from a cultural perspective. By using the three lenses provided by Martin (1992) for examining organizational culture, and by developing the notion of multivocal culture in greater detail, I highlight how the Building Community Campaign both functions within existing cultural systems and provides opportunities to challenge the norms and values associated with existing organizational culture. This analysis also helps to demonstrate whose interests are served by the initiatives and practices of the BCC by more closely examining whose values and norms are reproduced through the organizational practices of the Building Community Campaign. Finally, this chapter also contributes to a richer articulation of practices that support or hinder the inclusion of different voices in organizational contexts by examining how those practices become instantiated in organizational culture.

As we saw in chapter two, as organizational policies are normalized in routine interaction members of the organization may be less critical about the manner in which organizational business is carried out on a day-to-day basis. Through this process, formal policies become organizational norms and may be reproduced less

reflectively. Definitions of 'culture' in organizations often point to these symbols, meanings, and values that encourage, and reward, some ways of accomplishing organizational goals rather than others and foster identification with the organization (Myrsiades, 1987; Glaser, Zamanou & Hacker, 1987). Recognizing this processual nature of organizational culture allows scholars to theorize ways in which obstacles to voice may be challenged and overcome by implementing change at the daily micro-level (Clair, 1994; Deetz, 1998; Deetz et al., 2000; Lewis & Seibold, 1998; Tretheway, 1997). This chapter works to add to this understanding by demonstrating empirically how cultural reproduction and transformation may be enacted in daily micro-practice.

Where chapter six was organized around 'spaces' that inhibited, discouraged or encouraged voice, this chapter is organized according to 'lenses' or perspectives that allow different insights into our understanding of organizing practices. The first section, a cultural lens, focuses on the many ways in which the campus 'culture' or 'climate' is invoked to discuss obstacles to creating 'an open and welcoming environment that welcomes and respects all people…' Given this framing of the discussion, I also focus on the nature of the initiatives and projects undertaken by the BCC in order to address what are perceived to be deficiencies in 'the climate.' The next sections, however, demonstrate that 'a cultural lens' does not provide the specificity of understanding that more specialized and focused lenses do. The next three sections draw on Martin's (1992) three perspectives on organizational culture to identify elements of culture at the University of Colorado at Boulder that become more or less visible as one adopts each perspective in turn. The final section, a

multivocal lens, refines the description of multivocal culture advanced in chapter two and demonstrates that implied in notions of 'community' is a culture that supports spaces for different voices and may also be united around difference. As I develop this fourth perspective, we will find that in practice, these lenses form not a linear continuum characterized at one end by homogeneity and consensus and at the other by diversity and disagreement but rather that the fourth lens closes the circle and makes more visible the blurring of lines between each perspective. Each of these perspectives, then, permits heuristic insight that is less visible when any of the others are adopted in turn. Before developing this further, however, I begin this analysis with a more superordinate examination of how members of The University of Colorado at Boulder talk about the climate on campus.

A Cultural Lens

A great deal of research has examined the particular culture of the university as an organizational context (c.f. Austin, 1990; Axelrod & Freedman, 1968; Boyer, 1990; Chaffee & Tierney, 1988; Dill, 1982; Kuh, 1990; Kuh, & Hall, 1993; Kuh & Whitt, 1988; Schlossberg, 1989; Van Maanen, 1987). Much of this literature emphasizes the unique emphasis on education and the differentiation between subcultures (Students/Faculty/Staff/ Administration) in university contexts. Axelrod and Freedman (1968) argue

> The special character of a university infuses its ordering of affairs and sharing of power with a unique educational purpose. The conduct of university governance is an important determinant of the culture in which education takes place, for the way the university seeks to understand and control itself greatly influences the way its members seek to know themselves (p. x).

This process was evident in chapter six as we saw organizational members making sense of the degree to which their voice appeared to have value in organizational decision-making. Kuh & Hall (1993), emphasize the importance of attending to culture by arguing, "when examining the issues that affect a particular academic community, and institution's cultural aspects must be addressed" (p.2). This section examines how members of the University of Colorado at Boulder talk about the artifacts, perspectives, values and assumptions that shape and influence those cultural aspects of this institution.

When interviewees were asked to describe the climate on campus a recurrent theme was emphasis on how people were affected by the climate at a personal level. Deanna remarked that in her job she was often called on to comfort and support those that felt abused or disenfranchised by the broader cultural system on campus:

> This campus is abysmal in terms of disability access, not just mobility, but all forms of disability access and, you know, the climate for queer students is maybe a little bit better than it is for students with disabilities, but it still, it's still not a good supportive environment and for students of color, it's the same issue and I see a lot of distraught students in my office on a regular basis and it's hard for me to focus on all of these committees that are being formed or programs that are under way that look really nice on paper when I'm dealing with people who are in crisis, who are sobbing, who are dealing with really difficult issues of racism and homophobia and so forth and I see what the human cost is.

Here, Deanna's remarks highlight both that the campus creates particular challenges for some groups of people more than for others, and that policies and committees, while they may 'look really nice on paper' do little to address the more affective dimension of the cultural system. Because culture is produced and reproduced in interaction, formal organizational measures only go so far to address underlying cultural dilemmas. David further affirmed this perspective, stating, "nobody likes to

be told that they are not valuable and the climate tells people that in ways that administrators I don't think are aware of, you know, it's not overt." Beyond these remarks, and those found in the gallery, examples of disability access such as that discussed in chapter six (physical access to buildings on campus), the lack of assistive technology in campus computer labs, and a wide range of challenges presented to students who are learning disabled, and/or sight and hearing impaired demonstrate how routine norms and practices accumulate to produce an unwelcoming environment for members of particular groups.

Over time, these accumulated attributes of organizational culture may have serious consequences for the institution. You will remember seeing a comment in the gallery from a White Male Staff member who stated

> We don't keep people of color on this campus very well, not as well as we should and I would, I'd have to say that to either students, faculty or staff that would consider coming here who are members of people of color or GLBT folks or disability folks that, you know, retention is what tells you about culture and climate and the retention rates are not good.

A female staff member who works closely with students affirmed the importance of attending to cultural elements in addressing recruitment concerns, saying "retention is directly related to climate in many, many ways and for students not only to stay and to graduate, but to do so at less of a human and emotional cost is a huge benefit and I think it benefits everybody."

These practical concerns, of course, provide increased incentive for organizational leaders to attend to concerns at the cultural level. Judd, a senior faculty member who has been on campus since the late 1950s emphasized the importance of attending to environmental factors in change initiatives, arguing "big changes do

happen and neither you nor I can make them happen, but we can do our best to create the conditions in which they might." In talking to Rick Smith about his vision for the future of the Building Community Campaign, he also emphasized the importance of this element in the change process. He suggested that:

> The change that we're talking about is trying to get all students to feel that when they come here, they're going to find a niche, they're going to find an environment that's going to be supportive of them and there's a whole number of opportunities for them to find that and what a student will identify is that particular niche that's really important for them.

Nearly everyone that I spoke with who indicated that there was a need for change emphasized the importance of creating small pockets of connection, and opportunities for involvement. By and large, the students that I interviewed directly had some level of involvement in campus activities, and repeatedly emphasized the importance of developing those connections for other students.

As we saw in chapter six, Sumaya found her involvement with student groups to be both useful for forging connections, and as a source of personal growth. Kay, a senior who considers herself a minority, but who often feels ostracized by the student of color community because of her light skin indicated that her involvement in student government had been an important part of her campus experience. She further added that "the University is really making a good effort with the Freshman to reach out and get them involved sooner and I definitely think that's happening because you see a lot more Freshman involved in things." She emphasized that while she saw this as a good thing, she saw less evidence of involvement among upper-class students.

In addition to involvement, however, when campus members were asked to identify those things that characterized a good day for them on campus, responses tended to include descriptors of personal growth, learning, and engagement. Judd, the senior faculty member who emphasized the importance of environment above, summarized his experience this way:

> It's as good as it gets if you have a really good class. And a really good class is sort of bringing the material that's important to you into the lives of other people. It isn't just being clear, well organized, or even humorous. It's managing somehow to communicate the importance of what your field is into their life in some personal way.

Similarly, Ian, a faculty member with over twenty-five years of tenure on campus, emphasized how rewarding a good day in the classroom could be:

> … you're seeing some excitement, you know, and you feel like you've elicited or sparked that excitement where either you're presenting ideas or you're somehow provoking students to present ideas that are exciting and people care and they're focused and you can see that they're excited and occasionally that happens and it's very rewarding. And when somebody says I never thought of that before, you know, that sort of thing and that's very good.

As Axelrod & Freedman (1968) indicated in the quotation at the beginning of this section the educational dimension of the culture of the university is an important central feature. While this may seem self-evident in an educational institution, as we will see frustration sometimes ensues when that educational mission seems to get lost amidst myriad other things. For many, however, having education take center stage continues to be a priority. Lance, another faculty member summed it up nicely, saying "First and foremost, I have a good day if my classes go well." No matter how many other factors may shape people's attitudes and perceptions, a belief in the

fundamental value of education is ultimately what draws individuals into a university community.

The students I interviewed also placed a high value on positive experiences in the classroom. Above, Ira indicated that bringing a new idea to a student's attention made for a good day for him. As I interviewed Jackson, the former Black Student Alliance leader that we met in chapter six, a few days later, I was struck by the degree to which the words he used to describe his good days paralleled those of a White male faculty member more than twice his age. Jackson said that he especially valued classroom moments when "you know, when the light bulb comes on or that moment of revelation, it's like oh, I never really thought about it like that. I'll have to go and think about that a little more later."

This theme recurred again and again in my interviews. Jake, a graduate student who strives to integrate material that addresses diverse populations into his curriculum when he works as a Teaching Assistant also used nearly identical language: "That's really rewarding to see my students go, 'Wow, I never thought about that before' or when they say to me, 'How come we don't talk about this in other classes or I never had a class like that.'" Sumaya also added, "having a good day at school is talking about things in classes that I was interested in or excited about."

All of these remarks illustrate the core importance, especially among students and faculty, of exciting opportunities for intellectual interaction. This also was evidenced in the kinds of suggestions that people made for changes in practice that might facilitate transformations in culture. Because personal interaction is seen as

important, and because the educational mission of the institution is seen as a unifying feature of the university, administrators and faculty frequently pointed to residential academic programs and cohort-experience programs for incoming students as important elements in addressing the larger cultural concerns.

Time and again, close-contact and personal relationships emerged as important factors in people's understanding of the 'climate problem.' In fact, the Building Community Campaign has focused its many initiatives specifically on these concerns. The BCC brochure and web site list the following initiatives and programs designed to help foster a greater sense of welcoming on campus:

The Environmental Scanning initiative introduced in chapters four and six is specifically aimed at raising awareness on campus about the impact of cultural artifacts on people's sense of belonging and welcome. Also introduced in chapter six, The CU Experience class is "designed to help incoming students develop skills to help them adjust to campus life" (http://www.colorado.edu/buildingcommunity/initiatives.html). This program addresses both the concern for personal contact, and the desire for a central educational focus head on. By pairing new students with both distinguished faculty, and with upper-class peer Teaching Assistants the class works to promote feelings of connectedness while also stimulate dialogue around cultural norms concerning matters of difference, sexuality and sexual health, alcohol use and abuse etc.

The Building Community Campaign's literature also lists several programs aimed at 'fostering dialogue.' Many of these initiatives will be revisited in greater detail later on, but highlighting them here draws attention to the focus that this

campaign has taken in addressing cultural concerns on campus. The Interactive Theatre Project addresses climate issues by presenting scenarios about challenging situations ranging from date rape to diversity, and then engaging the audience in discussion about the multiple and at times conflicting interests at work in the scenario. The actors in these scenes typically stay in role after the performance, allowing the audience to engage the characters directly. In addition, as we saw earlier, the Chancellor's Advisory Committee on Minority Affairs (CACMA) has begun to work in conjunction with the Building Community Campaign and has focused on community issues at its annual summit in 1999, 20001 and 2001. In addition to these on-campus initiatives, the BCC has also helped to sponsor Community Speakouts in an effort to help build bridges between campus members and the surrounding Boulder community.

All of these initiatives have been aimed at promoting education and increasing awareness around 'community' concerns and at fostering dialogue between community members. In addition to these efforts, the campaign has also implemented several initiatives aimed at responding to matters of concern and recognizing successes and contributions of community members. The Bias Motivated Incident Response Team was developed in direct response to the hate letter incidents that initiated the development of the campaign. This group provides for timely and coordinated response to bias motivated acts on campus. Team members meet with groups and individuals who are targeted and come up with constructive resolutions and appropriate responses. In addition, Community Builder Awards are awarded each semester to people who make it a priority to make CU-Boulder a better place to live,

work and learn. These awards both recognize the contributions of individuals who have had an impact on campus, and promote increased interaction and contact among campus members. Implicit in these proposed remedies are many assumptions about the root of cultural challenges on the CU-Boulder campus. The sections below examine these cultural challenges (and successes) more closely by adopting four different lenses which each provide different insights into those aspects of campus culture that are already in place to support an open and welcoming environment, as well as those that stand in the way of this goal.

Adopting these four lenses allows for important insights. By using an 'integrated' lens, we can identify a common set of characteristics and values that make up 'the culture' of the organization. The 'differentiated' lens points to sub-cultural alignments that have an impact on perceptions of and identification with the institution. The 'fragmented' lens points to how group-identity salience may create further subdivision and promote identification with one's department in one context, and with one's race or gender in another. The 'mulitvocal' lens, then, shifts this orientation and examines those elements of culture that promote and support mutual respect for difference. This lens allows an examination of what the Building Community Campaign vision might look like in practice, and examines initiatives that work to tease out the range of perspectives that might be brought to bear on understanding challenges confronting the campus.

An Integrated Lens

Martin (1992) suggests that by taking an integrated perspective to understanding organizational culture we may identify common themes or values that

characterize an organization's culture. Within this view, these characteristics are seen as widely held by members across the organization and as representative of 'the culture' or 'climate' of that organization. As we saw in the gallery, as well as in many of the examples above, there is no clear and unified perspective that neatly integrates all perspectives on the University of Colorado at Boulder campus. Nevertheless, by setting this awareness of difference aside momentarily and adopting an integrated lens, we can see that there are common themes and concerns that emerge as important to members across the organization.

When we adopt an integrated lens, our attention is drawn to those instances when members talk about 'the university' in a broad and monolithic sense. The integrated lens then helps to highlight what the characteristics of that university's culture might be. In my interview with Ian, he remarked that in his interactions with students he often had the impression that " 'the university' to them is much more than simply the aggregate of all of their interpersonal interactions, you know, it's some sort of generic thing." When I pressed people who used the term 'the university' in our interview to define what that meant to them, there was no consensus across individuals as to who 'the university' was. What there was consensus on, however, was that 'the university' was represented in individuals' minds by things, people or behaviors with which they did not identify. 'The university,' as a generic entity, was seen first and foremost as impersonal and uncaring.

'The impersonal university'

Many of my interviewees talked at length about the impersonal feeling of the campus and often focused on how they work to compensate for that impersonality on

an individual basis. Ian works to address the issue with his students on the first day of class:

> I always give this little speech to acknowledge to them [students] what they already know that this is a very big university and when you first arrive here, it seems very impersonal and I always stress that in contrast to a small college, the faculty will not really be reaching out to you individually. But that if you take the first step and if you take some initiative to get to know a professor or make an appointment to see the professor, knock on the door, we all have office hours, give him a call, send him an e-mail, that in those cases, you'll find the professors very pleasantly responsive.

Jackson also expressed that he had found this to be the case, and often warned prospective students that they would need to be prepared to deal with the impersonal aspect if they chose to come to school at the University of Colorado at Boulder:

> On a large campus like this, it's easy to get kind of isolated and just become just another face in the crowd, just another number, another seat in the lecture hall or, you know, whatever it is, a social security number. It's really easy to do that…It's easy to be isolated and alienated and so if you're looking for a little bit more personal attention, then you don't want to come here.

In fact, the large size and potential for anonymity may attract some students to campus. Andrew, now a student government leader, told me that initially he wanted to 'get lost in the crowd':

> My relationship to the university began, I mean, I was kind of that number, you know, in the large classes as a freshman and I liked it that way. I kind of came to CU to just get lost in the crowd, so that I wouldn't have that personal attention. It was strange because I don't know why, I felt that I had too much in high school and I just wanted to be anonymous and do my work and go to class and that's it…

Similarly, Kay, now a senior, remembers the impersonal feel of her first encounter with the university, and emphasized that feeling connected was not something she looked for in deciding to enroll:

> The very first contact was one of those 'Day at CU' things in high school. CU is really impersonal. It's not, I mean, frankly, you don't come here for the personality of it. It was what I expected of it. Large, very professional, nothing personal, nothing intimate or like that it all had to relate with you as a person, just you as a student. It's gorgeous, you know, is basically the first impression that you have.

For staff, the campus may be equally impersonal. For some, the state employment system fostered an especially impersonal relationship to the institution. One staff member began her interview by stating her job title as a description of the particular job she does. From her description, it was clear what her role was, and what she spent her time doing. Later in the interview, however, she remarked that there were many impersonal things about being a part of the state system:

> My [official] title is a General Professional III, you know, so the fact that I work for the state, but I'm also part of [the university], it's just, it's contradictory, you know, and that in my unit, if they do layoffs, they run down the line of different titles that they have to layoff, not, you know, it's not always about a person, it's about their title.

Even though many of these individuals emphasized that personal connection was not something that drew them to the university in the first place, many expressed a keen awareness of its lack upon arrival. 'Getting involved' was the number one proposed solution to these feelings of isolation, yet time and again it was evident that the cultural atmosphere was one of 'isolation' but that personal and proactive measures could be taken to foster a sense of inclusion. Judd, a University of Michigan graduate, remarked, "I don't think you can help having that [close, personal] experience at Michigan, but here, you probably have to work for it."

Above, we saw Ian recommend to students on the first day of class that they seek out their professors and not wait for the faculty to take the initiative. Kay told

me that that was what she had done, and felt that she would not have had the experiences that she has were it not for her own initiative:

> I found that professors, if you make yourself known to them and you stand out to them, they have no problem giving you extra time and effort on their part. However, that's not going to happen without you initiating that contact and what not. I have several mentor-like relationships with professors here on campus that didn't take much effort on my part, but definitely wouldn't have happened had I not made an effort. I feel like my education here is as good as it could be because of what I have done there. I have gotten a lot of personal contacts, a lot of opportunities that I never would have had as just a student in the back of a lecture hall. My most frustrating experiences, I think, just come from professors that aren't really here as teachers and that are here for their research or for other outside of the classroom opportunities that they're being afforded here at CU.

In fact, Judd recognized that these values of distance and impersonality become instantiated in the culture and reproduced unreflectively in large part because of the values and priorities that underlie hiring decisions:

> We've hired faculty who are good at individual achievement. We've hired faculty who are good at establishing hierarchy. We've hired faculty, and incidentally, encouraged students who are good at individual achievement and so the very community, if I may use that word in a different sense, that we're a part of, consists of people who are good at individual achievement… How do you make that [connection] happen when everybody that you seek to get to the institution you choose on the basis of characteristics that mitigate against it?

Nevertheless, students did regularly report that when they took the initiative, they had largely positive experiences and interactions with the faculty on campus. Jake commented specifically about the contrast between his feelings of alienation at the institutional level and his feelings of welcome as a GLBT student in his personal interactions in his classes and interpersonal experiences:

> On an individual or a personal level in my interactions with other people, I've found some really great professors. I've not had one professor who I felt has thought less of me because of my sexual orientation as a gay man. In fact, the opposite is true. I've had many professors who have called on me to help

> them create a GLBTQ sensitive curricula for their classes and who respect me and my opinion as a gay man, but I still, even those professors who are supportive, there's still education to be done with them… So, I would say on a whole, my experience has been really positive in my relations with faculty and other students, although there is still a lot of work to be done to educate faculty and students about GLBTQ issues.

Even Andrew who initially sought out the anonymity of campus, has carved out spaces of connection and connectedness for himself:

> …and now [that I'm involved in student government] it's changed a little bit. It seems I know everybody in the whole University. I don't, but it seems that way…in a way, student government has made this University quite small to me. It's really made it personal, knowing the Chancellor, Vice Chancellors, certain individuals, meeting professors…

Similarly, Regina, who earlier expressed her frustration at the state employment classifications, said that her experience on campus had been increasingly positive since she began working on initiatives and programs related to building community. When she first arrived on campus, she said, she found the environment to be 'more alienating' in many ways than the large, metropolitan, east-coast city from which she came. As her participation in campus life increased, however, she found that the act of involvement itself had been of great personal benefit:

> I'm thinking about what a personal thing this [involvement] has been for me and I would like other people to be able to have the same experience with this university that I've had, you know, and I hope that my experience stays what it's been.

Clearly, feelings of welcome and connectedness are a concern for many on the CU-Boulder campus. As we saw in the gallery, however, some of the students who responded to the 1998-1999 "Perspectives on the CU-Boulder Community" Survey did not see feelings of belonging and welcoming to be a problem. As university leadership grapples with these concerns, small residential academic communities are

often suggested as possible remedies. Ian remarked that in a recent conversation with a colleague, they had discussed the advantages (connection and personal contact) and disadvantages (loss of depth of knowledge and specialization in each discipline available under the current format) of such a system. In the end, his colleague felt that the advantages outweighed the disadvantages:

> His point was that ultimately, it's more valuable to have that sense of community and that sense of ongoing personal interaction than to take all of the specialized courses with all the specialized research experts as the students do now.

Vic Carbone, the Vice-Chancellor for Academic Affairs noted, however, that though such small academic programs have existed for some time, they have not always had an intentionally community-building focus:

> We've talked about academic neighborhoods for the past four or five years and they've mainly dealt with ways of personalizing education, getting students more involved with each other and with faculty and I think we've focused mainly on academic programs and we really haven't looked at the building community side and so I think one of the issues, an important issue, is how do we look at building community through these academic neighborhoods.

All of these comments and reactions point to a widely (if not universally) held perception of the university's 'culture' as impersonal. As we have seen, common remedies both at the interpersonal and institutional level are to reach out, get involved, and foster closer personal relationships. The effect of these actions, as evidenced by Andrew's comment above, is to 'make the university smaller.' At the same time this commonsense approach to communicative interaction is fraught with potential pitfalls. As we expect connection and communication as the norm, or as a remedy to alienation, we may become increasingly disillusioned

by differences that persist instead of embracing the opportunities those differences may hold. The next theme that emerges using an integrated lens is related to but distinct from this first theme of impersonality. While the university's large size was linked to impersonality, its bureaucratic nature was seen as compounding this effect.

'The bureaucratic university'

Regina remarked that staff members get to know the university through its bureaucratic structure and that that first impression is often a lasting one:

> The staff person's introduction to the university is bureaucracy and so it's kind of like sifting through all the bureaucracy of being a part of a large institution and then stepping out of that and finding the connections and I imagine that's what students go through too.

In fact, the new employee handbook that staff members receive when they arrive on campus exemplifies the tension between attempting to foster a welcoming environment and doing so in a context of rules, regulations, policies and procedures that often appear to mitigate against connection.

The bright yellow cover of the 1 ½ inch three-ring binder reads "Welcome to the University of Colorado—Boulder." Inside the copy which I was given as part of my data collection is a sample letter of offer for 'Exempt Professional Staff' this form letter, filled with blank spaces to fill in position descriptions, salary etc… begins as follows:

[Inside Address]

RE: Offer of Appointment to Position of _____, University of Colorado at Boulder

Dear _____:

I am pleased to offer you an appointment to The University of Colorado as _____ on the Boulder campus. This offer is subject to approval by the University's Board of Regents. Board action is expected at the Board's meeting of _____.

(…)

This letter makes it clear to prospective employees before they even begin their tenure at the university that their jobs are contingent on decisions made by individuals with whom they will have little or no interaction.

The manual that employees actually receive on arrival is filled with information subdivided into five categories: 'About CU' includes organizational mission statements, organizational charts and transportation information. 'Personal Employment Information' includes items such at "Employee Guide to Compensation Services," "Classified Staff Leave Accrual Rates," "Professional Exempt/Unclassified Staff Leave Accrual Rates," as well as a long list of sample forms and paperwork associated with employment at the university. The section entitled 'Services and Resources' includes brochures from various offices on campus

including Counseling Services, the Ombuds office and Tuition Waiver Benefit information. The section on policies includes both the University of Colorado Policy on Alcohol and Drugs and the Boulder campus Sexual Harassment Policy. Finally, under the section labeled 'Misc.' individuals may find information concerning childcare options, resources from the office of Equity and Access and a list of campus Diversity committees.

This introduction to campus lays a foundation that both sets an expectation for impersonal work practices, and reinforces the perception that one's position is more important than one's person. Even Chancellor Blake, who has worked on many of The University of Colorado's different campuses, remarked that the bureaucratic nature of the institution is often an impediment to community:

> The bureaucracy is difficult to deal with and it seems to be the same on each of the campuses and there may be a few differences, but the bureaucracy becomes a problem...

Yet, as with people's complaints about the impersonality of the campus, the bureaucratic maze was often navigated by finding people within it with whom to form comfortable connections. Ian remarked that as with 'the university,' 'the bureaucracy' was often cited as a problem by his students but that, when pressed, the individuals within that bureaucracy were seen as resources:

> [If you were to ask students] "Okay, but think about your last tangle with the bureaucracy. What about the individual clerks and secretaries and were they nice to you? Did they try to help?" In most cases they'd probably say yes, you know what I mean? And so I think there is that big kind of gap between our perception of individuals who work for the university and our perception of "the university,"

Similarly, Regina said that she advised both students and staff to

> Just be patient with the bureaucracy and you can always find a friendly face among all of the red tape, you know, there's always somebody out there that if you look and you don't just look at the big picture, but you really kind of look through all of the red tape, you'll find somebody who will be able to help you with it, so...

Both of these characteristics: the impersonal nature of the university and its bureaucratic form were seen as working against feelings of connectedness and connection that were seen as being at the heart of 'building community' on campus. And, while individual members reported having positive and supportive interactions with other individual members, those individuals with whom I spoke both in formal interviews, and in less formal ethnographic interviews often indicated that those positive interpersonal interactions were seen to come at significant cost, and to be devalued and at times discouraged by the institution. Furthermore, because connections were seen as a remedy to bureaucracy, impediments to those connections were perceived negatively. One thing that was pointed to again and again as a powerful factor in reproducing the impersonal, bureaucratic culture was the strict hierarchical structure and reward system that are seen as fostering competition over collaboration. Many bemoaned the inherent flaws of an ostensible 'meritocracy' used to determine rewards and advancement at the university.

'The meritocratic university'

Axelrod and Freedman's (1968) examination of university culture proposed the need for 'radical redirection' in university governance and structures advocating in particular for decentralization of leadership and increased student participation. While the years since their report have seen a significant increase in forums for

participation, broad-based voice, as we saw in chapter six, is still elusive. One factor that participants in this research project repeatedly pointed to, as an impediment both to participation and to connectedness was the nature of the university's reward structure.

Judd remarked that those individual moments of connection that were identified as mitigating against the impersonal, bureaucratic feel of the university above did not become a part of the institutional fabric because they were not rewarded:

> I think you can find it [caring] here and there, but it's not a virtue that's rewarded nor is it one that you have an easy time finding and yet I think it's the absolute key to community.

This supports Peters' (1999) contention that we ought be less concerned with mis-understanding one another and more concerned with those obstacles to our ability to attend genuinely to one another. This theme recurred frequently in conversations with faculty in particular. As we saw in chapter six, Vic Carbone, Vice-Chancellor for Academic Affairs and Dean of Faculties recognizes that the reward system is an impediment to participation. He further remarked that for faculty of color in particular:

> There has to be some incentive for faculty to get involved and that incentive, even though it might cost money, wouldn't be monetary but it may be… Should we find some faculty in these departments who maybe get a course release to spend more time with students, both majority and minority students, to talk about community and to start building community from the ground up through the department?

In fact, when the question of reward structure comes up, quite often 'release time' is cited as an important component. Faculty and staff often express frustration that 'service' is expected in addition to, or must come at the expense of teaching and

research, or of their regular work duties. Yet Lance, a senior faculty member who has made a conscious choice to continue teaching in addition to numerous 'service' activities stressed that removing faculty and administrators from the classroom was not an appropriate approach to building community and was rooted in problematic assumptions:

> I think every administrator on this campus ought to teach. I think the biggest mistake we make is when we allow the Chancellor, let alone the Vice Chancellors, to be excused from teaching in order to do their job. If they're too busy to teach, change their Goddamn job so they have time to teach. Make it an issue. Remind them every week that they're teachers before they're anything else…I get impatient when colleagues and I fight over budget, fight over turf and terrain and don't just sit down together and start out with this conversation. What is it that we could be doing better for the students? How does this help the students? …How is it possible that the biggest reward you can give to a professor on this campus is release from teaching? People will call me up and say if you'll serve on this committee or that committee, we'll let you out of teaching a class. How is it possible that that can happen when what we do is teach? I just can't get over it.

In addition to challenges such as time demands, teaching loads and work schedules, faculty and staff also pointed to the 'meritocracy' as a system based on flawed assumptions and imbued with inherent bias. Elena emphasized that 'meritocratic' systems were based on assumptions about truth, validity, and value that inherently favored some positions and projects over others while giving the illusion of neutrality:

> I mean, the first thing is that again, speaking from the point of the faculty, is this so-called meritocracy. Absolutely. The meritocracy. Who do you think created it and who set the standards for the meritocracy? Nobody even questions it, you know? Now that's not to say that, you know, people of color or minority faculty don't want standards. Of course we do. Everybody wants it. We all have pride in our work, but it's that we were never really asked when the standards were set, you know, how to set those standards.

Here, she emphasizes that the meritocratic system does not reflect the voice of many members of the campus community who are evaluated according to its standards. Elena supported her concern with a critique of the manner in which journals are ranked and valued in the tenure and promotion process. Deanna also echoed the same concern, and added that those same standards spilled more broadly into evaluation of the research interests of faculty:

> If a white faculty member does research about white people, that's not seen as narrow or self-interested. If a black faculty or a Chicano faculty does research on black people or Chicano people, that's seen again, you know, as narrow or as self-interested. It's not seen as being "as scholarly". Publications that are primarily of a particular racial or ethnic identity or feminist for that matter, are seen as "less scholarly" or "less rigorous" than ones that are, you know, considered oh, what's the word that I'm looking for, objective…

After her example, Elena emphasized the tremendous impact that this skewing of the reward system had on the process of tenure and promotion:

> Well, when the meritocracy suddenly sinks in and reviewing and tenure time and merit raise times come, departments oftentimes use these set criteria which they say is called a meritocracy and they will say, (I've heard this happen over and over again, in fact there is a young faculty of color who was not even getting his contract renewed at re-appointment time, which is halfway to tenure.) Even though he had lots of articles, but the seated members of his department judge that none of those articles are worthy because they're not published in the journals that they considered worthy, see? That is to me one of those concrete examples of mainstream defined values that everybody thinks is purely totally objective, but it's not.

While this 'meritocratic' reward system emerged frequently as a particular impediment for faculty of color, staff also often complained that they did not have opportunities to participate in activities because of work conflicts, and that their involvement in the community was not considered to be a meritorious factor in their performance evaluations. Furthermore, Judd emphasized that the merit system was not only detrimental to faculty outside of the mainstream, but also fundamentally

worked against the values of community and connectedness that the university purported to encourage. He suggested that alternative evaluation criteria might serve as better motivators:

> What we now use as a way of judging merit for faculty from what you've done last year in teaching, in research and in service and I'm sure you know that the faculty do that every year. If we could shift that just a little bit to "what have you done for your profession, your department, your institution, your students," and make the emphasis on what your work was aimed towards improving, rather than just accumulating stripes on your sleeve for the number of papers that you've done, I believe that kind of reward system could drastically address, could shift the emphasis on me, me, me, me to what I am for other people. And I think students would pick up on that from the faculty right away and I think the expectations of the faculty if they were to change in that way would also get reciprocated by simply the fact that we're beginning to expect it from students and likewise from staff.

Some departments and units who recognized this discrepancy reported that they did work to use alternative evaluation criteria in their own units, but recognized that when each unit's decision was then subject to review and approval by outside units, and often ultimately by the Board of Regents, that those rewards could only go so far. Speaking under condition of anonymity, one department head told me:

> The problem is, we cannot totally adopt that [different reward structure], because once the evaluation is done here, it has to go to the next level, right? …I still put it in the format of a meritocracy, because if I don't speak that meritocracy language, then we'd really be in trouble, but we do define a meritocracy differently within this department, within the powers that we have, but I can't do anymore beyond this department, see?

These examples demonstrate that the impersonal and bureaucratic nature of the university are reproduced in part through reward systems that value competition over collaboration and inherently value some more highly than other work. Many would argue that this is, in fact, critical to the success and reputation of a nationally ranked institution. As the above remarks indicate, however, the concern is not that there <u>are</u>

criteria for evaluation; on the contrary, everyone I spoke with favored, in some regards, more stringent criteria. The concern, rather, is with the values that underlie the evaluation mechanism, and the institutional culture that they perpetuate.

As we can see, adopting an integrated lens yields several important insights about 'the culture' of the University of Colorado at Boulder campus. First, the culture is seen as impersonal and uncaring. Second, the large size and bureaucratic structure are seen as perpetuating and contributing to this problem. Furthermore, the nature of the reward system is seen as mitigating against stronger feelings of connection that are desired by many, and are professed as commitment of the university in formal publications and public forums. Before I shift lenses, and examine what a differentiated lens might reveal, I want to highlight a few more common themes that emerged in conversation, observations and interviews.

'A university in tension with itself'

Throughout this research I have found that concerns about the campus climate are often framed according to tensions or contradictions between espoused values, and organizational action. Below, I highlight three such recurring tensions. In the tension of technology and money I explore the tension inherent in discussing matters of community or climate in terms of 'resources.' Further, I demonstrate the dilemma that presents itself when resources are perceived as scarce for advancing some sets of espoused values, but plentiful for pursuing others. In the tension of turnover I highlight the persistent tension created when administrators promote connection, community, and identification but are not perceived as highly invested themselves. Finally, in the tension of a lack of tradition I demonstrate the challenges of fostering

community in an environment that is perceived of as void of historical roots, or perhaps more specifically, as lacking pride in that history. Each of these was characterized as an obstacle to attending to one another.

The Tension of Technology and Money

First, the strong emphasis placed on technology and money at CU-Boulder is seen as working against personal contact and relationships. Regina commented that when she first arrived on campus, she was never quite sure if "this is a place that values what I'm doing or this is a place that is looking to cut me at any moment because I'm not, you know, revenue generating." This over emphasis on and concern with money is one that I heard voiced frequently and that was evident in the gallery. Beyond concerns with money, however, many also felt that the university was over concerned with technology. Ian was particularly concerned that technology, oftentimes was used as a substitute for close personal relationships that further diminished opportunities for contact:

> The gist of it is the danger that technology works against a culture that promotes real personal relationships and the idea that you can substitute a technological experience for a human interaction is a real danger

Marianne, meanwhile, saw both technology and resources as attracting more attention than building community:

> Building Community kind of right now is the heart of the many initiatives that are going on on campus, because we have so many related to technology, you know. Nobody would be talking about relationship building if it wasn't for Building Community. They would just be talking about resources and dollars and, you know, that sort of thing.

Both of these remarks highlight the felt tensions when resources are seen as plentiful for projects involving technology and scarce for those attending to climate.

Yet while some may be concerned that talk about resources gets in the way of talk about building community, conversations with both faculty and administrators also made it clear that, contrary to the perception of the young woman who asserted "we know CU has the cash!" in the gallery, a shortage of resources is a real problem for the university as well. Vic bemoaned the fact that "as we saw the federal funding decline, we weren't able to increase either University funding or State funding to backfill the loss that we had." Similarly, Rick remarked that the climate on campus is "affected by what I see as a lack of resources as well to make it happen more easily and that money and good people can clear up a lot of problems real quick and we don't have the financial funding to address problems that we have that linger on and consequently, we feel that you don't care because we don't have financial aid scholarships the way we should or we don't have in place a particular program or service like we should." When this resource crunch hits, he added, the mission of community building becomes further complicated by the fact that students become seen as resources and tuition dollars, and administrators whose budgets are tight may lose sight of the larger mission in the quest for sufficient funds.

The Tension of Turnover

The second tension that emerged regularly, and that becomes visible using an integrated lens is that there has been a great deal of turnover at the upper levels of the university that has bred and fostered deep feelings of mistrust and misgiving among faculty and staff. Many called the administration a 'revolving door' and looked back on those tumultuous times with frustration, and looked forward with skepticism. Marianne told me "it was like a revolving door, not only in the Chancellor position,

for the Vice-Chancellors, as well… it seemed to me that the climate was kind of, the morale was kind of down because of the lack of stable leadership." Faculty, staff, and administrators all bore the scars of this turnover, and carried the cynicism that it had bred. Ian remarked, "I think again speaking to the faculty, a certain frustration at the sort of revolving door in administration and that's always been true. When I first came here, the Dean of College of Arts and Sciences was toward the end of I think a 17 year tenure and I don't think anybody thinks that could happen anymore." This turnover fostered deep levels of distrust and disillusionment among members of the campus. Regina, who has only been on campus for six years, expressed her early frustration like this:

> We've had four different directors in the six years I've been here…and whoever comes in in a leadership position starts making changes… so you always are switching gears and kind of reacting to whoever is higher up than you.

Staff with less relative power in the organization were not the only one to feel this frustration and sense of uncertainty, however. Rick, the Vice Chancellor for Student Affairs, commented:

> I think it [the institution] was just kind of hunkered down, thinking, well, that program was somebody else's baby and soon as she or leaves, then something else will happen so why put my time and energy into it? So, I think those are some issues, the turnover of leadership, I think that a culture that was not always supportive of collaboration or seeing a bigger picture.

Even the Chancellor remarked "The administration here has been pretty screwed up because of turnover of people, the short tenure, some of the divisiveness that was created." Many also commented that the seeming stability that the upper administration appears to have found recently is a welcome change, though as Ian's comment above indicated, there remains skepticism about how long it will last.

The Tension of a Lack of Tradition

The last point I want to raise before adopting a differentiated lens for exploring culture at CU-Boulder is the recurrent tension expressed between the lack of tradition on campus and the sense of elitism that the university works to promote. Many members of the campus community expressed recurrent frustration and concern that the university often saw itself as an elite institution, but that its very pursuit of elite status mitigated against the forging of strong traditions. Lance, a senior faculty member, commented:

> We've literally got money chasing money to try to get the top end students that we think would otherwise go to Harvard or Princeton or Yale, both in state and out of state. We've created hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of programming for the top one or two percent of students who apply. I resent that. I resent that because those kids are going to go to Harvard anyway and I feel strongly that those dollars, and there are lots of dollars could do so much more for those young kids who are doing well, but who aren't going to be going to Harvard. And again, it's a matter that this University has a neurotic anxiety about its prestige… We're not Harvard and I think we should quit trying to be Harvard. I think that we should recognize what we are. We're a very good state institution. We're a place of public education. We're a place of public education and any student qualified to be here should be here.

The tendency to compare CU to other prestigious schools was a very common occurrence, particularly in conversations with faculty and administrators. Ian remarked, "it's not Yale and it's not Duke, it's not Stanford, but it's not bad, it's really not bad." Despite this emphasis on prestige, however, the sense of tradition that characterizes many of those elite institutions was seen as lacking at CU. When these, and other, prestigious schools were invoked in contrast to CU-Boulder, the difference between them was often characterized as a 'lack of tradition.' Judd commented, "Michigan has a luster of tradition that you don't find much evidence for

here. I think Chancellor Blake is trying to do something about that without maybe even calling it that and I think that that's something that students here miss." And, in fact, the Chancellor commented:

> I actually think that what will, I think that one of the major goals in my opinion is people taking pride in the institution. I think that there's too little of that and I've been in really some very good institutions, you know, Columbia University, Vanderbilt University, the University of Chicago, and it's really quite amazing the difference between this culture and those cultures. In those cultures, they have so much pride that it's really, it becomes arrogance and it becomes a bit offensive even though they still practice their arrogance. We are way on the other side. You hardly have anybody that thinks positively about this institution, this University.

This remark, which highlights the difference between 'this culture' and 'those cultures' nicely summarizes the perspective that one has of 'culture' of 'the university' and of 'community' if one adopts an integrated lens. This lengthy section has highlighted several key themes that emerge as recurrent and consistent in conversations, observations and interviews. First, the university is often seen as impersonal and uncaring. Second, the bureaucratic nature of the university is pointed to as a contributing factor in fostering and perpetuating this cultural characteristic. Next, the reward system is also identified as a culprit that fosters individualism over community-minded behavior and favors some perspectives and work, over others. Finally, we saw that an emphasis on money and technology, frequent turnover, and lack of tradition are also pointed to as contributing factors in reproducing an impersonal environment that works against community. The next section adopts a differentiated lens to demonstrate that while all of these issues remain as undercurrents, they each may carry different meaning and different relevance depending on the subcultural identifications that one has.

A Differentiated Lens

The elements of culture that come into focus when we adopt a differentiated lens are the sometimes-inconsistent elements of culture and the boundaries of different subcultural groups (Martin, 1992). For instance, by examining each of the 'elements of culture' presented above, we would see, using the differentiated lens, that those unitary characteristics are neither manifest nor experienced consistently across the organization. The way that Regina, a staff member, experiences the organization as impersonal may be very different from the experience that causes a student to be left with a similar impression. The most valuable feature of the differentiated lens for this project has been the attention that it draws to the various subcultural groups on campus. As we will see, the very existence of these sub-groups, and the manner in which the divisions between them is reproduced in discursive practice tends to reproduce a system that is rooted in division and that views difference as divisive. Of course, the primary and most oft-cited lines of division in the university context fall along Students/Faculty/Staff/ Administration lines.

Students, Faculty, Staff, Administration Division

Perhaps one of the most interesting things to note first and foremost is the frequency with which people invoke and reinforce these divisions in their talk. Below, Marianne, a staff member, criticizes this division 'between the academic side and the non-academic side,' but also invokes and reinforces that distinction in her own talk:

> There's a schism between people in the academic side and people not on the academic side, you know, there's this thing about hierarchy and status, like a caste system or something, and you have faculty who are trying to create some kind of persona and maintain some kind of status which is all bologna, you know, I mean, that's all in their own mind.

Here while she begins with a critique of the 'hierarchy' and the 'caste system' she ends by aligning herself with the 'non-academic' side and projecting assumptions about the faculty that reinforce the division of the existing system. In addition, these lines were often the first invoked when people identified themselves at the beginning of our interviews. It was quite common for individuals to begin their self-description by saying "I'm a faculty member in X department," or "I've been on faculty for X years." Similarly, students placed their student identity as central. Jackson, for instance, began his self-narrative by stating "I'm just, you know, a student."

These distinctions were further reinforced as people talked about the interaction between these groups. The prevailing concern was that the lines of division ran deep, that the cultures of each were often entrenched and that there was sometimes little respect across sub-cultural lines. Andrew noted "sometimes being a student, you run into some kind of condescension, patronizing attitude." In chapter six we saw this same concern expressed by Deanna when she argued that inclusion of students on committees often still left them without voice because of their small numerical representation and the way in which their perspectives were sometimes devalued. While the degree to which this attitude is manifest may vary between individuals and groups, on sum students as a group tend to be given less credence because of their age, and/or experience.

Meanwhile staff are also often devalued and overlooked, as we saw in Marianne's comment above. David, who first came to the university as a graduate student in the 1980s worked as an adjunct faculty member for some time and now works as a staff member. He was keenly aware of the different values placed on each of these roles that he has held:

> Now I'm staff and for a while I was something equivalent to a Senior Instructor, so I had this faculty status. In fact, my Buff One [Campus I.D.] Card still has "Faculty" on it and I want to keep that, you know, even though I have no other faculty connection and I'm staff, you know, and I really don't like being staff because… as I hear campus wide conversations going on, I recognize that staff are really the ugly stepchild of campus and now I'm a staff and I know that and I know I'm kind of a third class citizen with faculty and students, some being one and two and I'm not sure which order.

In fact, one thing that adopting a differentiated lens makes visible is that there is no clear order across campus but that within subdivisions individuals feel devalued for whatever position they hold. Perhaps in part because of this there is a recurrent frustration that some groups are routinely excluded and/or that there is not enough collaboration across these lines of division.

While this concern was evident on a campus-wide level in chapter six, here we find that divisions between faculty, staff, students and administrators may both perpetuate and reinforce these divisions culturally, and may exacerbate perceptions of exclusion. Judd commented that one of the strengths of the Building Community Campaign was its effort to bridge these traditional divisions:

> I think the effort to include staff as well as students in the [building community] process is a big step in the right direction. Staff get left out of a lot of factors, a lot of initiatives, in which their role is actually very important... It's going to be hard, maybe impossible to successfully develop community on campus without significant faculty involvement and the difficult part is not that the faculty would be unwilling, it's that they're already committed to doing other things …

Here, we find acknowledgement that staff are often not included in decision-making and/or change processes even though 'their role is actually very important' and that though faculty involvement is important, their incentive for involvement may be low. Andrew, a student leader, also emphasized the importance of faculty involvement in building community initiatives:

> I think if we involve faculty a little more, if we could get a little more faculty involvement, that would help immensely, because I think that would spread throughout, you know, not just Arts and Sciences, but other colleges and schools, you know.

Yet for many faculty, this involvement takes time and energy away from 'their work,' the work that is valued and considered in evaluations. One faculty member remarked:

> We [faculty] use this phrase "our own work", okay, when we're not teaching and we're not dealing with students, then we get to do "our own work" and it's very sad that we, that's part of our language, but it is and it's a crucial part of our language

This recurrent tension between a desire for increased faculty involvement, and low incentives to be involved was blamed sometimes on 'the reward system' as we saw above, and sometimes on a 'faculty culture' that encouraged identification with the discipline over identification with the campus. One high-level administrator commented:

> The faculty culture we talked about a little bit, faculty culture is a bit of a problem, but in a different way. Faculty tend to have their communities based around a discipline and they're not necessarily institutionally based. They're usually national or international or, you know, do revolve around a discipline and so that's a challenge, how do you, how do you get these people who already feel like they're a part of a community, that it's not this one, back into this community in an effective, positive way and I do see some movement in that direction in the sense that I see faculty being willing to get more engaged in the work of the campus or the work of their college or school or in the work of programs that go beyond their own disciplining units, so there's activity

> there, but it's much less focused and has much less momentum than what you see with the students.

As these divisions become reinforced in discourse, incentive for involvement across them remains stagnant.

Several poignant examples were raised during interviews. First, though there are often complaints and concerns voiced about faculty diversity, and particularly the recruitment and retention of faculty of color, one representative to the faculty governance body remarked that during the process of diversity planning "I didn't know anybody who was directly involved and even when I was involved in University Governance meetings, Faculty Governance meetings, I don't remember it being a significant issue and I think that it was perceived more as a political issue, something to read about in the newspaper." David, who earlier expressed his displeasure with his status as 'staff' rather than 'faculty', however, emphasized that the divisions went beyond a lack of interest, or conflicts that inhibited involvement:

> I think there's a need for some sort of faculty/staff bridging and it's not being done, you know, 'cause those are two life worlds here on campus, major employee groups that, that just simply don't understand each other.

Here again we find that communication breakdown, or lack of understanding is cited as an obstacle to overcoming difference. I suggest, following Peters (1999), that better understanding may not be as important as better treatment. In his words "we might like each other less the more we understood one another" (p.30). Lance, a senior faculty member, also argued that the relationship between faculty and administrators was ailing, but that that freed faculty to spend more time with students:

> I think the faculty's relationship to the administration is sick and getting sicker. It's simply not what it used to be, but ironically, if we look at the faculty in the other direction, there's more out there for students.

While this reflects Lance's perception, and his orientation toward teaching and student interaction, an anecdote provided by a member of the Boulder Faculty Assembly (BFA) reveals that these divisions do have an impact on organizational decision making:

> You know, I think a very telling anecdote is that when we had the four finalists for the Vice Chancellor for Student Affairs position and I was asked to host a faculty meeting and we sent out an announcement to 50 some odd BFA members about each of these meetings for each of these candidates and I think it may have actually even been announced more widely to the faculty in general and nobody showed up. I mean, literally, nobody.

In this example we find that the hiring of a high-ranking administrator with large responsibility for student life on campus was not seen as a decision relevant to the faculty at large. In all of these examples, we find that divisions between students, faculty, staff and administrators are routinely invoked to explain organizational problems and are reinforced through practices of both voluntary and involuntary inclusion and exclusion. Below, we find that in shifting the differentiated lens a bit, we see additional dimensions to these divisions that further complicate interactions among and between them.

Students, Faculty, Staff, Administration Subdivisions

Above, I mentioned that often in providing me with a self-narrative in response to the question I opened my interviews with "tell me a little bit about who you are and what your relationship is to the university," individuals defined both themselves, and their relationship to the university in terms of divisions along student, faculty, staff, administration lines. In truth, however, those descriptions were often more detailed than Jackson's "I'm just a student." For students, especially graduate

students, or people who had been graduate students at one time, there is a clear distinction between the 'graduate' and 'undergraduate' student worlds. Jamal, who is now working on a Master's degree opened his remarks with the distinction "I came to the university as an undergrad in 1995." For Jake, who emphasized his connection to the GLBT community regularly during our interview, his initial remarks emphasized his position not only as a graduate student, but also as a doctoral student:

> I guess most importantly is I'm a Ph.D. student entering my fourth year … and I am also a gay man

Marianne, who is now a staff member echoed some of David's earlier remarks about the status of graduate students on campus in her introduction, stating, "I came as a graduate student, which as you know, is a whole different world in itself and so you're really not part of kind of like the main campus." David also commented that as a graduate student he had little understanding of how the campus worked, and saw himself as highly devalued, but that an advanced degree and a new position altered his status:

> In terms of really understanding what was going on on campus, it was very much limited to that kind of very myopic view that graduate students are encouraged to take and, you know, pushed into as well as facilitated…Well, [now that I'm an employee, not a grad student] I'm no longer treated like dirt. I was going to say, I'll say it for your tape and hopefully, your transcriber will have fun. I'm no longer treated like whale shit. You can put that in the dissertation if you want, you know, and with a doctorate, I think, you know, I get a fair amount of respect.

While students clearly engage in this rank-ordering and self and other-evaluating I am left to wonder to what degree that distinction is a function of the larger cultural system that also subdivides and classifies. In order to have value within the system, one must have a title, and so we each create our titles and work to imbue our titles

with more meaning and grater value than others. Marianne who was a graduate student, and is now staff, emphasizes that she is not just staff, but is 'professional exempt' staff. She emphasizes that while in many ways she obtained her position through her connections to other high ranking 'people who knew some people,' she knows that 'that's the way things get done' and she would not want to be in the state controlled 'classified staff' ranks:

> My title is …it's a professional exempt position. I got this job, the first job, pretty easily, I think, and the second job was not even an open search. I was just, you know, I knew some people who knew some people who got us talking and actually, that's the kind of thing that a lot of people frown upon here. They say, you know, that deals can be made and all of that. Well, I was fortunate enough to be in a deal like that and I don't feel guilty about that at all and having worked in for profit business for so long, that's the way things get done and I know that here, that that's not, that's not an okay thing, you know, for a lot of people who don't have those kinds of privileges, mainly because of the state personnel system, which I am actually glad I'm not a part of. I really don't want to be a classified staff person.

This theme of transcending one's official position because of connections also emerged repeatedly. As we saw earlier that his connections to administrators made the university feel smaller for Andrew, Kay, an undergraduate student leader noted that those connections can have added advantages as well:

> I know all of the Deans, not in just Arts and Sciences, on a first name basis. I do stuff with them outside of the academic career, I mean, barbecues in their backyard, I mean, I've had friends that I've gotten personal favors done for because I know these people and I do things for these people that I don't need to be doing. I know all of the Chancellors and the Regents. I mean, just knowing people on a first name basis in a school this huge…

Faculty, of course also categorize themselves, and most faculty introduced themselves not only according to their role as faculty, but also according to their rank. Administrators were perhaps the least likely to identify themselves as 'administrators'

and some even said that they didn't 'think of themselves as administrators.' Instead, people who held administrative positions were more likely to identify themselves according to the specific position that they held, and if they had an academic background, to emphasize that as well. Lance, a senior faculty member nicely summarized the degree and complexity of these subdivisions and emphasizes that those divisions mitigate against community:

> We rank the faculty and we have the full professors and the associate professors and below them, a real underclass called instructors. We invest a great deal in maintaining that higher rank, but, of course, it extends further than that. It's almost like a great chain of being. Below the instructors are the graduate students and below them are the undergraduate students and then way down at the bottom is the great chain of beings, just barely life forms, are the staff and even among them, we have the administrative assistants who are worthy of some respect because we need them. And then there is that great invisible group, the people who clean our toilets and scrub our floors and empty our waste cans. They speak very little English. We don't know who they are and then above the faculty, above the full professors, are the Deans and the so, it really is. It's medieval, it is. The freaking great chain of being and we do everything either consciously or unconsciously we can to maintain that, but that's not a community, because there's nobody to your left or to your right, other than people just like you, your fellow full professors, maybe to your left or to your right, but we even rank those.

This description emphasizes how deeply entrenched these divisions are, and to what lengths people within the system go to maintain and reinforce this hierarchy. In addition to these divisions, of course, the university also divides itself along lines between schools, colleges and departments; along lines between natural sciences, social sciences and humanities; and then draws additional lines between the campus community and the surrounding town. While a differentiated lens highlights these subcultural groups and the common points of identification that they may share, I think the examples above also indicate that even these lines blur. Adopting a fragmented lens draws those blurred lines into clearer focus.

A Fragmented Lens

Martin (1992) offers the fragmentation perspective as a tool for focusing on 'ambiguity as the essence of organizational culture.' From this perspective, she argues, "Consensus and dissensus are issue-specific and constantly fluctuating. No stable organization-wide or subcultural consensus exists. Clear consistencies and inconsistencies are rare" (p.12). If one adopts this lens and re-reads the examples above, those unifying characteristics that were made visible using the integrated lens now seem divisive, and the subcultural groups that were so clearly demarcated under the gaze of the differentiated lens are now loosely coupled and ill-defined. In addition, we find that other sources of group identity further complicate the already complex system. The emphasis that the fragmented lens places on issue-specificity is important to attend to. Depending on what is at stake, I may variously identify as a communication scholar (emphasizing my academic and disciplinary identity), as a graduate student (emphasizing my institutional role), as a woman (emphasizing my gender identity and/or social position) among a long list of other potential sources of identification. The section that follows examines how the divisions that were discerned using a differentiated lens creates challenges for campus members as they negotiate multiple and at times conflicting identities.

Conflicted identities

By adopting a fragmented lens we see that those distinctions that appeared clear and simple when looking through different lenses are in fact often confused and in tension with one another. While Andrew remarked earlier that his involvement on campus had 'made it seem smaller' and had diminished the impersonal feel, he also

acknowledged a flip side to this role. By 'being involved' he also had to assume responsibilities and 'deal with problems' that he could more easily dissociate himself from as 'just a student.' While involvement diminishes feelings of alienation and isolation on the one hand, too much involvement stimulates a desire to 'get away.'

> It's like two worlds for me, student and as a student government person. I enjoy being a student and I, it's a different scene, I mean, I can just really look up and enjoy the physical beauty, just the classrooms and the intellectual pursuits. Then when I take on the student government role, things become more muddled and I want to get away, I'm tired of problems.

This dilemma is in fact a common part of community life. As we saw in chapter three, "everyone who joins a group wishes to be both a part of it and apart from it" (Adelman & Frye, 1997, p.18). The quotations and comments that we saw in the gallery indicate that these tensions are felt even more strongly for groups that are marginalized or disenfranchised. The Chancellor recognized that cultural norms and values made it more difficult for some of these groups than others:

> There are subgroups which feel disenfranchised, more disenfranchised with the culture. Certainly again, students of color, women in some underrepresented areas and I think that that's an important, particularly important, challenge because for the average student here, you know, it's not so bad.

This statement was largely upheld both by the comments of the students with whom I spoke, and with institutional surveys on climate and community. For students who identified as 'average,' 'normal,' and 'majority' things at CU-Boulder weren't that bad.

Yet for students who identified as 'other,' 'different,' and 'minority,' things weren't that good. Ella remembered that years earlier, when she worked in the

counseling office at the university, she had worked to help a young African-American woman who was singled out in her residence hall for being different:

> I remember a female student who was teased unmercifully because what she needed to do to take care of her hair was different than the other white women on her floor and so she became the brunt of their jokes and it was hard. She knew she was different she knows about different ways to take care of hair but they felt like they could tease I mean that was I don't know twelve thirteen years ago that's not a current example but nobody intervened. I mean it was it was sort of 'she needs to be strong enough to deal with it' and 'oh they're just joking' and not sort of understanding how being teased about that sort of difference ad nauseum could cause a person not to feel welcome.

In the gallery, we saw that students may still be singled out for their differences. The graffiti on the residence hall door mocking Pat's perceived sexual orientation (see Appendix D) occurred only last year, and racist, homophobic, sexist and anti-Semitic graffiti is not at all uncommon on campus. Further, each of the students of color with whom I spoke indicated that they had received threatening mail and/or phone calls at some point during their time on campus. While some attributed the origin of those messages to their 'activism' they all remarked that those incidents interfered with their identity as students at some level. These incidents will be explored in greater detail in chapter eight.

Beyond these overt acts of bias and/or hatred, however, we have seen that there are many more subtle cultural cues that also reinforce divisions and foreground the salience of one subject position over another at any given moment. David noted that this was true for students, faculty and staff, and that it presented challenges with far-reaching implications:

> It's still a tough place to be a person who is different, a person of color, I suppose for GLBT, certainly, people with disabilities. I think it's enormously difficult for students, faculty, staff with disabilities, enormously difficult to be on this campus. ADA [Americans with Disabilities Act] compliance is not the

> issue here. It's the attitudes of people, which ADA doesn't address…[Also,] most of the tests for lower level employees where you take tests in order to qualify, most of the tests are given in English and people who don't have English as their primary language, even though it's a test like for a Custodian I or Custodian II, they have to take a test in English and English is probably not the primary language of the person who is going to apply for it. That's a policy procedure of the organization that actually works against some members of some groups.

We find that these practices, and prevailing attitudes that are pointed to again and again both reinforce divisions and encourage greater identification with one's primary source of sub-cultural identification. Yet when this closing of the ranks happens, and people seek out people more and more like them, they too are criticized. Not surprisingly, this criticism is more often directed to 'minority' groups who congregate than it is for majority groups. While it is not odd for faculty to gather in disciplinary groups, or for administrators to hold closed-door meetings to address 'sensitive business,' when minority students form a group around their cultural identifications, it is sometimes characterized as self-segregation, or re-ghettoization, further devaluing their source of identification.

Elena, a faculty mentor to many students of color, expressed concern and frustration over this choice of language, and over this perception arguing that when placed in environments where they are not the majority, white students do the same thing:

> From the students of color point of view, you see, for one thing, they're often criticized for doing what? They're often criticized for resegregation. You've heard that, right? They're criticized for it. I said, "Let's turn the tables around." You know, if you're one of ten white students and you find yourself say, let's just be realistic, say in Africa, in an African University, this happens all of the time with American students. You go to a foreign University, what do you think? They find each other too! Because you cannot always be out there diversifying everybody else. You've got to be with what's comfortable for you too, sometimes.

As we saw in the gallery, however, people at CU are conflicted on this issue, and positions on both sides believe strongly in their arguments. When a white male administrator wonders at the effect of having people reghettoize in the UMC [the student center where student group offices are located] people's reactions were widely varied, ranging from outrage: "Another blatant example of taking a response to institutional racism and framing it as self-defeating behavior by people of color;" to frustration: "As if it is in my interest to be a person of color on this campus. These groups are the only place on campus I feel that things can change for our reality;" to awareness: "Nobody questions my privilege to move among many different groups based on need and interest. Yet when students of color do this, some call it 'ghettoization'" The last remark was followed by the words 'White Male Admin,' further demonstrating that one's official 'position' is not equivalent to one's subject position at any given moment, and that what makes one's identity salient may in fact be the tension one feels vis a vis one's own group. This is something that the fragmented lens also brings into clearer view. While earlier sections identified commonalities among subgroups, and divisions between them, the fragmented lens highlights the divisions that exist among groups as well.

Groups divided

At the University of Colorado at Boulder, cultural norms values and policies may highlight differences in a way that discourages identification with institutional position, or with the institution more broadly. A recent edition of the local student-oriented, independent newspaper, The Colorado Daily, ran a front-page article that

opened "Efforts to add the phrase 'sexual orientation' to CU's nondiscrimination policy are facing staunch opposition from state lawmakers and the Christian right" (de Yoanna, 2001, p.1). Yet, when challenges such as these arise, there is little clear sense of who will align with whom; of who is an ally and who isn't. Clearly, the lines don't fall neatly along student, faculty, staff and administrator lines. Nevertheless, the impulse among many campus members is to regard difference as divisive and to bemoan the difficulty of overcoming it.

Jackson argues that being placed in a 'minority' bracket creates further alienation and division:

> I think particularly being a student of color or if you belong to any minority group, you're Mormon or you're a GLBT student or you're a disabled student or whatever have you, once you kind of get thrown into that "minority" bracket, that can further alienate you.

Jake, meanwhile recognizes that the simple fact that many groups have faced oppression or mistreatment does not create natural or self-evident alignments between those groups:

> Just because black people are discriminated against and GLBTQ people are discriminated against in similar ways doesn't mean they are going to understand one another's oppression and come together and have a shared sense of where we come from.

Here, we see that neither the common 'student' identity, nor potentially overlapping experiences of discrimination are sufficient in and of themselves to forge a unifying bond.

Tensions also arise, however, for those individuals whose job it is to enforce policies, or distribute messages that may be deceptive or even harmful to other members of groups with which one identifies. A recurring complaint at CU, for

instance is that it engages in 'false advertising' in its admissions and promotional materials by including an overrepresentation of students and faculty of color. One employee whose job involves disseminating information about the university comments on the strategies that might be used to negotiate the tension between job duties and group identification:

> Something I wouldn't feel comfortable with is outright lying, but sometimes you have to be creative about saying the truth, but I think because of my position as a minority on this campus, sometimes I'm able to position some things in a code that I think people understand and know what's coming, where we're coming from.

In this statement we find that when tension exists between different potential sources of identification, organizational members may employ strategies that enable them to 'do right by' both of those groups. Peters (1999) recognizes this communicative necessity, arguing "general messages addressed to whom it may concern might conceal secret messages for those in the know…The concealment of one's purposes, though sometimes ethically indefensible, is also sometimes necessary to maintain purity of heart" (p.131). Above, this staff member is still able to fulfill the duties of the job, and distribute positive messages about the university, while remaining true to the commitment to not 'lie outright' by 'positioning some things in a code that I think people understand.'

Finally, it is not possible to point to any one 'group-identity' as a natural unifier either. Much recent work has cautioned against overly essentializing claims about any one group (c.f. Alcoff, 1991; Allen, 1996; Andersen, 1993; Calás & Smircich, 1996; Chen, 1992; Chow, 1994; Cox, 1990; Ganguly, 1992; Harris, 1990), and the fragmented lens allows us to see more clearly why doing so would be

problematic. Elena emphasizes that while sheer numbers are a definite concern, simply increasing numbers is not a remedy either, and that group identification does not necessarily equate with subject position:

> So I think that the students of color who say 'I come here and I don't feel comfortable,' in part, it's that the numbers when you walk down the campus, you feel very self conscious that you're different from everybody you see. But I think let's be honest, that even though you may find somebody else with a Spanish surname, you cannot assume that that person necessarily identifies with the Latino culture because that Spanish surname may reflect a person who's highly assimilated already, right? So it's not just the numbers. It's who the numbers reflect

Kay's experience at CU illustrates this argument in practice. Kay identifies as a 'light-skinned Mexican' and feels that she has often been unwelcome in Latino groups, and as we saw in her earlier remarks, also identifies strongly with the leadership roles that she has held with the university.

> Well, as a minority student, I have not felt it [a hostile environment] at CU. But then again, I've been told it's because of the color of my skin, so I don't know. I don't see, I haven't seen in my classes anyway the negativeness. The places I've seen the negativity are from the very people that it's important to help make it better, so I don't know. I've only ever been slandered by people that are supposed to be helping minority people on campus. I've only ever felt "unsafe" in environments that were created by those same people.

In these comments we find that while on the one hand Kay identifies as a 'minority,' on the other she does not identify with the experience of other minorities on campus, and feels dissociated from those "people that are supposed to be helping minority people on campus."

The preceding sections of this chapter have drawn attention to many features of the University of Colorado at Boulder culture that have an impact on people's sense of identification, and of 'community.' First, we saw that members of the campus characterized 'the culture' as impersonal, and bureaucratic and that members

pointed to factors such as the 'meritocratic' reward system, the emphasis on technology and money, and the frequent turnover in leadership as contributing factors. We saw many examples of how these elements were enacted and reproduced in daily organizational practice. Next, as our attention shifted to lines of division, we were able to see that the regular and repeated use of lines of demarcation between students, faculty, staff and administrators exacerbated this sense of alienation and isolation and cast differences as divisive. Furthermore, we found that even these lines were arbitrary and did not, in fact delineate clear boundaries of identification, but rather served as markers of social location. Even within each of these divisions we found subdivision after subdivision. By stepping back further, we found that while all subject positions were not available to everyone, each individual identified at different moments with different potential positions. The next section brings this analysis full-circle as we become aware of the fact that those lines that blurred as we began to step back in fact begin to come into focus once again as we step back yet again. We find that as we shift our focus to difference rather than division, we find the concept rich with possibilities for new ways of attending to one another. Below, I offer the lens of multivocal culture as a perspective that enables these different connections to be seen more clearly.

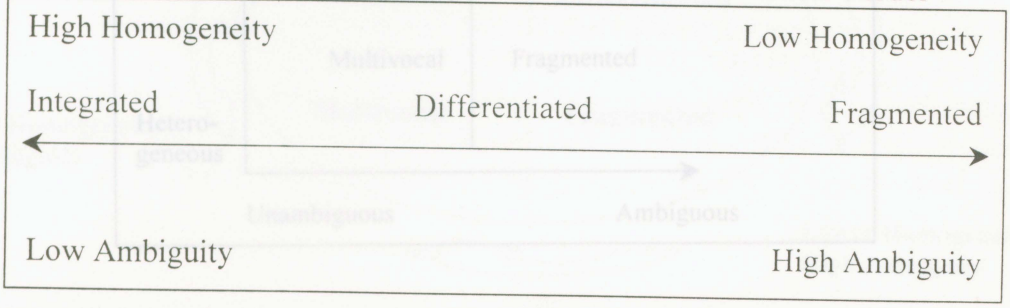
A Multivocal Lens

Martin's (1992) work on cultural perspectives has served as a powerful heuristic tool throughout this research project. As the discussion above illustrates, each of these perspectives is incredibly useful for describing and understanding different elements, characteristics and features of organizational culture. Throughout

this project, however, I have routinely and repeatedly encountered both examples of organizational practice, and instances of individual talk that did not seem to be easily explained by any of these perspectives. Throughout this research, difference has often been discussed as a potentially unifying element of campus life. More specifically, in meetings of the Building Community Campaign, discussion and development of projects and initiatives have been aimed explicitly at celebrating difference, promoting opportunity to find voice around those differences, and to value not assimilation or integration, but the differences, and even conflicts, themselves.

As we saw in chapter two, recent scholarship has called for a reclaiming of organizational conflict (Deetz, 1995b). Martin (1992), in fact, suggests that her three perspectives on organizational culture be valued for the conflicts that they make evident in understanding organizational culture. Yet the ability of fundamentally valuing difference to create the conditions for those 'splendid occasions' when dialogue may emerge is not accounted for clearly in Martin's work. My understanding of these perspectives as I have used them to analyze culture at the University of Colorado at Boulder above placed the three perspectives on a continuum where at one end we find an integrated culture characterized by high homogeneity and low ambiguity and at the other we find a fragmented culture characterized by low homogeneity and high ambiguity. Figure 7.1 demonstrates this arrangement visually.

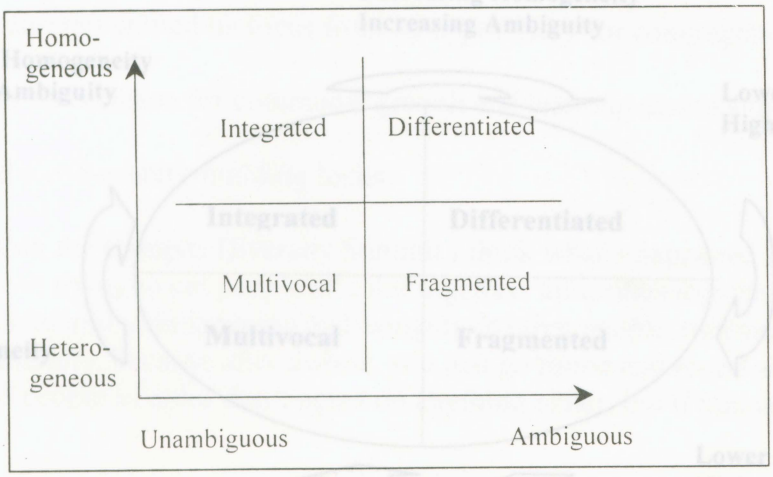
Figure 7.1 Three Perspectives on Organizational Culture: A Linear Model



This arrangement, however, cannot account for instances of consensus around difference very well. Clearly such a position does not belong further to the right along this continuum. I argue below that oftentimes we do find evidence of high degrees of difference in organizations and find that those differences are foregrounded and celebrated. When this happens, we neither have high degrees of homogeneity, nor high degrees of ambiguity. Instead, the differences are anticipated and organizational members adapt, adjust, and may even unite around these matters of difference. I suggest, then, that while the figure above is of my own making, and not Martin's, that we adopt instead a matrix and/or circular orientation to understanding organizational cultural phenomena.

If we place each of these three elements into a 2 X2 matrix with axes running from high heterogeneity to high homogeneity (low heterogeneity), and from high degrees of consensus (low ambiguity), to high degrees of dissensus (high ambiguity), we find that Martin's (1992) three perspectives neatly fill the top two, and lower right quadrants (see Figure 7.2). I suggest, that the lower left quadrant, characterized by heterogeneity and lowered ambiguity can be characterized as a multivocal culture.

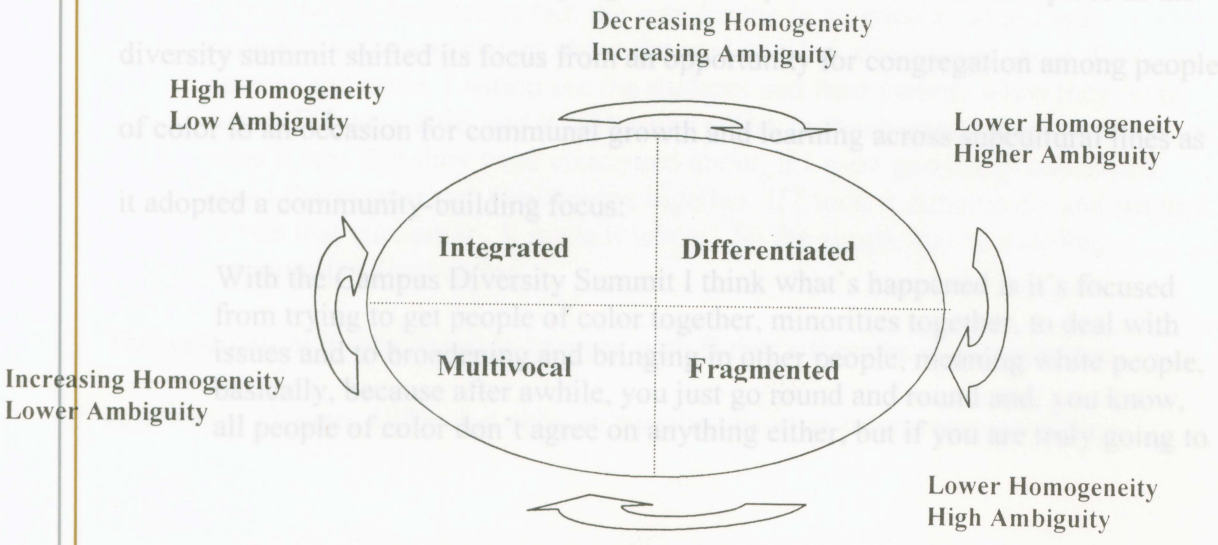
Figure 7.2 Four Perspectives on Organizational Culture: A Matrix Model



This model crystallizes further if we place this model inside a circle. In doing so we regain the continuum feature of Figure 7.1, while recognizing that as we increase our attention to difference, we may also return to greater degrees of agreement, or at least lesser degrees of ambiguity. Figure 7.2 is problematic because its static nature inevitably fixes these categories that I suggest are more fluid.

A differentiated perspective, for instance, is not necessarily characterized by high degrees of homogeneity, rather as homogeneity decreases, ambiguity increases, until at some point increasing value placed on heterogeneity begins to decrease ambiguity once again. Figure 7.3 illustrates that if we begin in the upper left quadrant with an integrated model that is characterized by homogeneity and consensus, as we move clockwise around the circle the degree of homogeneity may shift as may levels of ambiguity across the organization. We also find, however, that as we re-enter the lower left quadrant, while heterogeneity remains high, and conflict may be present (even welcome), ambiguity and fragmentation nevertheless decline.

Figure 7.3 A Circular Model of Organizational Cultural Perspectives



It is also important to note the broken lines separating the quadrants within this model. None of these perspectives or lenses is inherently distinct from those it borders. Rather, as with a child's kaleidoscope, as the lens turns, different images crystallize while others dissolve or fragment and each perspective bleeds into the next.

At CU-Boulder adopting this lens helps us to understand how members may place new value on difference rather than bemoaning division, and how the valuing and celebrating of 'multiple communities' may at times, on splendid occasions, even hold unifying potential. In addition, this perspective allows for closer examination of the potential inherent in the vision of the Building Community Campaign. As we will see there is sometimes slippage between valuing difference and 'bridging division,' however.

'Finding Common Ground'

Members of the CU-Boulder community talk about coming together perhaps less than they talk about feeling isolated, but the 'finding of common ground' is nevertheless an important component of discourse about culture at the University of Colorado at Boulder. Marianne highlighted the important shift that took place as the diversity summit shifted its focus from an opportunity for congregation among people of color to an occasion for communal growth and learning across subcultural lines as it adopted a community-building focus:

> With the Campus Diversity Summit I think what's happened is it's focused from trying to get people of color together, minorities together, to deal with issues and to broadening and bringing in other people, meaning white people, basically, because after awhile, you just go round and round and, you know, all people of color don't agree on anything either, but if you are truly going to

> kind of make a difference on campus, I think for people of color, you have to involve everybody.

This remark illustrates that even though conflict and dissensus is present both among people of color, and between people of color and white people, the opportunity to come together and bridge those differences is seen as an important one. This perspective still foregrounds division, however. Following this remark Marianne also pointed to the impact that building community had had on other events that had often been characterized by within-group socializing:

> I volunteer on the Communities of Color Welcome Picnic that is held on the first day of every [school] year. This is the, I think, the third or fourth year I've done the registration area and last year, I had the most volunteers I've ever had. I had 40 some and a lot of those were white people and they said to me afterwards that they were really surprised at the students that talked to them, you know, and stuff like this, so for many of them, it was one of the few times or even the first time that they've interacted with a lot of students and other people of color and they really enjoyed themselves.

Marianne indicated that in sending out her call for volunteers she had specifically indicated that white people were welcome and encouraged to attend in the spirit of 'building community.' Beyond bridging divisions based on group identification, Judd illustrated the importance of finding common ground across the student, faculty division:

> I came to this realization that the way for me to be good at what I was expected to do was to care about the students, but also to care about their parents and often, I would see the students and their parents when they were angry. If I were able, and it took some effort, in those encounters to care about what it was that they were concerned about, if I were genuinely concerned about their issues, we could come together. If I took it defensively and wanted to win that encounter. It made it worse. So the simple key to building community is just caring.

This orientation is very much in keeping with Buber's theories of dialogue and community (Arnett, 1986) that calls on participants in an interaction to find the

narrow-ridge from which one another's positions become visible and intelligible. At the same time, this perspective moves beyond the dialogic imperative by relinquishing the need to control or dominate the outcome. Here Judd is able to recognize the obstacle (focus on division) that inhibits his ability to attend to those different others with whom he interacts. Differences can gain voice without becoming divisive. From this vantage point, one's different positions may be maintained precisely because one is not vested either in maintaining the primary position or in persuading the other to adopt one's own position.

As we attend to the potential of difference to unite and even more so to open up new opportunities for interacting, we find that many of the issues and concerns around voice and participation become visible again. One upper level administrator expressed frustration over the challenge of making decisions in a more homogeneous environment:

> I found when I came here that I missed the richness of the demographics of the California experience and I didn't get the same variety of opinions on issues and the same insights into issues that you can have with a more comprehensive community.

Simply building bridges across different demographic groups, however, as I have argued, does not remedy underlying concerns about the values and norms reflected in the culture. When asked about the potential for building community on campus, Elena wondered:

> But do the bridges all go in one direction or do they go in two directions? … I mean, I've been told by previous Deans to go mend fences. I said, okay, how do I mend fences, you know, but then I learn that mending fences all has to be done by me, because presumably, I had offended these other Chairs by protecting, you know, my point of view or by speaking up, so it's always a one way street for us [minorities].

Nevertheless, Jackson, a minority undergraduate, emphasized the value of tending to these differences that sometimes divide:

> It's just so important that we get a broad base of information because everybody brings something unique to the table. Everybody brings a unique experience, a set of life experiences and issues to the table and there's something that we can learn from everybody.

When I pressed him on who 'we' was he added:

> It's difficult to quantify specifically who 'we' is. 'We' is a lot of different people working together towards that [community-building] end. 'We' is a growing number of people who have and continue to buy in to this notion that says we can do this thing together. What's more, we've got to do this thing together.

As these examples illustrate, the addition of a multivocal lens adds useful insight to our understanding of organizational culture. By adopting this lens we become more clearly aware of those ways in which difference may be seen as a source of strength and where attention to difference may foster the inclusion of conflicting voices and perspectives yet nevertheless decrease ambiguity as difference becomes an expected, anticipated and valued aspect of organizational life. As I interviewed Ella about the vision of the Building Community Campaign, she emphasized the importance of valuing differences across the organization:

> I mean how do you build a community with people who may not buy in to that, may not share the same sort of vision of what a community is, but recognize that they don't feel that they're a part of something.

As we saw using an integrated lens, this feeling of 'not being a part of something' is a central concern at the University of Colorado at Boulder. Below, I examine the vision of the Building Community Campaign, and people's vision for it. Adopting a multivocal lens allows interesting insight into what the campaign is attempting to do.

One of the questions that I asked of interview participants was what they saw as the goals of the Building Community Campaign (see Appendix C). The responses below highlight the central importance of valuing difference by preserving and celebrating it. Jackson's interpretation demonstrates that the process of 'building community' is not about removing ambiguity around differences, however, but rather that it provides a unifying framework that allows many different perspectives to find expression:

> So I think when you talk about the Campaign, the Building Community Campaign, it's just so multifaceted and it solicits that kind of personal interpretation for each individual that pledges themselves to be a part of it. It allows for you to approach building the community kind of in your own way or in your own vibe, in your own little niche. However, it works best for you. And, I think maybe what it's done, maybe more than anything else, is painted a picture of what we'd like for campus to be or where we want to go.

Marianne also emphasized the ability to use the notion of 'Building Community' as an integrating framework for multiple projects across campus that serve different populations or have different foci, but are all interested in fostering a sense of connection and welcoming:

> I think Building Community can be the tie for all of these things, whether it comes out of Student Affairs Programs and Services, whether it comes out of the Arts and Sciences School or College, so I think without Building Community, there wouldn't really be anything to bring all of these things together and they'd still be seen as little separate entities, you know, around campus with no connection to anybody and nobody would really even think about maybe going to something, but if you say, you know, it's 'Building Community,' then that kind of gives you a reason to go and also a reason for you to feel that you are welcome. That's the main thing.

While both of these comments illustrate the emphasis of the Building Community Campaign on fostering closer ties across different groups and interests on campus, when I asked Rick about his vision for the future of the campaign, he emphasized that

the valuing and respecting of difference had to go further, and were a critical component of cultural change on which administrators had to take the lead:

> There's a whole variety of ways to think that [building community] through and the reward system has to be there as well, not only in terms of them [individuals feeling satisfaction] for themselves, but also seeing some other rewards coming in traditional sources… it's probably something that's gotta come down from the Vice Chancellors and Chancellor that this is why this is important down to the point where there's a director who believes in it as well and see if the benefits are in just doing some coaching and setting some expectations about what's going to have to happen as well and I think it's very personal and time intensive, but I think once the culture changes, the culture supports it and that this is the way we do business here, that I can confront you over certain things, but we can walk away still friends, still professionals, still colleagues.

The opening statements here illustrate clearly that the building community approach is one that must be responsive to existing cultural constraints and problems. The ending comments, however, emphasize that the end product of cultural change is an environment in which difference, writ large, is valued, and in which conflict can be expressed and valued as the foundation of a strong community. The multivocal lens allows us to see the behaviors that create and maintain such an environment.

Before concluding this chapter, and more closely examining those differences in particular in chapter eight, there is an important characteristic of the circular model of organizational cultural perspectives that I presented above that deserves highlighting further. That is, that the potential exists, as emphasis and attention shifts to difference, that a culture characterized by more integrated traits re-emerge with different values at its root. While the Building Community Campaign professes a desire "to foster an environment that is welcoming, enriching, and inclusive of all members of the University of Colorado at Boulder" (http://www.colorado.edu/buildingcommunity/commitment.html) the potential exists

for this emphasis on 'community' to become 'community according to' the definition of some groups over others, or for some means of enacting community values be favored. This tension is reminiscent of differences between definitions of a multicultural environment as a 'melting pot,' in which differences dissolve and folks 'just get along' (integrated perspective) and a 'salad bowl' in which differences are preserved and visible and where the characteristics of those different elements are valued for their unique qualities and textures (multivocal perspective).

Of course this presents a particular dilemma since some values clearly mitigate against the fostering of a 'welcoming, enriching, and inclusive' environment. Nevertheless, Elena cautioned that we be attentive to the potential dangers inherent in building community:

> Who is calling for the building of communities and according to whose standard of community are we building? It's the same rule again. It's called, we call it, you know, "Anglo Conformity", right? They're not allowing people to build alternative cultures here, I don't think. Do you think? I mean, I don't know. I'm just saying a lot of times when you have a dominant group issuing these calls for civility and building community, I think it's so unconscious on their part, because that's exactly what white privilege means, and this is a culture of white privilege. They assume that they are the norm and that what other people always want and desire is to be like them and come up to their norm, so how do we interpret your building community do you suppose? Well, we've already been building our community. We haven't imposed our community on anybody else. If anything, once things leak out, other people try to tell us to do things differently, no?

In chapter eight, I shift the analytic focus of this work to matters of difference and explore in greater detail how the Building Community Campaign supports and/or challenges existing cultural norms and values.

Summing up

This chapter extended the analysis begun in chapter six by shifting the focus to matters of organizational culture. Where we saw in the preceding chapter that discourses of 'participation' or 'voice' do function to reproduce and/or disrupt existing organizational norms and values, this chapter used several lenses to more closely examine the reproductive mechanism whereby 'voice' and/or 'participation' functions to reify or challenge existing organizational norms. We saw as we adopted each cultural perspective in turn that matters of voice and participation were cited as contributing factors both in fostering feelings of isolation and alienation (lack of voice) and in promoting an increased sense of connection (through increased participation). In chapter six we saw several practices employed by the Building Community Campaign that appear to open opportunities for voice, but also noted that the traditional organizational forms employed to 'get things done' (such as committee meetings) may contain assumptions that support the status quo. This chapter explored those tensions in greater detail and highlighted, in particular, the tension between fostering an environment supportive of difference, and creating an environment in which a particular orientation toward matters of difference is required at the expense of others. Chapter eight takes up these tensions further by exploring specifically how programs and initiatives of the Building Community Campaign are positioned to impact organizational norms and values that are reproduced at the cultural level.

This chapter also spoke to the question "whose participation is solicited/required in organizational decision-making processes?" by highlighting how

norms of inclusion and exclusion become perpetuated in organizational processes and practices and become normalized in organizational culture. Many of the examples presented above demonstrated a) that the hierarchical division in the university's culture values the participation of some more than others and b) that an invitation to participate is inadequate when cultural norms, and 'meritocratic' institutional reward systems encourage participation in some activities more than others. Just as chapter six addressed the question "(How) do notions of voice, culture and difference become implicated in discourses of 'community'" by attending to matters of voice, this chapter attended more specifically to the ways in which notions of culture and climate are invoked to talk about 'community' on the CU-Boulder campus. We found that themes of impersonality and isolation recurred frequently in addressing questions of campus 'climate' and that involvement, caring, and personal interaction were oft cited as remedies. Here, I also cautioned against the pitfalls of a dialogic imperative and explored the opportunities opened up by valuing and celebrating difference.

This chapter also explored how the Building Community Campaign itself functions to challenge or support organizational norms and values from a cultural perspective. By using the three lenses provided by Martin (1992) for examining organizational culture, and by developing the notion of multivocal culture in greater detail, I highlighted how the Building Community Campaign both functions within existing cultural systems and provides opportunities to challenge the norms and values associated with the existing culture of the organization. This analysis also demonstrated whose interests are served by the initiatives and practices of the BCC by more closely examining whose values and norms are reproduced through the

organizational practices of the Building Community Campaign. In chapter eight this question is returned to. Finally, this chapter examined how practices that support or hinder the inclusion of different voices in organizational contexts become instantiated in organizational culture and demonstrated that both subtle (values and norms) and overt (policies and practices) cultural indicators still make it difficult for 'different' perspectives to find voice. Chapter eight begins by adopting a lens of difference to review what we have learned so far, then returns to the 'strategies for successfully managing difference' presented at the end of chapter two to more carefully examine the approach being taken to cultural change around matters of difference at the University of Colorado at Boulder.

CHAPTER VIII

BUILDING COMMUNT(IES) OF DIFFERENCE

This chapter begins with a review of what chapters five, six and seven have already illuminated, and highlights what becomes visible when the lens of difference is brought to bear on the challenges surrounding matters of voice and culture. This opening section highlights the ways in which matters of difference are implicit and/or explicit in challenges of participation and in processes of cultural reproduction. Then, I return to the five strategies for negotiating difference presented at the end of chapter two to demonstrate how these strategies may be seen as important components of the process of negotiating difference in an organizational context. This section reiterates the dangers of taking a 'managing' diversity orientation, and develops each strategy as a part of a larger whole, each requiring the others to be successful. I further argue that by attending simultaneously to each, organizations may create the conditions for multivocal cultural reproduction, while continuing to affirm the heuristic value of other perspectives for understanding culture.

The preceding chapters have provided several insights to the research questions posed at the end of chapter three. This chapter extends and refines those insights by bringing the lens of difference to bear on them. Chapters six and seven demonstrated that discourses of 'participation' or 'voice' do function to both

reproduce and disrupt existing organizational norms and values. In chapter six we found that forums for participation do not always translate neatly into organizational voice. In these cases, discourses of participation and/or voice may in fact serve to reproduce existing organizational norms and values as organizational decision-makers claim to be acting on the basis of organizational input when, in fact, the conditions surrounding opportunity for input were skewed at the outset. Nevertheless, we also saw that organizational members often desired increased opportunity for voice, and frequently found alternative venues for it. Chapter seven further examined this question by demonstrating how organizational norms and values surrounding matters of voice and participation are reproduced in organizational practice. Here we also found that strategic use of existing organizational systems allowed members to create space for greater voice. This chapter more closely examines how matters of difference impact opportunities for participation to translate into voice.

The preceding chapters also spoke to the question "whose participation is solicited/required in organizational decision-making processes?" Chapter six demonstrated clearly that some members are regularly invited to participate while others may have significantly more difficulty gaining access to decision-makers, and that some people's participation was more likely to be reflected in organizational voice than others. Chapter seven illuminated more clearly how lines of difference are drawn and reproduced in organizational culture and also demonstrated that there is no clear line between who is included and who is excluded consistently. Nevertheless, the data presented in chapter seven did demonstrate that students and staff are less likely to be invited to participate in decision-making, and that the university reward

structure exacerbates this problem for students and staff as well as discouraging participation from faculty. As we saw earlier, this serves to reinforce divisions rather than valuing difference. This chapter attends more carefully to which differences matter in including, discouraging, or excluding participation in decision-making processes. This chapter also further refines the understanding of "existing organizational norms and values" around matters of participation that was developed extensively in chapter seven.

Next, this chapter further explores the question of "(How) do members across levels of the organization characterize the university's culture of participation ?" In chapter six we saw that many members of the organization feel that their voice is not valued and perceive both inadequate forums for participation and inadequate translation of participatory activity into organizational voice. Chapter seven then examined how this phenomenon becomes reproduced culturally. We found that the organizational reward structure was not conducive to promoting broad-based participation and that frequent turnover at upper levels of administration have further exacerbated a lack of trust in decision-makers and a wariness about the longevity of projects initiated under the direction of leaders who are not perceived to be invested in the institution in the long-term. This chapter further explores how people who occupy different subject positions perceive this element of organizational culture.

This chapter then takes up the question "(How) do notions of voice, culture and difference become implicated in discourses of 'community'" already explored in chapters six and seven by attending specifically to matters of difference. This chapter also continues the work of examining how the Building Community Campaign,

specifically, informs our understanding of organizational practices surrounding voice, culture and difference by continuing to examine "whose interests are served by the initiatives and practices of the BCC?" In chapter six we found that the Building Community Campaign provided several opportunities for organizational members to have voice that might not have been available through other channels, and found in chapter seven that many of the practices of the BCC are working to transform cultural practices that mitigate against voice. Nevertheless, we have also seen that organizational practices of the BCC (such as committee meetings) and a lack of regular faculty involvement (as well as students at large) may influence whose interests are served as well. This chapter explores more specifically how organizational features of the BCC may reflect or challenge existing organizational norms and values concerning matters of difference. Finally, this chapter provides important additional insight into the question "can practices be identified that support or hinder the inclusion of different voices in organizational contexts?" Using the five strategies for negotiating difference presented in chapter two, this chapter examines practices of the Building Community Campaign as well as of the University of Colorado at Boulder more broadly to identify organizational practices that foster or inhibit voice.

Looking Through the Lens of Difference

I argued earlier that while both literature on organizational voice, and literature on organizational culture often imply the need for diversity to enrich decision-making processes, neither body of work adequately addresses the role that difference plays in complicating participatory process. Because of this lack of

awareness, the process of cultural reproduction may perpetuate inequities when assumptions surrounding difference are not adequately problematized. The preceding chapters have attended specifically to matters of voice and matters of culture at the University of Colorado at Boulder campus. Nevertheless, a closer look at what we have found so far reveals a consistent and recurring sub-text of difference running throughout discourses of voice, culture, and ultimately, 'community.'

In chapter five, we found that when the Board of Regents removed the listing of individual groups from both the definition of diversity and from the campus' vision for diversity on campus, members of the Building Community Campaign sought to create an additional space for voice in which these differences could be enumerated, and find representation. Below, an excerpt from the July 12, 1999 meeting of the BCC demonstrates that this move was a) explicitly about creating an alternative space for voice, b) resolutely about creating space for <u>different</u> voices and c) a consciously political act designed to abide by the letter of the 'principles' established by the Board of Regents while giving voice to the spirit of those different voices that had not been represented in 'sanctioned' channels.

As we saw in chapter five, the Regent's meeting at which the diversity plan, devoid of group classifications, was approved in its final form took place at the end of June, 1999. This meeting of the Building Community Campaign is the first meeting to take place since that Regents' meeting. The agenda for the meeting includes revision of another draft of the brochure that is still being developed for the Fall semester. You will recall that one research strategy that has proven especially useful in this study is the ability to compare artifacts under discussion in meetings with the

recorded talk from those interactions. In this way, participants view a tangible representation of their ideas, suggestions and perspectives, as I have synthesized it, and have the opportunity to challenge, refine, and add to my own understanding, while also more clearly articulating their perceptions and interpretations. In the meeting segment that follows, Marianne returns the group to an earlier discussion of whether or not the brochure should 'list groups' in its statement of purpose:

> **Marianne:** But you know back to that point about listing groups. I think that could be a good idea because um you know the Regents just made us take the groups out of the diversity plan and which is kinda gonna cause a lot of problems when everybody gets back to campus but um one thing Odette was saying was that we still have other forums on campus where we can list the groups and this is one of them.

Here we find that Marianne first explicitly ties a desire to include the list in this forum to an inability to do so in other formal channels saying, 'the Regents just made us take the groups out of the diversity plan.' She further adds that this is going to 'cause a lot of problems when everybody gets back to campus' suggesting that the investment that the campus had in this decision was great. In fact, a great deal of controversy surrounded the making of this decision over the summer when many faculty and students were away from campus.

Her closing statement illustrates that when formal or sanctioned channels are not available for voice, alternative venues are often sought. Throughout the development of the diversity plan, the public position of the Board of Regents was one of concern over putting the university in a situation where it would be at risk for legal action: i.e. the university could not use quotas or have 'set-aside' positions. Nevertheless, as the campus worked to develop the plan, great care was taken to

avoid such language. As we saw in Chancellor Blake's interchange with the Board of Regents in chapter six, moving the list of groups to the vision statement, was a deliberate attempt to be responsive to this concern. As the university's legal counsel attested to, the vision statement set out an 'aspiration' that the campus could strive for. When Marianne affirms that 'one thing Odette was saying was that we still have other forums on campus where we can list the groups' she is indicating that while the Regents had authority to dictate the content of the diversity plan, there are still many places on campus where support for a wide range of very specific differences can be affirmed without violating the 'principles' set forth by the Regents. Finally, the assertion that 'this is one of them' is both a articulation of her vision of the function of the campaign to build bridges across difference and an invitation to the group to further discuss its role in addressing this issue.

Her introduction of this topic receives favorable response from the group as many people affirm the position she has just stated. The focus then returns momentarily, at least at a surface level, to discussion of the brochure format. As Ella begins a discussion of where the 'list' might go we find that the business of deciding whether or not to include the groups becomes moot as the focus turns to where to include them:

> **Ella**: Well I had a question about the mission statement and wondered how firm that was I mean I'd- seen some correspondence back and forth and wondered- there've been some suggestions to revise the mission statement and if the mission statement isn't written in stone that would also be a place to
> **Marianne:** [mmhmm] add back in parts or all of the vision statement that was removed by the regents and speak to the groups that they didn't want to speak about

Here, Ella's tacit approval of including the groups opens up an opportunity for voices that had been silenced, around matters of difference specifically, to find an alternative, sanctioned vehicle for impacting the organizational culture. We see that as Ella wonders about the fixity of the Building Community Campaign's mission, Marianne draws the connection to reclaiming the vision statement 'that was removed by the Regents and speak to the groups that they didn't want to speak about.' There is little ambiguity in the intent of these words. Groups that identify as 'different' felt silenced by the Regents' action, and this move would allow us to 'speak to the groups that' they 'didn't want to speak about.' Notice here that this move both reclaims a space for some groups, and simultaneously reinforces an us-them division between the campus and the Board of Regents. After this exchange, the group's discussion focused on where to place the language in question and in what form. The meeting then continued as several other topics were taken up. At the close of the meeting, however, I brought the conversation back to this addition to clarify the group's intent and to offer opportunity for dissent:

> **Jennifer:** and is everyone ok with adding the language from the diversity plan vision statement to the mission statement on the front.
> **David:** that is the naming of the groups [we're]
> **Ella:** [mmhmm mmhmm]
> **David:** [talking] about. In fact that's a political gesture that I strongly support.

As we see here, members of the group strongly advocated for the inclusion of this language, and clearly saw it as a 'political gesture.' While the final version of the brochure was agreed on at the following meeting, and separated the mission statement and the vision statement, the language from the vision statement was retained and was featured prominently in the inside center panel of the brochure.

Adopting a lens of difference allows us to see many instances such as the one above that have deep implications not only for voice and culture, but also for matters of difference. A quick review of examples in both chapters six and seven reveal that few of them were exclusively about either of these three issues, but rather that each is implicated in the others. For example, we saw in chapter six that a faculty woman expressed concern over who had access to voice on campus by stating that:

> The less powerful don't have the same voice as the more powerful, so in order to be heard, they have to adopt a different set of tactics.

This statement is not about a general lack of opportunity to participate, but rather a specific concern about who is able to participate and who is not. In the meeting example above, we saw an attempt to challenge this norm by providing an alternative, yet still university sanctioned, venue for voice. Further, we saw both in chapters six and seven that members of racial and ethnic minorities, people with disabilities, and members of the GLBT community are regularly singled out as groups whose differences matter most at CU-Boulder. While these groups are often cited as not being 'heard' and not seeing themselves reflected and represented on campus, they are also most marginalized by a culture whose implicit values and norms may place them at an inherent disadvantage.

The examples below illustrate even more poignantly that difference is deeply implicated in matters of both voice and culture. First, as I mentioned in chapter six, every student of color that I interviewed had experienced uncomfortable moments at CU-Boulder that were directly attributable to difference. While many of these students were also very active on campus and had perhaps, as Elena called it, 'surplus visibility,' the events are disturbing nevertheless. While Sumaya recalls events

ranging from racist remarks, to defamatory comments scrawled on her residence hall door to derogatory phone calls, Jamal recalls his experience with BSA the year they received the letters that would ultimately give rise to the Building Community Campaign (see Appendix B), but also adds that while 'the hate mail was kind of one of the bigger things,' there are also countless environmental factors that are not welcoming of his particular 'difference':

> The hate mail was kind of one of the bigger things that happened in terms of hostility … I mean, there was, you know, simple environmental ecology type things where, I mean, if I go down to the Rec Center, I'm guaranteed to listen to some kind of rock and roll or whatever. I know automatically that there will not be a hip hop channel on and, you know, and that would be something that I'd be really kind of interested in to enjoy on that level or, you know, just walking around campus, you don't see very many, you know, visual representations of not only the legacy that the black community has had on this campus, but just, I mean, the general, the aesthetic of, you know, different peoples of color.

In this example we find that cultural values are represented in and reinforced by campus artifacts such as music and visual representations.

Another environmental scanning episode illustrates this well. In February of 2000, I was asked to give a presentation to the Diversity Summit sponsored by the Chancellor's Advisory Committee on Minority Affairs. Since the audience of this presentation would be made up of a cross-section of students, faculty, staff and administrators (that eternal division!), I worked to focus the presentation on spaces around campus that celebrated different elements of campus culture. As I conducted my research for this presentation, I attended in particular to gendered themes that were emerging in the physical environment and found that while the athletic and academic exploits of men and male alumni is widely visible and celebrated, there are

few spaces on campus where these achievements are celebrated for female students or alumni.

The university's heritage center, located on the top floor of one of the campus' oldest buildings, seemed like it might be a good place to find out about the contributions of early women on campus. What I found, however, was yet another vast disparity in representation. In one room, a large glass case held a mannequin dressed in a formal gown. The card at her feet read: "one of two official dresses work by Marilyn Van Derber during her reign as Miss America 1958." (see Appendix F) Directly opposite the case, was a display of newspaper clippings and photos depicting Marilyn's subsequent 'coming out' as a victim of incest, and her crusade to raise awareness about this form of abuse. The other side of the room had another case depicting the work of a male faculty member, the 1989 Co-winner of the Nobel Prize for Chemistry, Dr. Thomas Cech. The room's TV offered video options that included the crowning of an undergraduate female alum as Miss America, and the awarding of the Nobel Prize to a male faculty member (see Appendix G).

In another room, however, I did find evidence of scientific achievement by a female alum. A large section of the heritage center was dedicated to the contributions of the University of Colorado at Boulder to NASA's many space projects and as I entered the room, I noted that female graduates were represented. On one side of the room, a large book with photos and laminated pages, chronicled the contributions of CU-Boulder alums to the space program. Accompanying each individual's pictures was a narrative about the particular contribution that they had made to the program

and detailing how their CU training had contributed to their contribution to a particular mission.

Kalpana Chawla, a 1988 graduate with a Ph.D. in Aerospace Engineering, was one of the alums listed in the book. On November 19, 1997 she flew on the Space Shuttle Columbia as a Mission Specialist. The page opposite her picture read:

> Spotlight On:
> Living in Space—Clothing
> The wardrobe of Mission Specialist Kalpana Chawla included three options. Special space clothing was essential for ascent and re-entry. During her space walk she wore an Extravehicular Mobility Unit (EMU) with a life support system. Inside the orbiter (for most of the mission), she wore regular shirts and pants.
>
> Chawla was assisted with her Ascent-Entry suit by a NASA quality assurance specialist and a U.S. Army mechanical technician on launch day in 1997. (See Appendix H).

At the Diversity Summit, I used these images, and others, to illustrate how choices about what to display, and how to display it, send messages about what is and is not valued on campus. A man in the audience fiercely challenged the notion that such depictions of women's achievements should not be displayed (something that I had not argued) suggesting that to do so would be a 'revision of history.' The message I hope to convey with these examples is not that we should obscure the fact that female graduates have won Miss America pageants or that they, in fact, wore different outfits on space missions. Rather, I hope to illustrate that cultural artifacts often attend to some differences over others in a way that supports and perpetuates inequitable distributions of power and promulgates narrow, stereotypical, understandings of the qualities that members of different groups may contribute to the whole. These emphases foreground division rather than valuing difference.

One high level administrator acknowledged that difference did matter, and that while progress had been made for some, there was still a long road ahead for many:

> The changes have been enormous at the University as regards opportunities for women. The changes have been less dramatic, but I still think there are significant opportunities for ethnic minorities and we are still in the dark ages with respect to people who are gays.

The challenge I hope to highlight in this section, however, is that awareness of divisions is not sufficient to remedy the problems that the university and other organizations, face. The 'significant opportunities' that this administrator mentions are often hampered because people do not feel heard, do not have access to channels for voice, and do not see their achievements and accomplishments reflected in the environment because of their 'difference' from established norms and values. Shortly after the administrator above indicated his concern for minorities and gays he added:

> Come, be prepared to work hard, don't expect any breaks because you're a minority, because I think most people feel that you don't get favors, you can create a separate set of standards because of what's been disadvantaged.

I would suggest that what is being proposed is not a 'separate' set of standards for those that have been disadvantaged, but rather a 'different' set of standards for everyone. If standards were adopted that took into consideration a broader range of different strengths and weaknesses, those currently at an advantage might find that they no longer fared so well against 'Others.' Which, of course, is one of the reasons that challenging the current arrangement is difficult.

Nevertheless, the University of Colorado at Boulder is doing some things to challenge that system, and I will turn to an examination of those in just a moment.

First, however, I want to address a comment, or rather a series of comments that I drew attention to in the gallery. You will remember reading this poster:

****

There's a schism between people in the academic side and people not on the academic side, you know, there's this thing about hierarchy and status, like a caste system or something…Female Staff of Color

There are also divisions within groups i.e. tenured & untenured "Hard sciences" and Liberal Arts, Acad. Admin & Student Affairs, etc…

Good point! When is the campus retreat for building community going to invite those front line staff members who deal w/ community everyday?

Where are the facilities people, the maintenance workers, the meal service people… at this retreat??

Yeah, I need more people who disagree with me to attend these events. Black Male.

How can staff and faculty better communicate about students? (staff person)

Students

↓

Faculty

↓

Staff

Hierarchy

White female staff.

****

Notice, now that I've drawn more attention to the degrees of division between groups that emerge in people's speech how evident that is here. In my response to this poster in the gallery, I wrote: "I notice who's missing here too. I know that these voices do not have much space in my dissertation. I have reasons. Good ones, I

think. I start to rationalize, but decide instead to make their absence visible." Here, I do want to rationalize just a bit, share some of my 'good reasons,' and then make visible some of the perspectives held by these invisibles. In any research program of this scope, choices must always inevitably be made. The choice not to focus on this absent population was made for several reasons that will be outlined below. Being sensitive to their relative absence, however, I have felt it important to make their absence visible, rather than to reinforce invisibility, and to turn to alternative spaces to recover, in part, their missing voices. Below, I turn to some of the reasons for this choice.

First, I did not focus on members of the maintenance staff in my dissertation because I was particularly interested in the Building Community Campaign as a change initiative, and early on in the campaign this group was not a primary target. Remember, the group came together largely because of concerns surrounding an incident in which student groups had been targeted, and then was shaped by a recently concluded project (the Civility Task Force) that had been explored largely by faculty and professional staff. As my project expanded to include an interest in campus culture more broadly, I was attentive to the different issues affecting classified staff: oftentimes significant language barriers, sweeping cultural differences both between national cultures and occupational cultures, and challenges arising from these such as access to adequate training and benefits). I did not pursue this population in part for access reasons: I had regular contact only with those maintenance staff who worked in the areas in which I worked, and while I speak some Spanish, I would have a very difficult time conducting an academic interview in

this language, and do not speak the many Asian languages also spoken by staff in the facilities area. Another important factor, however, was that a dissertation has already been written about challenges of voice and culture among facilities staff on campus (Rinehart, 1994). As I have conducted my analysis, I have often referred to this work to look for similarities and contradictions, and have found many similarities. While approximately five years elapsed between the end of Rinehart's study and the beginning of this one, striking parallels remain.

Rinehart (1994) examined, in particular, the unfolding of a dispute between facilities staff and management, and the action the staff took to find alternative vehicles for voice. Rinehart argued, "On the surface, the problem of voice was that custodians felt they were not heard by management and management felt custodians did not talk to them. From management's perspective, the problem of voice was that they did not hear any response when they asked for custodian input" (p.257). As we saw in chapters two and six, however, silence does not always translate to disinterest, and in fact the custodial staff was quite interested in the process that was unfolding: they did not feel however that management was hearing them. Rinehart (1994) suggests several reasons for the communication challenges faced in this conflict, and used Gudykunst (1991) and Gudykunst and Ting-Toomey's (1988) description of difference in national cultural orientation to describe management (individualistic) and custodial staff (more collectivist) orientations. As we see below, Rinehart arrives at many of the same conclusions as I have using a different theoretical framework, and examining a different set of divisions around 'difference':

> When misinterpretations arise between individualists and collectivists, misunderstanding, miscommunication and insult give rise to conflict. Add

> cultural differences such as power distance, combined with social structural differences such as status and class differences between workers and managers, and the conflict expands and escalates as misinterpretations compound and culturally based systems to resolve them prove inadequate (e.g. face to face talks between workers and managers). Add again organizational structural complications such as hierarchical organization with many levels of middle managers that create great social distance between the workers and top management, and misinterpretations, originally cultural, cannot be corrected (1994, p.255).

During the dispute, management initiated a reorganization of the division in question that further compounded the challenges of communicating across these levels of the organization. In a report commissioned by management to make sense of the events after the fact, the author wrote: "A good example of the lack of participatory management and employee involvement occurred with the recent reorganization. Custodians were not consulted with regard to their input on developing the reorganization plan" (Knight, 1991, p. 4 cited in Rinehart, 1994, p. 258). As these examples illustrate, challenges of voice, culture, and difference are not new at the University of Colorado at Boulder. Yet, as we've seen throughout these examples lasting change remains elusive. In our interview, David remarked:

> That's the hard part for, from what I can tell for our administrators and our leaders, that's the hard part for them to see is if the institution is actually doing things that disadvantage some groups.

Several of the comments above from administrators highlight this dilemma: 'we know that the reward system is flawed, but the institution is founded on the values that are inherent in systems of tenure and promotion and so they must be retained;' 'we know that people of color, women, people with disabilities and GLBT people have a harder time, but we will not make special (or even different)

accommodations.' Nevertheless, these are exactly the changes that the Building Community Campaign is trying to bring about, little by little and step by step.

In my interviews with individuals who had not had much direct contact with the Building Community Campaign, I presented them with copies of the promotional brochure that we have seen being developed in BCC meetings. By presenting them with the brochure, I avoided skewing responses by telling them what my understanding of the campaign was, and instead let them react to the public messages that the campaign had put out about itself. During this part of our interview, Jake, a GLBT graduate student expressed frustration with the idea of such a campaign when I first raised it suggesting that if the GLBT resource center was unable to foster a broad-based sense of community among GLBT people on campus, he had little hope that 'one more committee' would be able to do it. Yet, as we talked, he continued to look at the brochure, and at one point interrupted himself, saying:

> I will say one more thing. I'm really glad sexual orientation is listed in this pamphlet, 'cause that's, you know, when I look at community or interest in building community, blah, blah, blah, blah, blah, community and then I'm like okay, well, where it does it talk about me, sexual orientation, and there it is, so that's great.

Here, Jake's reaction has the effect that Marianne expressed as possible when she introduced the idea of adding the language from the vision statement to the brochure by 'speaking to the groups that they [the Regents] didn't want to speak about.' In many of my interviews, respondents indicated that while talking about difference and culture is not something new, doing something about it is, and that for that the Building Community Campaign has potential. David put it this way:

> The Community Campaign is really trying to make, you know, trying to deal with culture more directly than anything else has so far, frankly and the diversity implications of that are just real obvious to me.

Below, I employ the framework presented at the end of chapter two, to examine more closely the strengths and weaknesses of the Building Community Campaign as it tackles the intersecting dilemmas of voice, culture and difference.

You will recall that in chapter two I suggested that literature on 'managing diversity,' when taken collectively provided useful insights into how to negotiate difference in organizational contexts. I choose the language 'negotiate difference' rather than manage diversity because as Cox (1994) suggests 'diversity' has oftentimes become conflated with gender and with race, and more specifically with the 'minority' in those categories. Hence, the sections that follow do not provide guidance for those looking to 'manage' women or racial minorities. In fact, I contend that such an orientation is doomed to failure, and that it certainly does not provide space for the benefits of a richly diverse (in Cox's (1994) broader sense of the term) workforce, or organizational membership, to strengthen the organizational fabric. Instead, the five sections that follow point to challenges that members of different backgrounds, who hold different positions, who have different group-identifications must negotiate in order to live, work and learn in a context rich with difference. As we have seen throughout this work, though CU-Boulder may still be largely homogeneous along racial and ethnic lines, the presence of those differences does matter, as do many differences that are less externally visible.

The first strategy that was presented in chapter two, and that I take up below involved assessment. When I asked David what he would do if were able to do

anything that he now felt constrained from doing he replied "One of the things that I would like to do, at least within my own division, is on the Diversity Committee is to get, to get each department, each director, each department to do some sort of cultural assessment, some sort of measuring." The first section below takes up if, where, how, and with what degree of success this has been done at CU-Boulder.

The second strategy, and you will also remember that I suggested strongly that steps one through three must occur concurrently, was strong support from the top. Many of the examples above speak both to favorable orientation to the topic from leadership, and remaining obstacles to full-fledged support. The second section below examines motivation both for action and resistance here. Marianne commented:

> I think just in talking about it [the climate] and talking and also stressing that it's the reason we need to improve the climate here for all people is when you tie that to the academic mission. I think that's made for a much better argument when you have businesses come in and say, "Your people don't have the experience that I want." That's what turns the tide. When you start talking about preparing people for, to work in a global society and you say employers say this is what they want, that carries much more weight than this is the right thing to do. We don't even say this is the right thing to do anymore. We tie it to it's the right thing to do because of our academic mission to prepare people for a global, you know, whatever.

The section on support from the top explores where there is support, where there remains resistance, and what appears to motivate both. Marianne's business-oriented comment suggests that motivation may come from multiple sources.

Similarly, 'it will get you a better job' can garner increased member involvement as well. As Peter Trask, Vice-Chancellor for Administration, mentioned above, one of the advantages of the Building Community approach is its ability to

bring people from across the organization to the table for discussion. Nevertheless as we saw in several of my examples above, and in Rinehart's (1994) discussion of conflict between custodians and management, sometimes the table (forum) itself is the problem.

The fourth strategy that I presented in chapter four was training. Below, I take up this issue in a broader sense than it has often been employed in 'managing diversity' literature. Training here is not about 'sensitivity training' or 'racial awareness training' alone, though those may have their place as parts of a larger whole. Instead, I take up the question of training in a more Pavlovian sense: what attitudes, behaviors and beliefs receive regular positive reinforcement, and which receive negative or no reinforcement? Those patterns of interaction that are rewarded positively are the ones that come to be reflected in organizational culture. The section on training, therefore is more interested in how training is occurring at this more macro-cultural level. While individual interactions, of course, contribute to this reproduction, the presence or absence of sexual harassment training, or multicultural awareness training is most illuminating as a representation of what is valued and devalued in the organizational context.

Finally, this chapter will conclude with an examination of evidence surrounding the campus' systemic commitment to change. As we have seen, the process of cultural reproduction happens in interaction, over time. The process of cultural change, therefore, happens in the same way. A new policy, or even a new campaign, is not an indicator of the long-term potential for change. Commitments

both in spirit, and with resources, over time, however, are critical indicators of the potential for sustainable, long-term cultural change.

Organizational Assessment

Though I am, of course, biased in asserting the value of this project to the assessment of culture on campus, I think, nevertheless that it deserves mention. Were I pursuing this project entirely on my own time, or were I encountering resistance from administration, I might instead point to it as another type of indicator. Instead, this project has been fully funded by the office of the Vice Chancellor for Student Affairs for nearly two years. My funding began in the spring of 1999 as a 25% appointment in addition to teaching responsibilities in my department. The only expectation ever placed upon this project has been that I would find, and share information that would better help organizational decision-makers to understand the challenges they were facing. Throughout the process I have made the participatory nature of the project clear, and have been supported in my efforts to both get input from members across levels of the organization, and to protect their identity and privacy. In the summer of 1999 I received a 50% appointment, and that appointment was continued through the fal' semester after receiving the appropriate waivers from the graduate school to take on an o[illegible]oad. Since the appointment through Student Affairs did not cover tuition, however, I continued to teach in my department. By the end of the Fall 1999 semester, as one might imagine, I was feeling moderately overwhelmed. I approached the Vice-Chancellor for Student Affairs and the Dean of Students and explained that I would either need to cut back my involvement with the Building Community Campaign and this project, or I would need tuition assistance so

that I could relinquish my teaching position. Without hesitation, they provided me with a graduate assistantship carrying a full tuition waiver. Beginning in the Summer of 2000, my funding was increased to 100% and was maintained at that level with the consent of the graduate school throughout the 2000-2001 academic year. All this says much more than that I have been very fortunate. Time and again, decision-makers at the University of Colorado at Boulder have found sufficient value in the research that I was doing to commit time, energy and both financial and material resources to allow me to do a comprehensive and detailed project. While I hope that they will find they have gotten their money's worth in the long run, as the analysis above, I hope, indicates, I have not sugar-coated what I have found. Beyond the office of Student Affairs, the Chancellor and Vice Chancellors with whom I have spoken in conducting this project have regularly requested feedback. At the close of our interview, the Chancellor remarked:

> Take a look at it [your data] and see where you are in terms of thinking and things. In addition to your dissertation, I really appreciate the fact that you've taken a leadership role in trying to get some of these things going for the students and the groups and as you have information that you think would be helpful to me and the Vice Chancellors, let us know. Don't wait until your dissertation is done and if you have some good things that are coming up that you're pretty sure are good bets and good solutions that you've picked up on, please let us know.

The gallery exercise, among others are ways in which this project of assessment is raising awareness about these issues on campus, and contributing directly to the possibility for change. As I mentioned in chapter four, the social-action orientation of this project is an important one, and so it has been important that this project both serve to hone my skills as a developing researcher, and serve as an important

component of the institutional change process by contributing to the assessment component.

Many other projects of the Building Community Campaign, however, have also addressed the assessment dimension of the change process. Regina commented that part of how she understands the role of the BCC is "to constantly be assessing the climate of the university and looking at how welcoming this university is to everyone who comes here." Certainly, the environmental scanning initiative has been influential in this area (in fact in February of 2001 members of the office of Student Affairs, and the division of housing met to examine the plans for renovations to the diversity access (See Appendix C) mentioned in chapter six), as have many of the retreat programs put on both by the Building Community Campaign, and by CACMA over the last three years. In addition, campus surveys that are regularly conducted for both students (such as the one from which responses were included in the gallery) and for staff do examine questions of culture and difference. Nevertheless, faculty are not surveyed in this manner, and the surveys themselves are more attuned to personal attitudes and feelings than they are to systemic features of culture.

In addition, oftentimes assessment efforts themselves are seen as contradictory. In a recent director's meeting for the office of Student Affairs, the Director of the campus' office of Planning, Budget and Analysis presented the long list of Quality Indicators that the university is required to collect and compile in order to receive funding from the state. Throughout her presentation it was clear that there was (and that she felt) little actual correlation between the measures and the amount of funding received from the state. Nevertheless, for over 180 different items, units

were supposed to identify three focal goals to measure. In fact, the university is quite focused on assessment, evaluation and benchmarking. When Vic Carbone, Vice-Chancellor for Academic Affairs was asked what the next steps were in addressing these issues, he replied:

> so I think it's sitting down, agreeing upon some goals, getting some buy-in from a number of departments and then, obviously to not only implement, but then to monitor and evaluate how well we're doing. I think a lot of times we come up with initiatives and we try them out, but we never evaluate them.

Yet, when students, faculty and staff wanted exactly these kinds of measures included in the diversity plan to track progress in this area, the answer from the Board of Regents was an unequivocal 'No.'

Deanna commented on the terrible contradiction that conflicting messages like these pose:

> In terms of again getting back to the diversity document, having language like "demonstrate continued improvement" is pabulum. I mean, what the hell does that mean? We get one more student, you know, it's, there needs to be something tangible. This is a campus, an educational environment overall that is overly obsessed with numbers, with test scores, with measurement, with assessment, and then when it comes to diversity, we can't measure that, we can't have any numbers, we can't have any goals to strive for that are tangible. There has to be an accountability structure, you know.

In chapter two, I suggested that assessment efforts should examine how both formal policies and informal practices influence the diverse membership of the institution or organization in order to more clearly understand the process of cultural reproduction. This, I argued, could help make visible invisible assumptions and begin to pave the way for change. Yet, as we saw above, understanding itself is insufficient to support long-term sustained change. Lance, who has been a faculty member at the University of Colorado at Boulder for many years noted:

> We study diversity. We appoint one committee after another to study diversity. We study the hell out of it. We can all save the University the time. No matter how you cut it, no matter how you collect the statistics, the answer comes out the same…We have the administration that wraps itself in the flag of diversity that tears its hair and worries about diversity, expresses all kinds of concern about diversity. We name one committee and one commission after another to study diversity and yet we know what the answer is. Diversity is going to take money because the people we are trying to attract here are poor.

Which is why assessment efforts must also be accompanied by widespread support for cultural change at the top of the organization.

Support From the Top

This section examines both how people talk about the need for sincere and visible involvement, and demonstrates the challenges inherent in this. While support from the top is needed, if it is seen as overshadowing or driving the agenda, skepticism soars as voice diminishes. First, as I think many of the examples provided throughout this work demonstrate, there is widespread support, in principle, for a more participatory 'community' at CU-Boulder. The challenge, however, lies in the many cultural obstacles that remain. The critical components of support from the top given in chapter two included: a) that a commitment to change should be part of the broader vision of the organization, so that decisions are made within the context of valuing difference as a goal b) that this support must be visible, and it must include not only "lip service," but also resource allocation to make change both possible and successful and c) that public commitments must be backed up by personal action on the part of leadership.

On this strategy, the University of Colorado at Boulder can point to pockets of success, and has won some battles, but is still far from winning the war. In part,

however, some of the battles still being waged may be partially a function of no one knowing the war is over, and of an external climate at the system (Regent) and state levels that complicate and compromise the ability of campus leadership to implement change processes. Many people did, in fact, remark that the transformation that they have begun to see can be largely attributed to a stabilizing leadership that values and is committed to principles of openness and participation. Regina, for instance, commented, "leadership has been really important. I think that when we have a leadership that really um encourages community and encourages events that bring people together that that makes it a lot easier, you know, it just makes it easier to see people more and to connect with people."

Yet the scars from old wounds still remind folks that support from the top is ephemeral, and trust in its permanence is not at all in place. Marianne recalled the feeling that pervaded campus when 'support from the top' was clearly not in place:

> We went through a down period where things were really bad in terms of not having support in terms of resources, dollars, staff and all of that when Gail Norton, I believe, was the Attorney General and put a halt on race based admissions, race based financial aid and all of that, and it was like everybody's hands were tied and they were scared and they didn't want to do anything.

A lack of support from leadership indeed fosters a stifling environment in which the benefits of an environment replete with difference are lost.

As I mentioned above, the university's report card on this strategy gets mixed grades. On the one hand, there is clearly philosophical support from both the Regents and from the office of Student Affairs, yet as Judd highlights here, and as we saw earlier, faculty involvement is still limited:

> The Chancellor's thinking about it, Student Affairs is thinking about it. I'm not sure that Faculty Affairs is thinking about it. If they are, they are because the Chancellor is. Where I think it's missing, see I don't think the faculty is thinking about it. I don't think the students are thinking about it. I don't think the constituents of the Institution are thinking about it

Rick also commented on the importance of the Chancellor's involvement:

> I think the fact that the Chancellor has jumped on the retreat saying this is important and the convocation piece saying this is important is a good thing to see as well.

And, Marianne highlighted that the Chancellor's interest has made the matter a priority for other visible leaders on campus:

> But a) getting the administration on board and then having the Chancellor kind of make the Deans and the Associate Deans attend [the retreat], you know, or get on board. I think that's really made a difference.

Nevertheless, my criteria for success in this area sometimes fall short when we examine how "lip service" matches resource allocation and how public commitments are backed by personal action, or in Peters' (1999) words 'the propaganda of the deed' (p.271). Elena remarked that in her efforts to effect change in academic units, she has often had verbal support from administrators who at times have even promoted notions of interdisciplinarity and boundary-spanning. Yet, she argues that when the surface level ideas yield to deep level structural and cultural obstacles to change, the support of administration has not been there:

> Those who are the gatekeepers of the old culture or the established culture, when they refuse to budge, the administrators don't do anything, that's been my experience. They don't do anything.

Similarly, in my interview with Jake, he commented on a recent publication about diversity that he had encountered and his frustration as the disparity he saw between the printed claims and organizational action:

> I just went through it and highlighted statements I thought to be hypocritical on the University's part where they're professing this great concern for valuing diversity, but they're not putting their money where their mouth is.

At the same time, organizational leaders are speaking the language of change, of participation and of difference, and that weighs in their favor. Peter Trask commented that as a high level administrator he saw the value in not only inviting input, but in 'keeping the matter before' those at lower levels of the organization:

> I think we have to be leaders of the issue. I have led numerous discussions on issues of building community and diversity within our administration division and they've not always been easy. They are some of the most straining and painful conversations that I can participate in and it's because we do get to the root of what we believe in and the conversations are not always, they don't always go the way you want. People get frustrated and angry and they get upset, you know, it's a tough topic, but I think we have to lead people through the topic and we have to keep the dialogue in front of them.

As we have seen, however, the forum and format of participation both shapes and reinforces organizational culture and may inherently favor some differences more than others. Similarly if this dialogic imperative mitigates or inhibits a more genuine expression of differences underlying tensions are unlikely to be resolved. The section below turns a closer eye to the role of member involvement in a sustained change effort. A comment of Regina's, however, highlights that leadership and membership are sometimes confounded and that members may also lead the way:

> I think the thing about this Committee is that this Committee is a microcosm for the larger university, so that if we support each other in our various endeavors and the various projects that we're working on, then we're setting an example for the rest of the community.

Below I examine how the rest of the community is responding.

Member Involvement

As we saw in chapters six and seven, matters of member involvement are not as simple as providing forums for participation. Oftentimes cultural artifacts such as reward systems and norms of interaction send the message that participation is not valued, even if 'opportunities' for input are provided. As we saw with Ian's example of not having any faculty show up for interviews with prospective Vice Chancellors for Student Affairs, if a decision is not seen as relevant to the experience of organizational members, or if they are not rewarded for participation in those decision-making processes then (as I suggested above) cultural training takes place as Pavlovian instincts discourage involvement. As Jake suggested member involvement requires support from the top:

> There are ways to encourage people who have the initiative, who have the creativity, who want to be innovators and movers and shakers. They're ready to go. They just need the time and the funds to do it, but that has to come from the administration or the Regents.

Andrew, a student leader, sees this as a particular dilemma facing the Building Community Campaign. From his perspective, the BCC has provided a vehicle for involvement and has allowed some positive change to take place. He fears, however, that the university is relying too much on the campaign to do work that is beyond the scope of what a small group of people can do by coming together on a semi-regular basis:

> I think that's the thing: is that Building Community is doing what the University should be doing on the whole. I think that's why a lot of energy got sucked out of Building Community. I think that's why people are frustrated is that because the University, you know, is on the back of Building Community. Building Community should be a zest or kind of a spark to be in partnership with other things, but the University is really relying to fix the problem and this, you know, you meet once a week or every other week for an

> hour an a half or whatever, nine people come together, brainstorm and enact some change, things will happen and that's possible, but, you know, the University I think shirked some responsibility by saying look at, we have this great idea for this Building Community Campaign.

Here we find that the passion, energy and commitment that brings people to a cause can be suffocated if too much is required or expected of them. Andrew suggests that the university as a whole should be using the campaign to breathe new life into existing programs, but that it not rely on the campaign alone to solve deeper rooted problems.

While time constraints are often cited as obstacles to participation, this too bespeaks deeper obstacles to involvement. Jake feels that he is already overcommitted, and as Andrew's concern above alluded to, that he is spread too thin already. "I don't have any more time to give," he says. Vic Carbone also argued that faculty members' times was scarce:

> I think faculty for the most part are committed to building community and see the importance of community, but they have so many other things that they're doing.

Initially, I interpreted these remarks to indicate that the process of building community is still seen as outside of normal activity; that it is something external to the work of the university to which time must be dedicated. Yet when I distributed copies of this study to participants for review, Jake provided additional insight. He wrote:

> I may be wrong but it seems the implication of what I said, followed by this analysis, is that I see "building community outside of normal activity" and I can't make the time for building community because I'm so busy doing other things. If that's what you're saying, then I disagree.
>
> I would counter that all I do is "build community" in my everyday interactions with other people in that I am an outspoken advocate for gay rights, I tell

> people I'm gay. I educate people not only in the classes I teach but the clerk at the grocery store who presumes my female roommate is my girlfriend, or the insurance agent who asks me if I'm single or married, which is totally inappropriate because I don't have a choice in the matter. Of course I'm not married, but I ain't single either!
>
> So I would say that instead of me seeing building community as outside the realm of normal everyday activity, building community consumes my every waking moment because it is my normal everyday activity. What I was expressing in the quote is the feeling of "How can I do anymore than I'm already doing?" And of course, one can always do more but one must have a life too.

This additional tension highlights even more clearly that if organizational input is not seen as translating into organizational voice, the incentive for continued or increased involvement diminishes.

Stohl and Cheney (2000) demonstrate the challenges of participatory practice by highlighting 15 paradoxes of participation, grouped along the four dimensions of: structure, agency, identity and power. Examples presented throughout this work point to obstacles along each of these dimensions at the University of Colorado at Boulder. First, we saw that structural obstacles exist in the form of reward structures that do not value participatory activity. We also saw that meeting formats may be ineffective vehicles for participation for some members, and that in contexts where underrepresented groups remain in the minority voice may be elusive and thus discourage involvement. This point is both structural and speaks to matters of agency: if participants do not perceive that they are empowered to act on decisions made in the group with which they are involved, investment may decline.

Furthermore, at the level of identity, Elena, notes that 'mainstream' and 'marginal' lines often differentiate whose voices will contribute:

> You're not going to convince some of us here to really go along because the dialogue was never there in the first place to figure out, you know, don't you think you have to have a baseline of what it is, what kind of community we want before you can build. If it rests on a set of presumptions or assumptions, those assumptions will tend to be the more mainstream assumptions.

We also saw, particularly in chapter seven, that lines of demarcation between a wide range of subject positions are routinely invoked and reproduced in the organization. This, combined with few perceived rewards for interacting across these lines, reproduce the notion that if, for example, the hiring of a Vice Chancellor for Student Affairs is not a 'faculty issue,' that faculty should not participate in the decision. Entrenched group-identifications, not along racial and ethnic lines, but along student, faculty, staff and administrator lines (and among the many subdivisions within those categories) may be one of the greatest obstacles to member involvement. Finally, we have also seen many ways in which paradoxes of power may perpetuate and exacerbate a system in which member involvement is devalued. In particular, Stohl and Cheney (2000) highlight a paradox of homogeneity in which leadership fails to see the value of resistance or oppositional voices and in which agreement, cooperation and consensus become normalized even while 'preaching' diversity of opinion. As we saw in chapter seven, this is a genuine dilemma of the multivocal cultural approach or perspective. Where the multivocal cultural orientation is toward diversity and participation, there is also a concomitant decrease in tolerance for ambiguity and the potential to begin to take an integrated perspective in which participation, cooperation and consensus are normalized and required also dilutes the value of difference in organizational contexts. Stohl and Cheney (2000) note that:

> It is critical that dissent is not immediately cast as destructive and disloyal and that mechanisms are in place for the discussion of serious concerns. The development of trust is fundamental in any participative system (p.394).

The University of Colorado at Boulder struggles with matters of member involvement, but not for lack of interest. Rather, many obstacles to participation and voice remain.

Training

As I mentioned above, because of the complex nature of obstacles to involvement across a broad range of difference at the University of Colorado at Boulder, training must be evaluated on multiple levels. First, at the individual level, CU-Boulder does have several strong programs designed to address issues of sexual harassment (through the Office of Sexual Harassment Policy), and multicultural awareness (Through the Multicultural Development Team, or MDT) among many others. Many interview participants highlighted the importance of doing this education across campus. Jackson, for one, argued:

> And so I think out of that [awareness that there were problems on campus], a number of addendums to mission statements and campaigns, like the Community Campaign and just, you know, sensitivity trainings, diversity trainings, making some sort of diversity awareness a part of University 101 for Freshman students and just trying to get these issues addressed and let them permeate through various avenues that we have academically, residence halls, student groups, whatever the avenue may be, just trying to exploit and so I think it's been a battle that's taken place on many fronts or at least that's the intent.

Here Jackson acknowledges that there are many avenues on campus "trying to get these issues addressed and let them permeate" the campus. Rick, in particular, emphasized the importance of including staff in training efforts, and extends the notion of 'development' beyond that of training:

> When we talk about student development, we should also be talking about staff development, literally in the same ways. What are the dimensions we want to try to accomplish for staff development and how do we go about doing that? We're not talking about formal programs, but rather here's the culture and here's how our staff operate in development, so how do we lift it up and look at it and get other divisions to do the same thing as well?

In fact, formal trainings have been developed in the last few years that have the potential to really target deeper level cultural issues. Marianne was particularly taken with a recent training session developed for white men:

> I think before there was just a discomfort level, you know, I think Employee Development last year for the first time had or last semester had this white male diversity session, which, I mean, that was something that I think would have been unheard of, you know, a few years ago.

In addition, the focus of the 2001 CACMA diversity summit was on notions of privilege, and shifted the focus to those differences that are often favored and valorized, also marking a notable shift in orientation toward these issues.

While some of these examples highlight both a recognition that training is important, and that it must affect deep-level cultural issues, many obstacles remain to this change. David, who is involved with both sexual harassment training, and with diversity training on campus, bemoaned the fact that the MDT was largely underutilized despite the wealth of experience, and high levels of motivation among members of the team. Furthermore, he indicated that sexual harassment training was not effectively reaching faculty, though it was somewhat better for graduate students. In fact, a new sexual harassment policy was approved by the university in 1999, and While all new faculty are required to attend sexual harassment training to learn about the new policy, existing faculty are not, and because of this concern the Boulder Faculty Assembly Committee on Women recently requested that the BFA develop

one hour workshops that could be given at the departmental level (BFA Committee on Women Motion: BFA-M-3-0400). Even where it is required, however, lack of both rewards and enforcement of the policy may still contribute to low involvement, and therefore poor dissemination of training information.

The Building Community Campaign has begun to try to tackle this challenge by taking a multifaceted approach that combines initiatives aimed at increasing awareness (environmental scanning, CU-Experience, Interactive Theatre) with initiatives designed to foster opportunities for involvement and education in other forums (Retreats, upcoming Discussions and Lecture Series), while also addressing underlying cultural concerns (spearheading the redesign of the disability access, developing the Bias Motivated Incident Response Team, rewarding community involvement, reaching out to faculty, and developing a deliberately multivocal group to meet on these issues). Ella remarked that part of the motivation behind the formation of the Building Community Campaign was precisely this attempt to 'get at the root of some problem':

> I think Building Community really happened because folks were trying to get at the root of some problem and the problem's undefined. I mean it kind of comes out of underrepresented communities in some respects that things had happened on campus, events, occurrences, incidents where under represented groups felt targeted, mistreated. I mean that was the last flashpoint and there was a committee that was put together to look at issues of civility um 'cause that was the buzz at the time, but for some people on that committee on the civility committee, civility wasn't enough it really was about is it more than just surface nice or is it more about the relationships that we share and how we understand what respectful treatment is of members of the community.

Part of the impetus behind my project has been to attempt to unravel that undefined, or under-defined problem. At its root this 'problem' of community has to do with matters of participation and voice, and complex cultural systems that perpetuate

inequities sometimes overtly and sometimes subtly, and it is also deeply about how both voice and culture impact and are impacted by difference. The sections above have demonstrated that the University of Colorado at Boulder is making strides that have the potential to affect some change at the cultural level, but has also identified many remaining obstacles to this change. The section that follows concludes the analytic portion of this dissertation by examining the prospects for this change to be sustained systemically over the long term.

Systemic Commitment to Change

The Building Community Campaign is now in its third year, and is beginning, slowly, to have ripple effects across campus. In all of my interviews with individuals who had had contact with the campaign, there was a feeling that in order to be successful, the BCC, or at least its vision and mission, would need to be sustained. This was not a problem to be solved, but rather a process to be changed. Differences could be seen not as divisions to be overcome but as opportunities for new modes of interaction. As Regina put it "This will never be done. We are not talking about stuff that's going to be done." In addition, several people mentioned the benefit of having issues of climate and culture formally included in the diversity plan (Blueprint for Action, 1999). Despite other concerns about that document that individuals had, the recognition of culture as an area in need of focus was seen as important. Rick also added that the process needed to be not only ongoing, but flexible, stating "I think it's something that's always going to be valid and if we really are very concerned about promoting diversity, it's [our approach is] always going to change."

In addition to feeling that long-term commitment is necessary, many indicated a growing sense of hope that it might be present. Vic noted, for instance, that:

> There is commitment that I really have not seen in probably in the last 10 years or 12 years. There is commitment from the campus, there are, there is much more of a commitment at the Dean's level and at the departmental level.

And, this commitment is beginning to be noticed by some. For one, Marianne was conscious of the fact that resources for change were not only currently available, but had been committed for several years:

> Well, first of all the university has to remain committed to dollars, which I think they are for some time to come.

Nevertheless, skepticism is still comparatively high, and the long history of struggle from which people draw their experience has laid a shaky foundation for future growth. Judd, noted that he was "hopeful but not optimistic and it's primarily because the larger cultural force and the sort of bedrock that we built for ourselves in competition and individual success." David shared a similar outlook as well, though he noted that the saving grace of the Building Community Campaign was its different approach, and its direct emphasis on cultural change:

> My prediction based on the past, is that the Community Campaign will slowly lose steam. People will just sort of slowly dissipate and there will be a core number of people who sort of keep it alive for perhaps a few years, but all that momentum that it generated in the first year will just of sort dissipate, unfortunately. I hope that doesn't happen because what's different about the Community Campaign, it is as I said, it is directly addressing climate on this campus and it's the first time that I'm aware of that that's been done.

Perhaps one of the greatest challenges of long-term change processes, however, is that the meantime remains less advantageous for those currently disadvantaged and the motivation for movement is less at the top than at the bottom. One administrator noted:

> Obviously, this is complex. Obviously, it requires patience. It requires patience in minorities. It requires patience in women. It requires patience in the majority of males because it is not an easy subject. It is at the heart of our existence and we just have to keep working on it.

There is, of course, truth in this. Nevertheless patience comes easier to those already in positions of relative privilege, and the slow pace may further exacerbate already deep feelings of mistrust. The flip side, then, is that feelings of mistrust may also slow change as wariness prevails. Marianne remarked:

> I mean, it has to come from people believing that things are changing. Yeah, well, that's going to take some time because there's a lot of mistrust.

This comment reinforces what we have seen elsewhere: that a pattern of repeated interaction (culture) of low participation, and lack of voice has nurtured an environment where skepticism and mistrust still run deeply across lines of difference. At the same time, we have found that some innovative approaches to change are underway. In each of the five strategy areas outlined above, we found both pockets of strength, and areas of concern. The seeds of change are present, at least in places, but in order to flourish, they will need tender attention. They have been sown in largely infertile soil, damaged by years of tension and turmoil. The greatest blessing, perhaps, are the people who are working to tend the crop. Lance remarked:

> We've better than we deserve to be in a lot of ways, because we have people who simply will do good work because they are enormously talented and committed and because we have them there, we can be better than ourselves without really deserving to be as good as we are. We end up with these wonderfully passionate, caring young people and not so young people on this campus who still believe in it, who still believe in what the University can become, who aspire to a kind of greatness that the University is either unwilling or incapable of supporting and yet they find a way to get it done.

This is, without a doubt, a powerful advantage. However, the prevailing assumption that 'the University' is 'unwilling or incapable of supporting' the good deeds of good

people is a legacy that will need to be confronted if the vision of the Building Community Campaign, and that so many other members of the campus community have expressed is to flourish.

Drawing connections

As we saw in chapter two, there already exists a substantial body of literature that has examined matters of diversity in organizational settings (c.f. Allen, 1995; Cox, 1990; Flood & Romm, 1996; Gregg, 1992; Groth, 1997; Hall, 1992; Kikoski & Kikoski, 1996; Kossek & Zonia, 1994; Kulik, 1998; Nkomo & Cox, 1996; Orbe, 1998; Rinehart, 1994; Swanger, 1994; Sykes & Brown, 1997; Wharton, 1992). Much of this literature examines the production and reproduction of systems of power, and/or examines the influence of socially constructed ideologies on various groups within the organizational setting. This project has sought to address a gap in this literature that infrequently attends to the manner in which organizational 'structures' get enacted in daily practice and to the mechanisms by which such practices may help to produce a climate more or less conducive to the sharing of diverse perspectives (and acceptance of varied backgrounds).

As we saw in our earlier review of literature on 'diversity management' there are many good reasons for tending to matters of difference in organizational contexts (c.f. Chow, 1994; Cox et al., 1991; Cox, 1993; Fine, 1995; Jablin, 1987, Thomas, 1991). At the same time. the presumption that organizational cultures can (and should) be managed and changed (Bate, 1994; Kunda, 1992; Schein, 1992) often places agency squarely in the hands of management. As we have seen throughout this work, the involvement of both leadership and membership is crucial to the

ability of an organization to negotiate a new way of being that values difference. Deetz, Tracy and Simpson's (2000) attention to the importance of participation across organizational levels when attempting to manage the hearts, minds and souls of employees should not be overlooked. Again, if the system that we seek to change is one of power-over (Starhawk, 1988), then beginning exclusively from a managerial position continues to reinforce that system. This project has worked to demonstrate that diversity is not something that can be managed. Rather, difference is an integral part of most contemporary organizations that requires negotiation and adaptation on the part of individual across levels of the organization. This approach assumes that the need for adaptation is reciprocal and ongoing.

This chapter adds powerfully to insights gleaned in chapters six and seven by bringing the lens of difference to bear on my research questions. First, this chapter further emphasized that discourses of 'participation' or 'voice' do function to both reproduce and disrupt existing organizational norms and values. This chapter, in particular, examined how matters of difference impact opportunities for participation to translate into voice. We saw many examples in which either forums were not seen as being available to perspectives 'different' from those supporting the status quo, and evidence that cultural practices continue to reinforce lines of demarcation drawn around difference. We also saw that when one channel for voice is not accessible because of difference, it may find other vehicles for expression.

This chapter also attended more carefully to which differences matter in including, discouraging, or excluding participation in decision-making processes and found that while the lines made visible in chapter seven (student, faculty, staff,

administrators) were important and influential, that the differences that mattered most were often ideological differences, and that space in which conflict could be expressed and explored was not always readily available or accessible. In addition, the examples above also further refined the understanding of "existing organizational norms and values" around matters of participation that was developed extensively in chapter seven. We found that the high degrees of turnover, and perceived lack of interest and investment from leadership has fostered an environment skeptical of change, though still full of people who have courage, and passion, and are committed to cultural change that celebrates and values difference.

Next, this chapter further explored the question of "(How) do members across levels of the organization characterize the university's culture of participation?" By adopting a lens of difference, we found that members of the University of Colorado at Boulder campus have clear ideas about whose input is valued and devalued, and whose voices are reflected in the voice of the organization. We found further, that notions of difference are deeply implicated in discourses of 'community,' and that the notion of building community has a fundamental respect for a wide range of differences at its core. Many of the initiatives of the Building Community Campaign are specifically aimed at addressing deep level cultural change in a way that serves underrepresented interests in unprecedented ways. These, we saw, are uniquely positioned to challenge existing organizational norms and values concerning matters of difference. Finally, this chapter used the five strategies for negotiating difference presented in chapter two to examine practices of the Building Community Campaign as well as of the University of Colorado at Boulder more broadly to identify

organizational practices that foster or inhibit voice. The next chapter works to synthesize the many insights provided over the last several chapters. In doing so, I identify the contributions that this project makes to theoretical, practical and methodological understanding and identify the several limitations of this work.

CHAPTER IX

(RE)CONSTRUCTING COMMUNITY

"The greatness of a community is most accurately measured by the compassionate actions of its members" –Coretta Scott King

The preceding chapters have described the struggles encountered by members of the University of Colorado at Boulder in their efforts to foster an environment in which broad-based participation is valued and celebrated, in which organizational culture reflects these values, and in which difference is valued as a fundamental feature of organizational life. This study has examined, in particular, how each of these characteristics of organizational life becomes implicated in notions building community.

This chapter brings the dissertation full circle by addressing how this work has accomplished what it set out to accomplish. It also points to places to keep pushing the limits of our theoretical understanding. Throughout, I offer cause for remaining optimistic about the possibilities for (re)constructing communities in a way that values difference as a fundamental and generative component. I also emphasize the contributions that this project makes to both organizational practice and to methodological practice and understanding. Finally, I conclude by addressing limitations of this project, and describing rich areas for future research.

Summarizing the Theory

This work began with a set of claims based on the premise that matters of voice, culture and difference are each implicated with one another, and are important components of community as defined and understood by many members of the University of Colorado at Boulder campus. The early chapters of this dissertation demonstrated that communication research has helped bring us a long way toward recognizing that difference matters in organizational contexts (c.f. Allen, 1995, 1996, 2000; Bowser et al., 1993; Clair, 1993, 1994; Collinson & Collinson, 1992; Cox, 1993; Ellis, 1999; Fine, 1995; Foeman & Pressley, 1996; Gregg, 1992; Hall, 1992; Hearn & Parkin, 1993; Houston, 1992; Spradlin, 1998; Thomas, 1991). Existing scholarship has taught us a great deal about how people live, work and interact with people who share different perspectives, values and beliefs (c.f. Andersen, 1993; Buzzanell, 1995Crenshaw, 1997; Carillo Rowe, 2000; Giroux, 1997; Martin et al., 1996; Nakayama & Krizek, 1995). Yet much of our scholarship has continued to use external markers to delineate difference (Andersen, 1993). I have argued that while certain groups have been placed at a disadvantage socio-historically because of these external markers, the value of difference to organization lies beyond these superficial characteristics.

This study suggests that while we have made progress in understanding these issues there remains a long road ahead. While our conflict around matters of difference may be what draws our attention to the need for cultural change, we may also find that in embracing those differences we open up new possibilities for attending to one another where socio-historical practices have long created divisions

out of difference. If we seek a system that recognizes the inherent value of multiple perspectives, "implementing" such change from above may not move us there. While managerial involvement is necessary, the differences that matter to decision-making must be disseminated before the problems are identified. And, resources must be allocated to allow for action to arise out of this process. As we have seen, a forum without voice does not address these underlying issues.

I have suggested that research on both participatory decision-making and organizational culture has demonstrated the importance of voice to strong organization (c.f. Bordenave, 1994; Deetz, 1995b; Kumar, 1994; Stohl, 1995; Stohl & Cheney, 2000; Tannock, 1997; Thomas, 1994; White, 1994). Voice promotes better decisions and fosters investment in and identification with the organizational context (Guzley, 1922; Marshall & Stohl, 1993; Trombetta & Rogers, 1988). Both of these literatures are based on a premise that organizational voice must reflect the differences that matter to an organization. It is because different perspectives are brought to bear on organizational problems that more sound decisions can be made and members may see themselves reflected in the organization.

The literature on 'managing diversity' has also echoed this imperative (Brinkman, 1997; Cox, 1993; Driskill, 1995; Flood & Romm, 1996; Fontaine, 1991; Kulik, 1998; Rinehart, 1994; Thomas, 1991). As we saw in chapter two, however, none of these literatures examine the relationship between voice and difference in a systematic way. 'Diversity management' literature, therefore, calls for participation without providing the necessary tools for developing a climate conducive to voice. This dissertation has worked to articulate a richer understanding of the

interrelationship between these literatures at the theoretical level and has also demonstrated more clearly how each is implicated in the others in practice. Throughout, we found that a forum for participation does not benefit the collective organization or its individual members in the same way that voice does; in order for voice to be possible, forums are necessary, but they are not sufficient. Throughout this dissertation, I have argued that literature on participatory decision-making and organizational culture provide useful tools for reconceptualizing how to negotiate the differences that matter in organization, and have suggested that diversity is not an organizational variable that can be 'managed' in any traditional sense of this word.

Rather, I suggested five elements that are useful as organizational members reorient themselves to the process of negotiating, rather than resolving, difference within organizational contexts. First, organizational assessment is necessary in order to determine the current impact of formal and informal policies and practices on organizational members. Second, support from the top should demonstrate the commitment to change at top organizational levels through the development of a strong vision and distribution of resources to achieve successful and lasting change. Third, member involvement helps to include organizational stakeholders in decision-making processes. If this process is characterized by increased voice it can also improve organizational decisions and promote greater identification across levels of the organization. Fourth, training can foster a work environment that is more valuing of difference and enhance cultural awareness within the broader context of an overarching organizational vision. Important to an understanding of this element, however, is a recognition that 'training' involves more than brief educational

encounters, and must instead become an integral part of the cultural fabric of an organization. And, finally, a systemic commitment to change requires a commitment to long-term change in practices and policies in word as well as in deed. Further, many of these 'elements' must occur concurrently to ensure that forums for participation translate into increased voice. This in turn promotes increased identification. In this way, investment from management is clear, yet it does not drive the change process. Instead, the members of the organization have access to the means of disseminating different perspectives and are able to collectively define the differences that matter and redefine both attitudes and behaviors accordingly. This shift in focus from a top-down paradigm of 'management' to a paradigm of negotiation sets the stage for a more vibrant organizational environment that not only tolerates difference, but values it as a critical and fundamental element of organizational life. The multivocal cultural perspective can draw our attention to the mechanisms that support or inhibit this behavioral shift.

Summarizing the Project

We have seen that a great deal of recent scholarship has both lauded the opportunities that increased organizational participation provides, and pointed to challenges in implementation (Bordenave, 1994; Kumar, 1994; Stohl, 1995; Thomas, 1994; White, 1994). In this study, The University of Colorado at Boulder provided a rich context for more clearly articulating how organizational practices function to create spaces of silence and struggle where organizational input does not translate readily into organizational voice. A more careful examination of the Building Community Campaign also pointed to alternative organizational practices that can

challenge the organizational status quo and transform organizational practice. As we saw earlier, 'Building Community' is an intrinsically communicative process (Adleman & Frey, 1997) that allows us to explore how individual voices do or do not gain legitimacy as organizational voice.

This study demonstrates the double bind that is created when the value of participation is professed by an organization (and participation is equated with voice) on the one hand, and forums that do not permit voice are provided on the other (by preserving systems in which voice can be given or taken away). I suggest that the rhetoric of voice is an important first step for an organization seeking to reap the benefits of participation. More forums may increase the likelihood that voice can occur. Nevertheless, we saw clearly above that forums are insufficient for creating the conditions under which the collective organizational membership reaps the benefits of increased input.

Close examination of the Building Community Campaign provided deeper insight into the processes by which organizational norms are challenged, and more broad-based voice can begin to be affected in organizational contexts. Creating spaces for speech is an important first step, but opportunities for voice are also greatly enriched by an increased emphasis on the importance of listening, and careful attention to making the invisible obvious. This study makes an important contribution to existing literature by putting an empirical face on ambiguous and under-defined theoretical tenets. Many scholars have called for increased participation (Brinkman, 1997; Deetz, 1992, 1995; Cheney et al., 1998; Stohl, 1995; White, 1994; Wood, 1998) and have recognized the paradoxical and problematic nature of participatory

processes in practice (Bordenave, 1994; Stohl, 1995; Stohl & Cheney, 2000). Still others have argued that obstacles to participation, or to organizational change more broadly are both reproduced and challenged at the daily micro-level (Clair, 1994; Deetz, 1998; Deetz et al., 2000; Lewis & Seibold, 1998; Nadesan, 1996, Tretheway, 1997). Few of these pieces, however, demonstrate how effective participation might occur in organizational practice, or how to reap the benefits of participation without falling into the pitfalls of a dialogic imperative. This study takes a first step toward refining and enriching our understanding of this process. Below, I highlight the insights that the data in this study give us into this understanding.

Important Insights

As my methodological and epistemological overview in chapter four would indicate, this study has not been about 'drawing conclusions' or 'presenting findings.' Instead, I have sought to more richly understand the complexity of organizational life as matters of voice, culture and difference intersect and occasionally collide. In order to do this, I presented several research questions at the end of chapter three that I have returned to throughout the analytic section of this dissertation. This section reviews the insights gleaned from data presented in chapters five through eight as they relate to these questions before turning, in the next section, to the theoretical implications of these insights.

The first set of questions I posed sought to more fully understand the interrelationship between voice, culture and difference in organizational contexts. To develop this understanding, I explored how different campus members use these constructs to describe the organizational status quo and various change initiatives

underway on campus. This set of questions was especially concerned with the ways in which organizational discourses privilege or hinder certain outcomes or options in organizational decision-making processes. Since I was interested in if, and under what circumstances, discourses of 'participation' or 'voice' encourage or discourage the inclusion of 'different' voices in organizational practice, my first question asked (How) do discourses of 'participation' or 'voice' function to reproduce or disrupt existing organizational norms and values?

In chapters five through eight, we found that, in fact, discourses of participation and voice may both reproduce and disrupt these existing norms and values. First, we found that in some circumstances, calling for participation may reinforce the status quo by limiting what topics are contestable (as with the Regents 'statement of principles for developing diversity plans'), or by denying agency to those who participate in the decision-making process (this was both evident in the development of the diversity plan, and was cited frequently as an obstacle to organizational voice by campus members in both interviews and in the gallery).

Further, in chapter seven, I used multiple cultural lenses to examine this process in action. In so doing, we saw that as we adopted each cultural perspective in turn matters of voice and participation were cited as contributing factors both in fostering feelings of isolation and alienation (lack of voice) and in promoting an increased sense of connection (through increased participation and involvement). The insights provided by this study further supported both Mumby (1997) and Clair's (1997) contention that oppression and resistance operate in tension with one another. In chapter eight, for instance, we found that matters of difference were deeply

implicated in how organizational participation reinforces or challenges the organizational status quo. In this chapter, we saw many examples in which forums were not seen as being available to perspectives 'different' from those supporting the status quo, and also saw evidence that cultural practices continue to reinforce lines of division drawn around difference. We further found that when one channel for voice is not accessible because of difference, it may find other vehicles for expression.

These insights lend support to recent calls to attend to both practices of domination and resistance (Clair, 1997; Mumby, 1997; Nadesan, 1996; Tretheway, 1997) in working to understand matters of voice and participation in organizational contexts. Further, the evidence presented here suggests not only that resistance may and does occur through informal, unsanctioned, organizational channels, but that in situations where voice is preempted or denied by one authorizing body, other formal, sanctioned channels may arise to give voice to these opposing positions in addition to potential informal or unsanctioned venues that may be adopted and employed.

In exploring this broad question of the relationship between voice and cultural reproduction, I also explored several sub-questions. The first, "whose participation is solicited/required in organizational decision-making processes?" provided inconclusive evidence, but interesting insight nevertheless. First, in chapter six we found that the weight of decision-making authority was legally vested in the Board of Regents. The degree to which 'the will of the board' was able to overrule input by other members of the campus community (including the Chancellor), and the lack of trust among organizational members that the board was either interested in their perspective, or willing to act on their input were pervasive impressions, and

frustrations, across campus. The intent of this question was to examine who is invited to participate in decision-making processes (solicited) and whose presence is institutionally necessary for decisions to be made (required). As we saw in chapter two, the power to include and exclude individuals from decision-making processes reinforces a power-over model of decision-making. The hope was that in examining who is invited to participate, by whom, under what circumstances, we might develop a richer understanding of this process in practice. This study, however, revealed that no clear lines of demarcation exist to answer this question. We did find, however, that norms of inclusion and exclusion become perpetuated in organizational processes and practices and become normalized in organizational culture.

Many of the examples presented in chapter seven, for instance, demonstrated a) that the hierarchical division in the university's culture values the participation of some more than others (differences are not equally embraced or even sanctioned) and b) that an invitation to participate is inadequate when cultural norms, and institutional reward systems encourage participation in some activities more than others. Further, in chapter eight we found that differences matter a great deal in including, discouraging, or excluding participation in decision-making processes and also saw that while the lines made visible in chapter seven (student, faculty, staff, administrators) were important and influential, that the differences that mattered most in determining who was included and who was excluded were often ideological differences, and that space in which conflict could be expressed and explored was not always readily available or accessible.

The next question I asked, "(How) do members across levels of the organization characterize the university's culture of participation?" also provided useful insights into our understanding of the interrelationship between voice, culture and difference in organizational contexts. This question examined perceptions of participatory process, allowing a richer understanding of how organizational cultural norms promote certain forms of dissemination ('open scatter' is not universally acceptable) over others. This understanding provided additional insight into how short-term changes in organizational practice may impact longer-term changes in organizational culture. In chapter six, we found that members of the campus are interested in the future of the institution, have a desire to see their perspectives reflected in the campus culture, and are skeptical that there exists sufficient administrative will (or even support) to implement existing visions.

Several participants whose voices we heard in chapter six suggested that they felt unheard, unvalued, tokenized and unimportant to the organization. Meanwhile, we also saw that members of the administration sometimes bemoaned a lack of participation and involvement among members of the organization. In response to this observation, I suggested that this seeming contradiction suggests not a misunderstanding, but rather a difference in orientation toward the dilemma of participation. In particular, this chapter revealed that forums for input are insufficient as long as members do not perceive that their participation has at least the potential of translating into organizational voice (may fall on hearing ears).

The lenses adopted in chapter seven further demonstrated that the organization's culture of participation was not highly regarded by members of the

campus, and that the challenges raised by participants often spoke to mechanisms of cultural reproduction (such as reward systems, socialization processes that reinforce lines of division and promote impersonality…) that perpetuate a system in which input is seen as undervalued and underappreciated. In chapter eight, we adopted a lens of difference and found that members of the University of Colorado at Boulder campus have clear ideas about whose input is valued and devalued, and whose voices are reflected in the voice of the organization.

The next question I asked responded to the great many calls of recent organizational literature in Higher Education that has addressed issues of voice, culture and difference using discourses of 'community' and 'climate' (c.f. Ambrozas, 1998; Banning, 1975; Barnett, 1994; Bergquist, 1995; Bowser, Aueletta & Jones, 1993; Boyer, 1990), as well as attending to the rhetorical focus of central site of this research, which is concerned with 'building community.' By raising the question "(How) do notions of voice, culture and difference become implicated in discourses of 'community'" I sought a richer understanding of how and why the concept of community captured these interrelationships between voice, culture, and difference for so many people on the CU-Boulder campus.

Chapters six, seven and eight took up each of these elements in turn. First, in chapter six, we found that organizational members invoke notions of participation and voice when speaking about the characteristics of an 'open and welcoming community.' This connection highlighted the fact that even when members talk about 'community' as a thing, a place or a state that might be arrived at, they do so in language that invokes notions of process. As we saw in chapter one, an important

dimension of community is its interactive, relational nature. Here we saw that being able to participate, and having that input translate into organizational voice is often implied, if not explicitly stated in discussions of community at the University of Colorado at Boulder. Next, in chapter seven, I took up the several cultural lenses to explore this question. Here, we found that themes of impersonality and isolation recurred frequently in addressing questions of campus 'climate' and that involvement, caring, and personal interaction were often cited as remedies. In chapter eight, we found further that notions of difference are deeply implicated in discourses of 'community' but that different differences matter differently across contexts.

Finally, my last set of questions sought a richer understanding of if, and if so how, the Building Community Campaign itself has functioned to challenge or support organizational norms and values. By exploring if and when the Building Community Campaign is identified as an agent of change or as part of the status quo this study has worked to more clearly identify the role of the Building Community Campaign on the University of Colorado at Boulder campus. In exploring this question, I first asked "Whose interests are served by the initiatives and practices of the BCC?" In chapter three, I identified these 'interests' as both the stated goals of individuals or groups, and also the less visible sources of power and status available in organizations. In exploring this question, I examined how the practices of the Building Community Campaign support or reinforce existing social locations and also highlighted ways in which positions or norms of power and control may be challenged.

Chapter six spoke to this question by highlighting several mechanisms and initiatives of the campaign (brochure design, environmental scanning, CU-

Experience…) that provided interesting opportunities to exercise voice through alternative, yet also formally sanctioned, organizational channels. Chapter seven then adopted the three lenses provided by Martin (1992) for examining organizational culture, and developed the notion of multivocal culture in greater detail in order to highlight how the Building Community Campaign both functions within existing cultural systems and provides opportunities to challenge the norms and values associated with the existing culture of the organization. Finally, chapter eight demonstrated that the notion of building community as it is used by members of the BCC at the University of Colorado at Boulder has a fundamental respect for a wide range of differences at its core.

I further probed this question by attending more specifically to whether organizational features of the BCC reflect or challenge existing organizational norms and values. To examine this, I attended to 'features' of the BCC such as group composition, nature of meeting structure, decision-making process, types of initiatives, and methods of implementation. Throughout this study we found that while meeting structure (chaired and scheduled by Student Affairs) sometimes created challenges for participation among students and faculty, that the group was also sensitive to the importance of their inclusion and worked to mitigate potential negative effects. Furthermore, we saw that decision-making processes were highly collaborative, and sought to privilege the expression of differing ideas and perspectives.

Many participants in this study also emphasized that the nature of

BCC initiatives and their method of implementation was especially important because of the attention they paid to deep level cultural challenges at the university. In addition, we also saw that many of the initiatives of the Building Community Campaign are specifically aimed at addressing deep level cultural change in a way that serves underrepresented interests in unprecedented ways. These, we saw, are uniquely positioned to challenge existing organizational norms and values concerning matters of difference.

Finally, the last set of major insights provided by examining the research questions posed in chapter three came from comparing and contrasting the practices of the BCC with other organizational practices at The University of Colorado at Boulder in hopes of identifying useful practical information for organizational actors. The question that informed this inquiry, "Can practices be identified that support or hinder the inclusion of different voices in organizational contexts?" was resoundingly answered in the affirmative. First, data presented in chapter six demonstrated that, in fact, a wide range of practices can be identified that support and/or hinder the inclusion of different voices in organizational contexts. In spaces of silence, we saw that whether voices are prohibited from being expressed, or are 'simply' ignored, the relationship between soliciting participation and its inclusion in organizational decision-making processes has far-reaching effects on perceptions of the organization's culture of participation. In spaces of struggle, I further demonstrated that voice is a complicated relational issue that is a function of social location and how the positions from which individuals may speak are positioned in relationship to one another. Here, we found that how invitations to participate are framed, and

rewarded, has a significant bearing on how organizational members exercise their 'right' to participate. If members do not perceive that participation in formal organizational channels will be valued and recognized, then their silence may speak volumes.

In addition, this chapter provided insight into the fact that organizational members may find other venues in which to have voice whether sanctioned (as with including the list of underrepresented groups in the Building Community Campaign brochure) or unsanctioned (as with the Student Affirmative Action Coalition developing their own diversity plan and staging protests at the Regents' meeting). Finally, in spaces of community, I identified several practices of the Building Community Campaign that appear to open space for organizational voice. In addition to those just mentioned, this section highlighted the deliberate and conscientious inclusion of different groups across campus, and outreach to other marginalized groups (such as front-line staff). In particular, chapter six demonstrated that the practices of the Building Community Campaign underscore the importance of creating spaces for speech, learning to listen and, making the invisible obvious.

As we saw throughout chapter six, however, these lessons have not yet permeated the campus culture. Chapter seven, then, further explored the struggles and potential at CU-Boulder in order to more clearly define how organizational culture is produced and reproduced in daily micro-practice. This chapter examined, in particular, how practices that support or hinder the inclusion of different voices in organizational contexts become instantiated in organizational culture and demonstrated that both subtle (values and norms) and overt (policies and practices)

cultural indicators still make it difficult for 'different' perspectives to find voice at the University of Colorado at Boulder. Chapter eight refined this understanding by using the five elements for negotiating difference presented in chapter two to examine practices of the Building Community Campaign as well as of the University of Colorado at Boulder more broadly to identify organizational practices that foster or inhibit voice. All of these insights point to intriguing theoretical, methodological and practical implications of this study. The next section attends to each of these areas of impact in greater detail.

Implications

This study has demonstrated that theories of organizational voice have a great deal to say to organizational practitioners as they navigate an increasingly diverse context. The theory-praxis loop is a reflexive one, however, and theorists would also do well to take heed of implications this understanding may have for theory as well. In addition, the methodological approach taken in this study highlights both the importance of participatory action research in projects of this nature and scope, and provides practical tools for researchers interested in employing such an approach.

The Practical Level

Throughout this study, we have seen that challenges surrounding matters of voice, culture and difference have regular implications for organizational involvement, and organizational commitment. At the practical level, then, organizational leaders and members can take from this study the importance of attending not to each of these items individually, but rather exploring how they intersect. Providing forums for participation is not sufficient if the cultural climate of

the institution sends contradictory messages about the value placed on that participation. The Building Community Campaign provided concrete examples of this sensitivity by working both to translate participation into organizational voice (as with the inclusion of diverse groups in their promotional brochure) and by working to acknowledge and celebrate contributions that are not regularly valued by the 'meritocracy.'

In addition, attending to cultural obstacles to participation, writ large, is not adequate if adequate account is not taken of how a wide range of differences are defined and reproduced in cultural discourse in such a way that the voices of some members are more routinely devalued and disregarded than others. Here, both retreats and environmental scans have deliberately and conscientiously taken up these questions in the interest of raising awareness. Nevertheless, some voices continue to be less represented than others at BCC meetings.

These insights have far reaching and complicated implications for organizational life. Clearly many of the challenges, and changes recommended here require a substantial and long-term commitment of resources, and also require reclaiming sometimes long-accepted institutional norms as available topics for discussion. Arguing that greater faculty involvement is needed, recognizing that obstacles to that participation exists in the form of existing reward structures, but refusing to open up that existing structure for debate is a vicious circle that will not come easily to resolution. This, in fact, speaks to one of the great challenges of participatory systems identified in this study. As long as potential areas of conflict are quieted through discourses of 'consensus,' 'collaboration,' or even 'majority rule,'

change will be slow and difficult. None of this, however, suggests that standards should be eliminated, or that discord should be unequivocally embraced. Instead, it suggests that by recognizing the intricate and complex intersections between matters of voice, culture and difference, organizational practitioners will need to develop practices that can value differences of opinion, facilitate space for the constructive expression of those dissenting opinions, and carefully examine the underlying features of organizational culture that make change difficult even when there is widespread agreement about problems with the status quo. The next section examines the implications of this work for our understanding of theory in these areas.

The Theoretical Level

First, given the insights of this study, theories of voice should be more attentive to the diversity inherent in the organizational contexts to which they refer. Theories of voice often imply difference, but in practice organizational actors grapple with specific differences in specific socio-historical contexts. Second, until now, theorists have done well to acknowledge obstacles to participation and voice and have described the mechanism whereby such obstacles may be reproduced, but again have not done enough to develop the effect that this may have on the climate of difference within the organizati[illegible]. This work points to a pressing need to develop this understanding more fully.

This study also makes a significant contribution to existing literature by putting an empirical face on ambiguous and under-defined theoretical tenets. Many scholars have called for increased participation (Brinkman, 1997; Deetz, 1992, 1995; Cheney et al., 1998; Stohl, 1995; White, 1994; Wood, 1998) and have recognized the

paradoxical and problematic nature of participatory processes in practice (Bordenave, 1994; Stohl, 1995; Stohl & Cheney, 2000). Still others have argued that obstacles to participation, or to organizational change more broadly, are both reproduced and challenged at the daily micro-level (Clair, 1994; Deetz, 1998; Deetz et al., 2000; Lewis & Seibold, 1998; Nadesan, 1996, Tretheway, 1997). This study supports this existing body of work, and extends it by arguing that difference is central, not peripheral, to questions of organizational voice, and that a cultural lens is extremely useful for understanding how, why and in what manner obstacles to participation become paradoxical and problematic.

In addition, this work contributes to our understanding of organizational culture by advancing the notion of multivocal culture. Martin's (1992) three perspectives on organizational culture are richly heuristic, and lead to important insights when each is adopted in turn. As we saw in chapter seven, however, there are additional elements of culture that may come into focus more clearly when a multivocal lens is adopted. Specifically, the multivocal lens allows a richer understanding of organizational practices that uphold a celebration of difference as a core value.

As figure 7.3 highlighted, this model also helps us to understand the challenges inherent in discussions, deliberations and debates about difference. On the one hand, as organizations celebrate difference, organizational ambiguity may decline as difference becomes uplifted, yet as 'the valuing of difference' is increasingly foregrounded, the lines between a multivocal understanding and an integrated one, in which members are all expected to value and celebrate the same differences in the

same or similar ways, becomes blurred. While not the focus of this project, this contribution also has the potential to speak powerfully to existing debates and controversies surrounding discourses of diversity and 'political correctness' by making more visible the organizational practices that support and inhibit the voicing of difference.

Finally, this project extends and refines an understanding of the process of 'diversity management' by challenging the top-down orientation of such an approach and carefully articulating notions of voice, culture, and difference with one another. This process yielded five useful strategies for understanding the process of negotiating difference in organizational contexts. In chapter eight we saw the importance of widespread organizational assessment to understand the particular dilemmas facing a particular organization; the simultaneous involvement of both leadership and membership in supporting and affecting change; the crucial importance of training at both individual and cultural levels; and finally of systemic commitment to a long-term change process. Each of these insights reveals that voice, culture, and difference are deeply implicated with one another in organizational life.

The Methodological Level

This project also makes meaningful contributions at the levels of epistemology, methodology and method. First, at the epistemological level, this study demonstrates the complexity involved in questions of (re)presentation (Alcoff, 1991; Allen, Orbe & Olivas, 1999; Denzin, 1997; Ganguly, 1992; Spivak, 1988). As we saw in the gallery, and throughout chapters six, seven and eight, this study addressed issues of concern to members across levels of the organization. Furthermore, because

an administrative office funded the project, I often had to work, as researcher, to remain true to critical, and feminist commitments while also being conscious of the need to provide information that was of use to those funding the project.

At the methodological level, this project speaks especially to the value of conducting participatory action research in organizational change initiatives. In a project as long-term as this one has been, remaining a 'disinterested observer' over the term of the project would neither have yielded better information, nor would it have served the interests of research participants. In fact, part of the value of my presence has been my ability to carefully document and record the progression of the campaign, and then to feed it back to participants in ways that is both meaningful and transformative. In fact, this project involved multiple strategies aimed at addressing concerns about (re)presentation, while also being sensitive to the time-intensive nature of participatory research.

These strategies provide several contributions at the level of method. First, the process I used in recorded meeting contexts has been an invaluable tool for soliciting feedback during the early stages of analysis while also contributing to group productivity. In this case, I found that deep level participation in the group under study was an invaluable analytic tool. As I took on the responsibility of documenting and attempting to synthesize the ideas and perspectives of group members I found that as I fed that information back to the group, in recorded sessions, I was able to capture their collective critique of early interpretations on tape in a way that then allowed for close comparison over time of the group's evolving identity. In this way,

many organizational members had an opportunity to engage in a critique of early analytic constructs as they evolved while simultaneously conducting group business.

In addition, having the opportunity to give environmental scanning presentations across campus allowed both for richer data to be collected, and for this research to have an impact on organizational actors. The changes underway to modify the disability access are but one example of the potential implications and applications of this approach. Furthermore, having the opportunity to develop programs such as the gallery event provided regular opportunities to get ad hoc feedback from campus members who were entirely unaffiliated with the organizational process of the Building Community Campaign while my research was also contributing to increased awareness around matters of voice, culture and difference on campus.

Each of these three methods allowed for the collection of richer data by including multiple and at times conflicting voices; permitted invaluable feedback and participant checking throughout the reflexive process of collection and analysis; and did both of these in a way that did not impose additional or undue time constraints on participants. Because the meetings recorded were regularly scheduled meetings, and because the artifacts introduced furthered the accomplishment of organizational tasks, this opportunity for feedback both strengthened this research project and provided useful logistical support to the group. Because each meeting was recorded, I was also able to be attentive to more voices in each subsequent iteration of the documents being revised. In the case of both the environmental scanning presentations, and the gallery event, participants attended voluntarily and while their feedback enhanced my

research, the research itself opened spaces for dissemination of differences that allowed conflicts and tensions to be voiced. Below, I highlight several additional implications of this work before turning to future directions for this and other research projects.

Additional Implications and Future Directions

In addition to these implications at the levels of practice, theory, and method, this project also speaks peripherally to several areas worthy of further mention. First, this work has demonstrated that voice, culture and difference are often implicated in discourses of community. While the emphasis of this project has been to understand the organizational practices that encourage, discourage and inhibit voice; reproduce or disrupt cultural norms and values; and suppress or celebrate difference, an entirely other dissertation could be written from this data around notions and implications of community more specifically. Indeed, as I mentioned early on, my original intent was to take this focus.

In particular, this work hints at the challenges inherent in confounding notions of community and difference. The development of a perspective that attends to multivocal culture demonstrates, for instance, the possibility that 'difference' may begin to be obliterated as 'community' becomes defined as a celebration of difference within and according to certain parameters. In the long run, this work suggests that as broad-based voice becomes sacrificed in the name of 'community,' its unifying potential will, in fact, dissipate as slippage between understanding of multivocal and integrated culture occurs. Further work in this area is warranted to unpack these

distinctions in greater detail and more carefully explore the implications that this has for understandings of 'community.'

In addition, this work suggests that the process of 'building community' in fact takes place at multiple levels. Scholars who attend more closely to this dimension of community may benefit from an increased sensitivity to the intersection of matters of voice, culture and difference in the process of producing and reproducing community in practice. In all, the sections above highlight several valuable contributions of this work and point to several relevant areas for future study. At the conclusion of my interview with Judd, he remarked:

> I think the interview was very enjoyable and thorough. I can't imagine what you're going to do with it at all, but fortunately, I don't have to worry about that, but I do care about it.

There have been moments, to be sure, when I have looked at the volume of data that was collected for this project and not been able to quite imagine what I was going to do with it all either. As I indicated above, at least one more dissertation could likely be written from the data collected, and I look forward to growing to know other facets of it better in coming years. As I engaged in the reflexive process of collection-analysis-theorizing, however, I came to feel that what I most cared about, for the purpose of this project, was a careful examination of how and why existing literature on voice, culture and difference provided only incomplete understandings of what I was observing in this setting. The section below explores the limitations of the particular (re)presentation that I have chosen before turning to final conclusions and recommendations.

Limitations, Conclusions, and Recommendations

First, as I have alluded to on several occasions, the scope of this project has been quite large. I have been able to complete it in the manner in which I have largely because of the good fortune (and hard work) that provided me with funding for this project for the last 18 months. Because there is only one of me, and because this is a project unlike any that I had previously undertaken there were invariably times when potentially useful or relevant information was lost either because I was not sensitive to it, or because I couldn't be in all places concurrently. A project such as this would have benefited greatly both from the additional stamina, and from the additional insights of a research team, though the in-depth close familiarity that I have had the opportunity to develop may have been sacrificed for the additional human power.

Next, many of the same dilemmas and paradoxes that face participatory decision-making also affect participatory research. While the many strategies I described above to encourage and solicit feedback throughout the process proved tremendously useful in overcoming some of these challenges, I have never achieved the ideal of engaging each of my research participants in a more extended discussion about their contributions and my interpretations. Providing my participants with a copy of this study on disk did allow them an opportunity to review my interpretations, offer additional insights (as Jake chose to do), and to chose their own pseudonyms if they desired (as Lance did). Nevertheless, follow-up interviews might have been preferable in some cases.

In addition, it is clear that the participants in this project do not represent all members' perspectives at the University of Colorado at Boulder. Though I have endeavored to compensate for these absences through textual analysis, and by drawing on other research that attended to these absent populations more specifically, the scope of this project simply excluded additional contributions. I hope to examine the implications of these omissions more carefully in future projects arising from this data.

Finally, this study's location in a university context mitigates somewhat the potential applicability to more corporate organizational sites. There is ample precedent in the literature for looking at organizational practices in university contexts, however (c.f. Ambrozas, 1998; Barnett, 1994; Bergquist, 1995; Bérubé & Nelson, 1995; Boyd, 1999; Boyer, 1990; Perkins, 1973) and the potential of this work to inform understandings in other contexts should not be overlooked.

Despite these limitations, this dissertation has developed a richer understanding of the interrelationship between matters of voice, culture and difference and the implications of these for organizational practice, theory, and method. In addition, the development of the multivocal cultural perspective extends and refines our ability to examine cultural phenomena in organizational contexts. And, the strategies for negotiating difference provide organizational actors with useful tools for addressing daily organizational interaction. Further, this contribution also speaks powerfully to potential contributions to our understanding of notions of 'community' that warrant further exploration.

This dissertation opened by quoting Boyer's (1990) contention that "the goal of human discourse must be to both speak and to listen with great care and seek understanding at the deepest level" (p.23) and has gone on to demonstrate just how critical this is, particularly in an ever-diversifying organizational context. By tending to the importance of both 'spaces for speech' and of 'learning to listen' we find that deep understanding can emerge in organizational practice as we attend more consciously to practices that 'make the invisible obvious.' This project has been stimulating, challenging and thought provoking for me as a researcher. I hope that the evidence presented here will give pause to practitioners and scholars alike as they grapple further with these questions in context.

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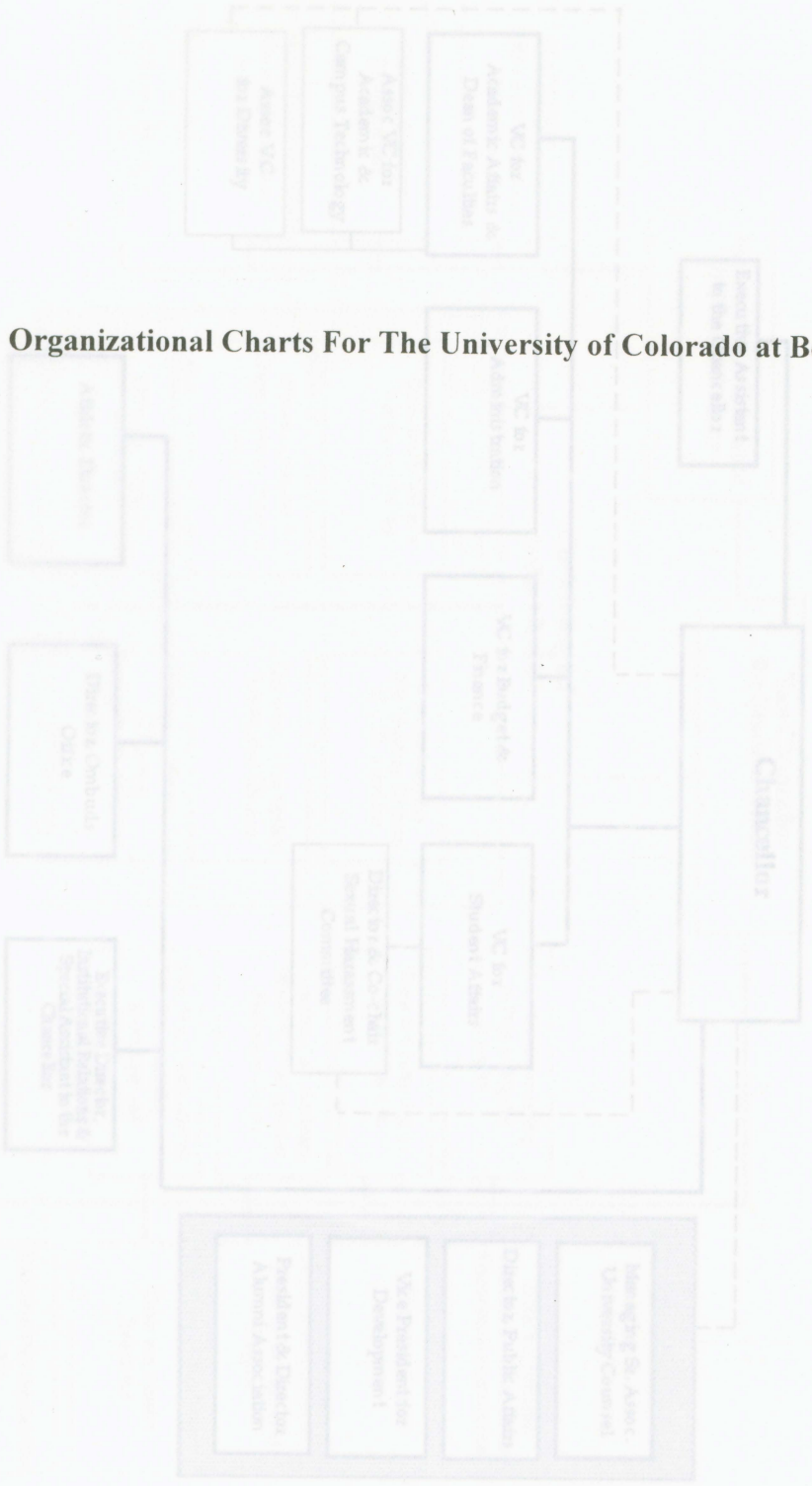
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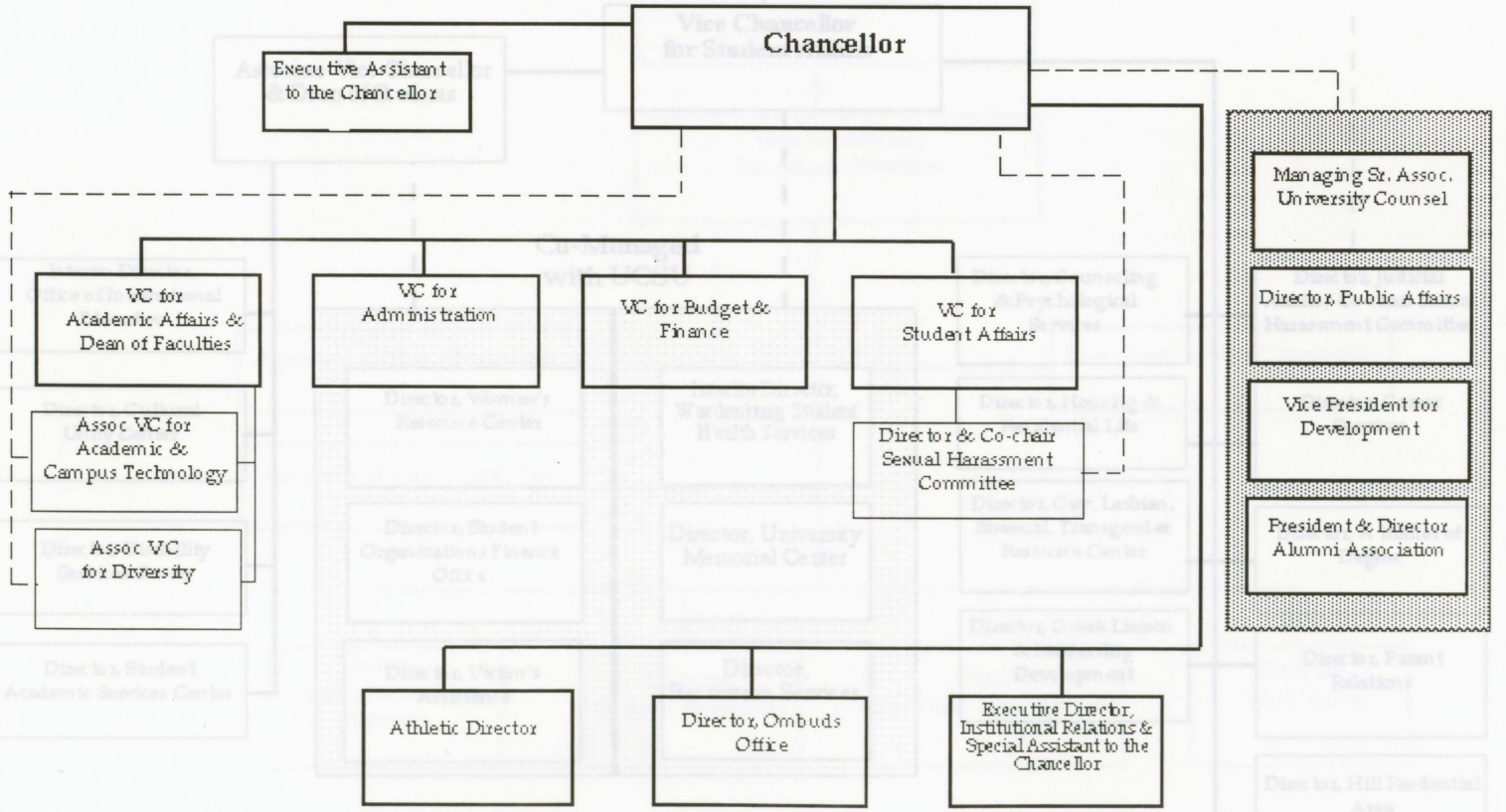
APPENDIX A

Organizational Charts For The University of Colorado at Boulder



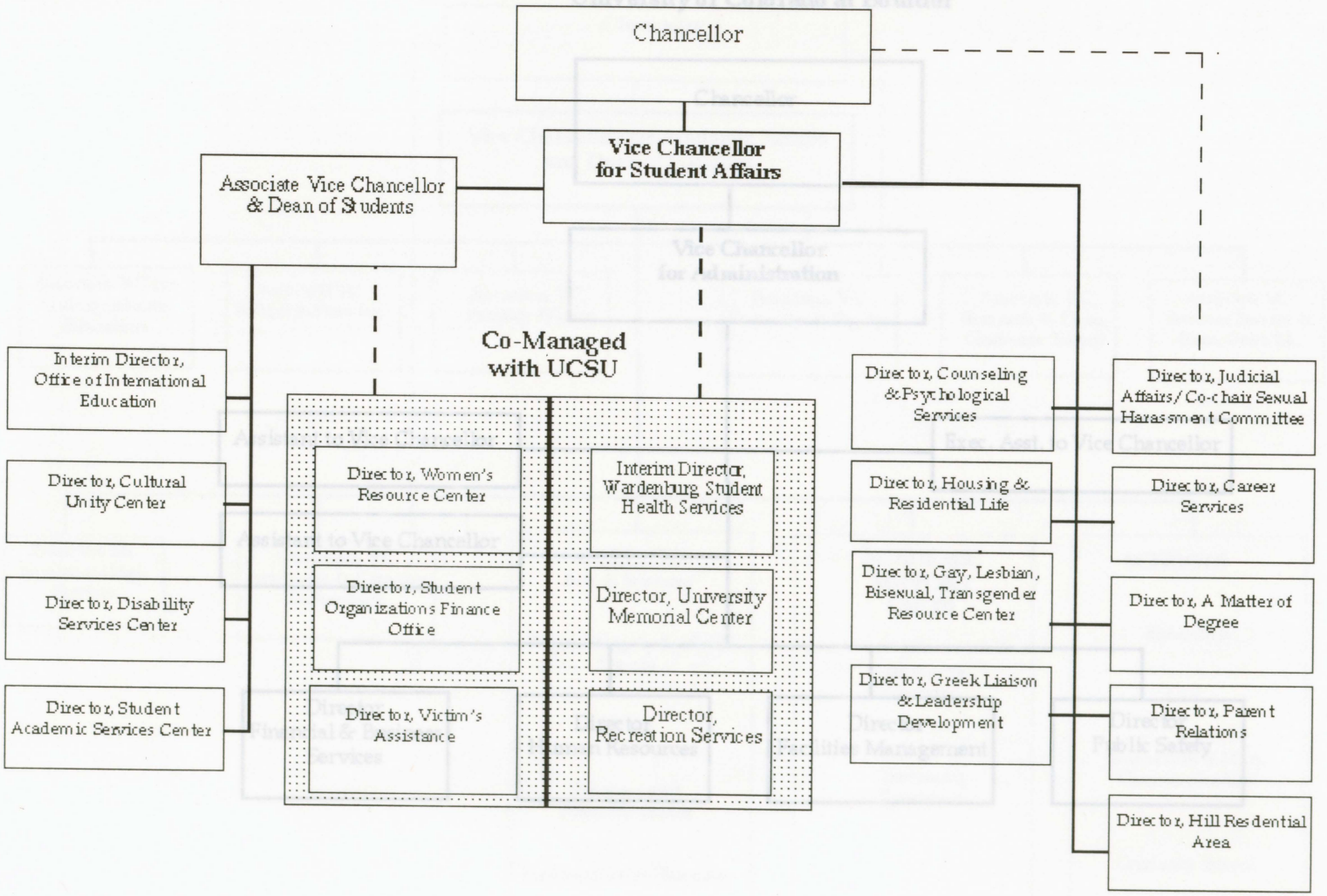
August 2, 2000

Offices of the Chancellor
The University of Colorado at Boulder



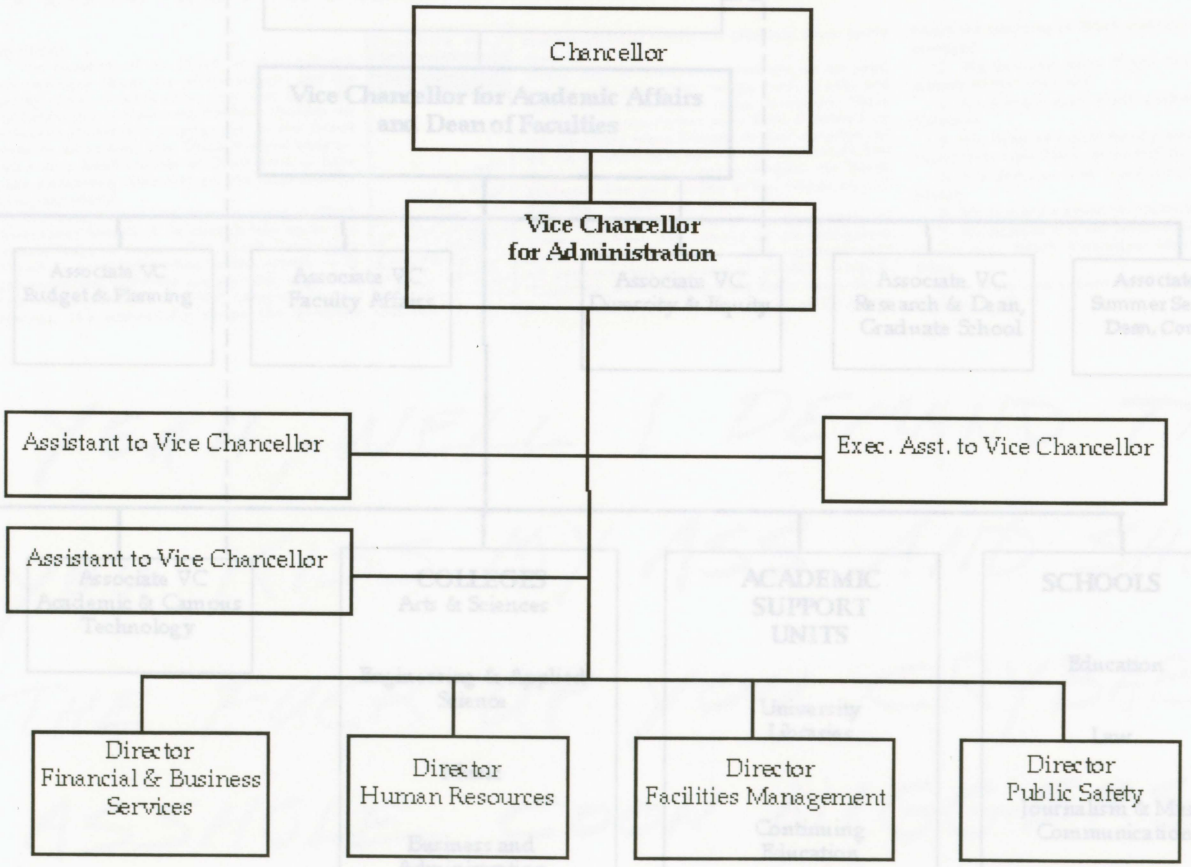
August 2, 2000

Vice Chancellor for Student Affairs
University of Colorado at Boulder



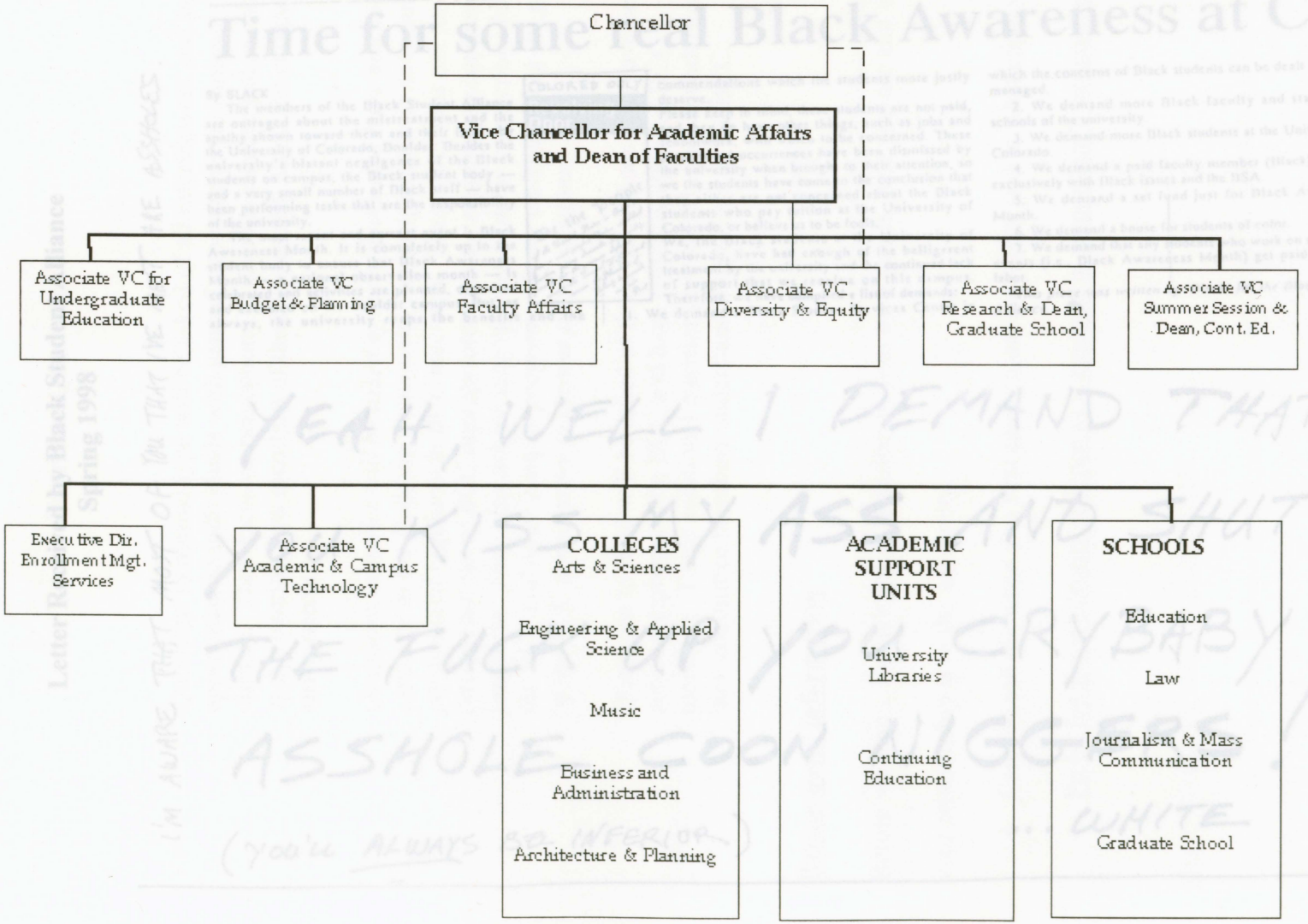
May 10, 2000

Vice Chancellor for Administration
University of Colorado at Boulder



August 2, 2000

Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs & Dean of Faculties
University of Colorado at Boulder



Letter Received by Black Student Alliance
Spring 1998

Time for some real Black Awareness at CU

By BLACK

The members of the Black Student Alliance are outraged about the mistreatment and the apathy shown toward them and their issues by the University of Colorado, Boulder. Besides the university's blatant negligence of the Black students on campus, the Black student body — and a very small number of Black staff — have been performing tasks that are the responsibility of the university.

The most recent and current event is Black Awareness Month. It is completely up to the student body to ensure that Black Awareness Month — a national observation month — is celebrated and activities are planned, organized and executed on the Boulder campus. But, as always, the university reaps the benefits and the

commendations which the students more justly deserve.

Please keep in mind, these students are not paid, and they do have other things, such as jobs and schoolwork, with which to be concerned. These perpetuated occurrences have been dismissed by the university when brought to their attention, so we the students have come to the conclusion that they either are not concerned about the Black students who pay tuition at the University of Colorado, or believe us to be fools.

We, the Black students at the University of Colorado, have had enough of the belligerent treatment by the university and the continued lack of support that we receive on this campus. Therefore, we have compiled a list of demands:

1. We demand a Black Student Services Center in which the concerns of Black students can be dealt with an managed.

2. We demand more Black faculty and staff in al schools of the university.

3. We demand more Black students at the University Colorado.

4. We demand a paid faculty member (Black) to wo exclusively with Black issues and the BSA.

5. We demand a set fund just for Black Awarene Month.

6. We demand a house for students of color.

7. We demand that any students who work on universi events (i.e., Black Awareness Month) get paid for the labor.

This piece was written by 'Black' for the Black Stude Alliance.

I'M AWARE THAT MOST OF YOU THAT I'VE MET ARE ASSHOLES.

YEAH, WELL I DEMAND THAT YOU KISS MY ASS AND SHUT THE FUCK UP YOU CRYBABY ASSHOLE COON NIGGERS!

... WHITE

(YOU'LL ALWAYS BE INFERIOR)

APPENDIX C

Interview Questions

Key: Questions in normal type will be asked of all interviewees and are appropriate to individuals with general exposure to the campus climate. They focus on perceptions of campus climate and are aimed at discovering how members of the campus talk about the campus environment.

Questions in Italics will be asked of individuals who have had some exposure to the Building Community Campaign but who have not participated regularly in BCC meetings. These questions ask for interpretations of BCC appropriateness as a response to campus problems. They also ask for interviewees to draw connections between the BCC and other campus programs. Some understanding the goals of the BCC is necessary to answer these questions.

Questions in Bold will be asked of those individuals who have been active members of the BCC and have regularly attended BCC meetings. These additional questions are aimed more at understanding how committee members understand the process of the BCC.

Background information

Before we begin, I'd like you to describe, in your own words, who you are and what your relationship is to the university.

- Can you tell me when you first came to the university and in what capacity?
- Probe for group-identity salience as it emerges in respondent's vernacular.

Campus Climate

The first thing I'd like for you to describe for me is your sense of the campus climate or environement.

- Start with your own experience if you would: what is it like to work/go to school here?

Are there any specific examples you can give me to illustrate this?

Have you noticed any changes over time?

If you had to describe the campus climate to a prospective (student/faculty member/ employee), how would you describe it?

- Here probe for descriptions to all groups that the respondent might have occasion to engage in this description to/with.

I'd like for you to think about your own personal experience again for a moment if you would:

When things are going really well, how would you describe a typical day to a close friend or family member?

- How are things different when they aren't going as well?
- Which of these days is more typical of your experience here?

In your time here, what kinds of programs or projects have you seen the university implement to affect the campus climate?

- Can you describe these projects a little bit?
- Which of these seem to have worked well?
    - What seems to separate the ones that work from those that don't?

The Building Community Campaign

Are you familiar with the Building Community Campaign? (if not raised above)

- For individuals who have no familiarity with the BCC I will share a BCC brochure with them and use the information that it provides them with to follow up with the other questions below.

Transition: I'd like to spend some time now focusing specifically on the Building Community Campaign project (that you mentioned above/that you've been involved with in X capacity).

Can you tell me what your first contact was with the Building Community Campaign?

- *How did you first hear about it?*
- *When did you first hear about it?*

Next I'd like to talk a bit about how the Building Community Campaign ties in with other projects on campus.

- *Are there other campus projects that you see as being related to the Building Community Campaign?*
- *Which ones?*
- *Why do you see them as related?*
- *How are they related?*

The next thing I'm interested in is how the Building Community Campaign has gotten its message out. Don't worry if you can't answer all of these questions, I'm equally interested to know what you have heard and what you haven't

First, can you tell me whether you have a sense for what the goals of the Building Community Campaign are?

Next, I'd like to know whom you identify with the Building Community Campaign. "Who is" the campaign?

If the Building Community Campaign is successful in meeting its goals, who do you think will benefit the most?

Next, I'd like to shift gears a bit and talk about perceptions of the campus climate as they relate to community. Several campus surveys have indicated that students often complain about the lack of community feeling on the CU campus.

In your own experience at CU, is there anything in particular that you can identify about the climate that might contribute to a lack of community feeling?

What kinds of things in particular seem to stand in the way of community?

- What changes could be made to have the greatest effect on this?
- Who would be responsible for making these changes?
- Why did you pick this person (these people)?
- Why do you think that these things would have the greatest effect?

Now I'd like to turn things around a bit and ask you if there are particular things already in place that seem to create a greater sense of community at CU?

- Who has been most responsible for putting these things in place?
  - What have they done?
  - Why is this so important?
- Do many people know about these acts/people?
  - Why/why not?

**Ask only if not continuing to sections 4.

Finally, I'd like to ask for your general reaction to all this talk of community.

Is this an important issue for the campus to be focusing on?

- Why or why not?

Is there anything else you'd like to add?

Thank you for your time, if you're interested in my findings, please let me know and I can make those available to you.

Perceptions and understanding of BCC committee procedures and culture

(Additional questions for regular participants in BCC committee meetings)

**** Transition from section three. Finally, since you've participated in meetings and chaired them at different times, I'd like to ask a few questions about the process that has gotten the campaign to where it is.**

First of all, if you had to describe this campaign to someone from another school who was interested in developing a similar project, how would you describe it?

- **What advice would you give them about where to start and how to 'build community' on their campus?**

Next I'd like to ask some questions that are more specific to the meetings themselves.

Can you tell me how you see the meetings and the campaign as being related?

The next questions I'd like to ask are about how the meetings are organized.

- **How would you characterize the meetings (are they formal, informal, directive, collaborative….?)**
- **How does the Building Community Campaign define problems?**
- **How does the Building Community Campaign make decisions?**

- **What influences your choice of how to help facilitate these types of meetings?**
- **What is most effective about this format?**
- **What is least effective?**
- **Do any of these things seem to move things along or slow them down?**

Based on everything that we've discussed so far, do you see an end point to this campaign?

- **How would the BCC know that its work was done?**

Based on the goals and challenges that we have talked about which of these goals do you see the BCC accomplishing in the next 5 years?

I'd like to wrap things up by having you reflect specifically on your own involvement in the campaign and in the meetings.

Thinking back, is there anything in particular that stands out as important that we haven't touched on?

- **What are some key moments that stand out for you (what would we put in the 'highlights' video?).**

Thank you for your time, I'll be sharing my findings with the committee, but if you're interested in a more thorough report, let me know and I can provide that for you.

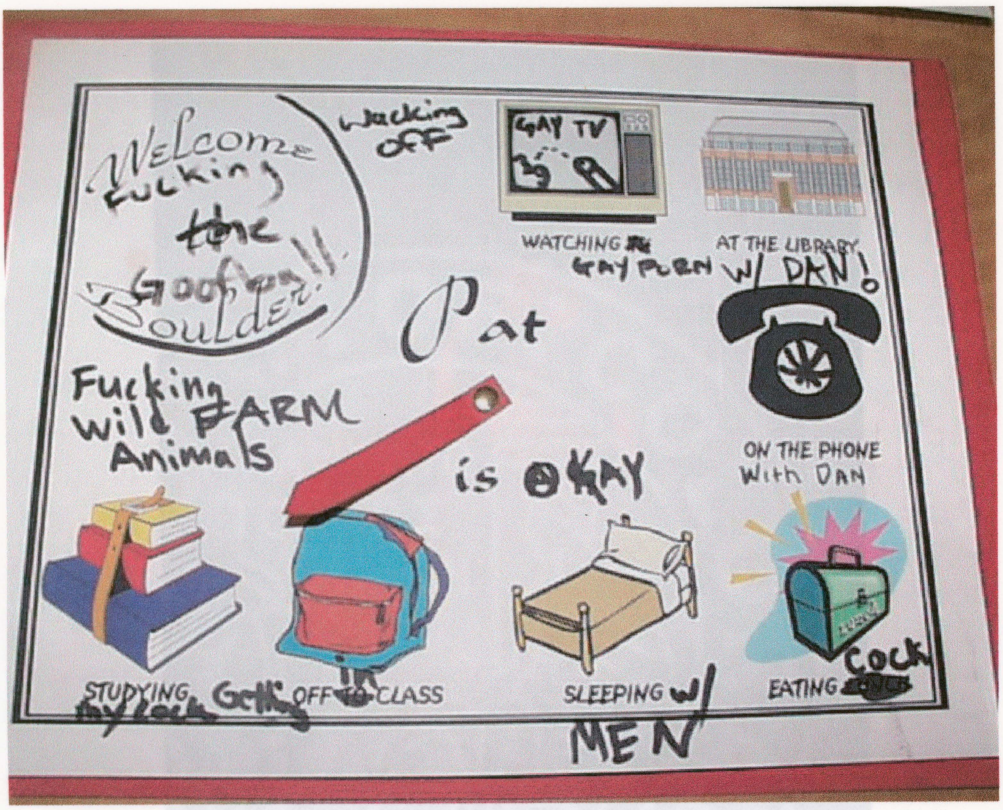
APPENDIX D

Access to Disability Services



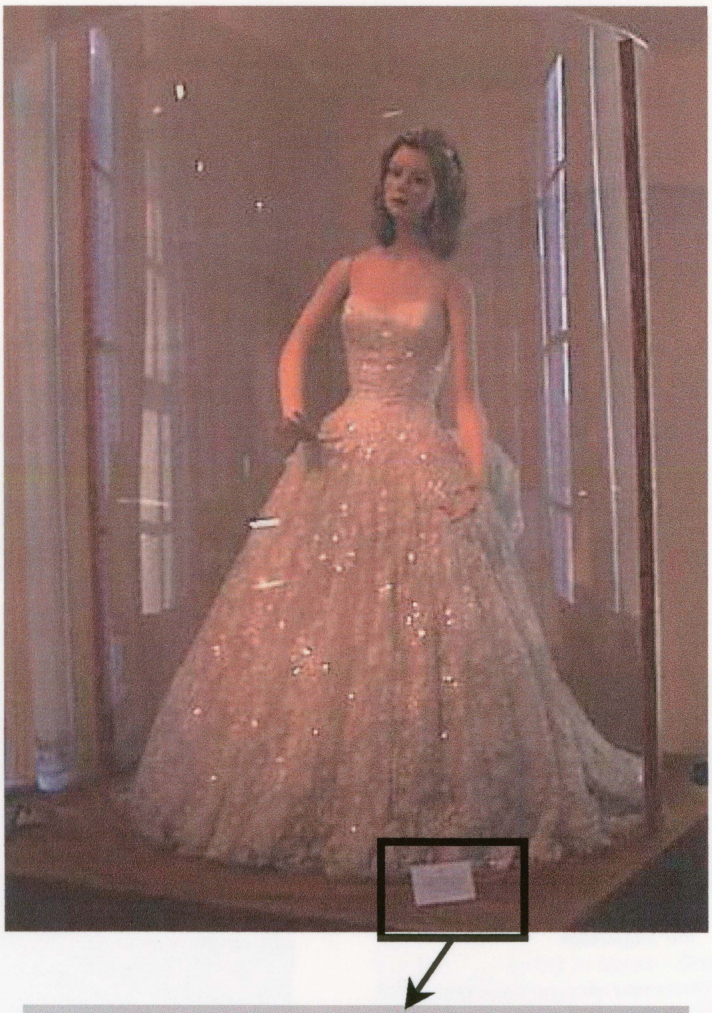
APPENDIX E

A Residence Hall Door. Spring 2000.



APPENDIX F

On Display in CU's Heritage Center February 21, 2000



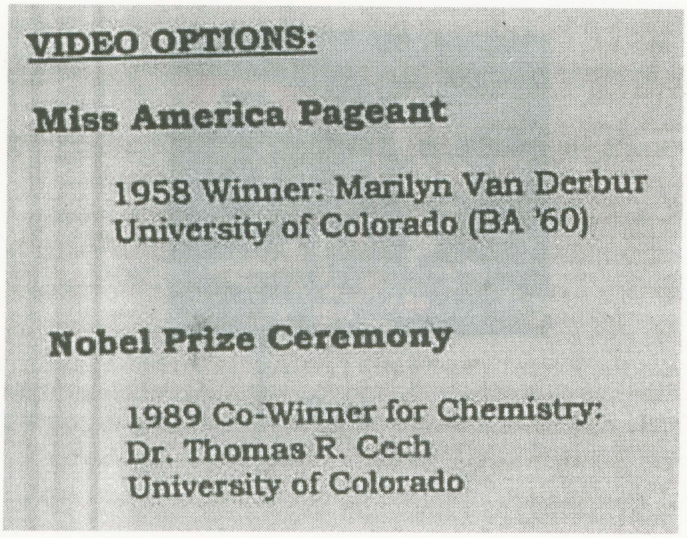
Dress

One of two official dresses worn by Marilyn Van Derbur during her reign as Miss America 1958.

On loan from: Colorado Historical Society

APPENDIX G

Video Options at the CU-Boulder Heritage Center February 21, 2000



APPENDIX H

Astronaut Room at the CU Heritage Center February 21, 2000



Book

