



PCMA

WORKING PAPER SERIES

**BEYOND TOLERANCE: BUILDING
COMMUNITY AND VALUING DIVERSITY
PCMA Seminar Series 1991-1992**

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PCMA WORKING CRSO WORKING
PAPER #37 PAPER #492
March 1993

**The Program on Conflict Management Alternatives
at The University of Michigan**

THE PROGRAM ON CONFLICT MANAGEMENT ALTERNATIVES

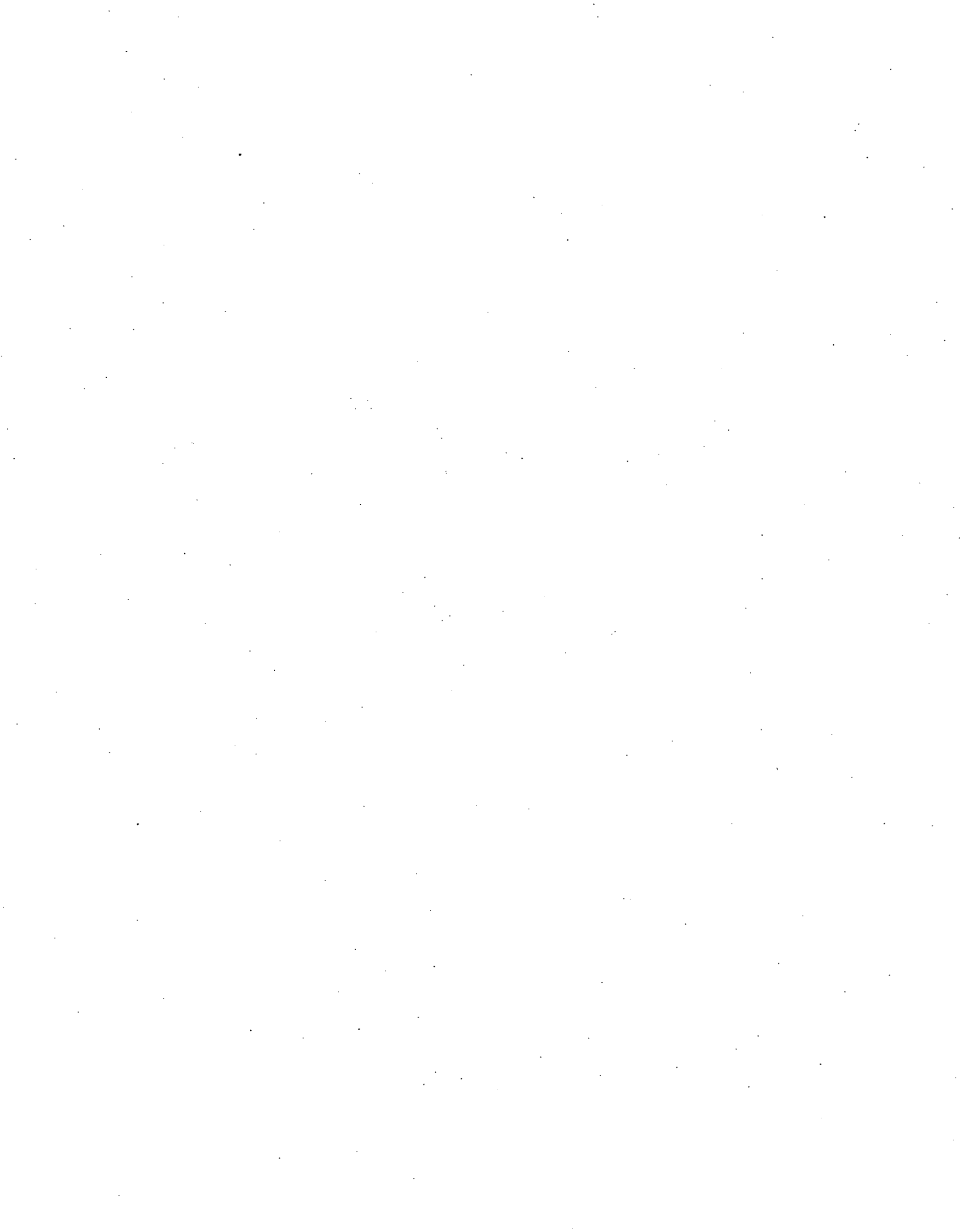
The Program on Conflict Management Alternatives was established in January, 1986 by a grant from the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, and additional funds from the University of Michigan. These basic grants were renewed in July, 1988 and again in July, 1991. The Program supports an agenda of research, application, and theory development. PCMA also establishes links among other university research and teaching efforts relevant to conflict management alternatives, and maintains liaison and collaboration with similar efforts in other Universities and Practitioner agencies. The Program staffers own work focuses explicitly on the relationship between social justice and social conflict, specifically: (a) the use of innovative settlement procedures and roles for disputants and third parties; (b) the institutionalization of innovative mechanisms and the adoption of organizational and community structures that permanently alter the way conflicts are managed; and (c) the fundamental differences and inequalities between parties that often create conflict and threaten its stable resolution.

We examine these issues primarily in United States' settings, in conflicts arising within and between families, organizations and communities, and between different racial, gender, and economic constituencies. These specific efforts are supported by a variety of research and action grants/contracts with governmental agencies, foundations, and private and public organizations/agencies.

The Program in Conflict Management Alternatives is housed within the Center for Research on Social Organization, College of Literature, Science and the Arts, Room 4016 LS&A Building, Telephone: (313) 763-0472.

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**Beyond Tolerance:
Building Community and Valuing Diversity**

**PCMA Seminar Series
1991-1992**

Beyond Tolerance: Building Community and Valuing Diversity

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**Beyond Tolerance:
Building Community and Valuing Diversity¹**

**PCMA Seminar Series
1991-1992**

Introduction: The "Beyond Tolerance" Seminar Series

Each year the Program in Conflict Management Alternatives conducts a seminar series which explores some aspect of social inequality as a root of conflict, and the management of conflict to work toward more just social relationships (see Appendix A for a description of PCMA and a list of seminar participants). This working paper is a synthesis of the 1991-92 seminar series which explored diversity within organizations and communities. Discussion topics grew out of a desire to explore further themes and issues raised during the 1990-91 seminar series on multiculturalism.² Readings, discussions, presentations by guest speakers, and analysis of the dynamics of the seminar group were used to examine barriers and opportunities for moving toward diverse collectives.

During the fall semester, seminar sessions focussed on the development of structures and processes which both recognize difference and strengthen or maintain a sense of community. The semester began with a discussion of patriarchy as a power structure which shapes and limits the participation of women in community processes. We then moved to an exploration of the politics of community and difference as discussed within political and legal

1. Sincere thanks to Sharon Sutton and Helen Weingarten for their comments on earlier drafts of this paper. The working paper represents the contributions of PCMA faculty and guest speakers who organized and facilitated the seminar series: Alex Aleinikoff and David Schoem conceptualized the seminar series and provided the overall structure; Monica Johnson provided administrative support and saw to it that seminar participants were well nourished; Libby Douvan, Helen Weingarten, Alex Aleinikoff, David Schoem, Mark Chesler, Jim Crowfoot and Sharon Sutton each facilitated one or more seminar sessions during the year; and guest speakers Maria Ramos, Rudy Alvarez, Ellen Bravo and Tom Gerschick contributed to our discussions through informative presentations and fresh perspectives. Finally, the PCMA members who participated in the discussions throughout the year provided the material on which the working paper is based.

2. See "On The Road to Multiculturalism," PCMA Working Paper #33, 1992.

theory, followed by a session which focussed on individual and group difference. A discussion of the work of critical theorist Jurgen Habermas on communities of discourse, and the relevance of this work for the field of social justice, was followed by a discussion of diversity and community within organizations.

The second semester began with a series of presentations by guest speakers, each of which was followed by group discussion: 1) sociologist Rudy Alvarez from the University of California, on equity and social change; 2) organizational consultant Maria Ramos, on multicultural development within corporate settings; and 3) Ellen Bravo, co-director of Nine To Five, the National Secretary's Union, on sexual harassment in the workplace. Seminar participants attended a campus lecture by feminist theorist and writer bell hooks, then met to discuss ideas presented in her talk. Sociologist Tom Gerschick provided an overview of men's movements, followed by a critical discussion. The remainder of the seminar sessions focused on alternative processes and visions, and included a dialogue among women of color and white women and collective work to create visions of alternative futures.³

Throughout the seminar series, discussants considered the following core questions:

- how do we support or maintain diversity within community?
- what are the limits of identity politics and how do we create dialogue across groups?
- how do we work on these issues in both abstract and personal language?
- how do we effect individual and organizational change?

This working paper draws upon and synthesizes the discussions outlined above, and includes material from seminar readings, presentations by guest speakers, lectures attended by the faculty, and dialogue among the seminar participants.⁴ The paper begins with a

3. Seminar readings for each session are outlined in Appendix B.

4. Throughout the paper, material drawn from published works is referenced in traditional manner and material presented by guest speakers is indicated by the speaker's name and the presentation date.

framework for dialogue and social justice which is grounded in the work of critical theorist Jurgen Habermas and feminist theorist bell hooks. The framework is followed by: 1) a progress report which examines the current status of communities, organizations and movements with respect to tolerance and diversity; 2) a discussion of barriers to moving beyond tolerance; and 3) an exploration of alternative processes for moving toward collectives which support diversity. A final section outlines possible next steps in the process of moving beyond tolerance.

Creating A Framework for Dialogue and Change

Critical social science theorists focus on the identification of processes which justify and perpetuate existing social inequities. They examine changes in critical understanding of these processes by those engaged in and affected by them, and attempt to understand both legitimation and resistance to inequitable systems.⁵ Philosophers and theorists within this critical school have explored the relationship of race, culture, gender, class and other social characteristics to lived experience and the understandings of experience. This body of work offers a foundation for the critique of inequitable social systems and the construction of liberatory and inclusive processes that are the focus of PCMA's work.

Legitimacy, Truth and Ideal Space

Central to critical theory is an understanding that power asymmetries or inequities produce distortions in interactions: those with more power dominate interactive processes while those with less power attempt to protect themselves.⁶ Asymmetries and inequities may be institutionalized within accepted forms of social organization, where they are protected against challenge and change by their perceived legitimacy. Jurgen Habermas has considered the conditions

The remainder of the text is a synthesis of discussions in which members of the seminar group participated.

5. See B. Fay (1987) for discussion of the foundations and underlying assumptions of critical theory.

6. See M. Harman and R. Mayer (1986) for a discussion of these processes within organizations.

under which social processes and structures are accepted as legitimate, the relationship of legitimacy to truth, and the conditions under which previously legitimized institutions become contested and challenged.⁷ Habermas argues that some type of consensus or agreement is necessary if a social order is to be accepted and considered legitimate, and distinguishes between pragmatic, normative and rational forms of consensus:

With *pragmatic* consensus, people accept a political order, for example, as legitimate because they see no realistic alternative to it or because it would be dangerous not to lend it their support. With a *normative* consensus, people accept, give their allegiance to, and internalize, widely shared normative standards that pertain to the political order. Because both pragmatic and normative consensus may be what Habermas terms "forced", it is necessary to introduce a third type of consensus, one concerned with the relation of legitimation to truth: rational consensus. A rational consensus is a consensus arrived at by people who are free and equal.⁸

Therefore, a social order may be considered legitimate on the basis of any of these three types of consensus. However, to determine the relationship of the consensus to truth, it is necessary to examine the conditions under which the consensus exists. This requires challenging the consensus within an 'ideal speech' situation, defined as:

... that form of communication that is removed from contexts of experience and action and whose structure assures that the bracketed validity claims of assertions, recommendations, or warnings are the exclusive objects of discussions: that participants, themes and contributions are not restricted except with reference to the goal of testing the validity-claims in question; that no force except that of better argument is exercised; and that, as a result, all motives except that of the cooperative search for truth are excluded.⁹

According to this framework, a rational consensus emerges through dialogue among diverse individuals who are interested and invested in solving a problem, and whose interactions are not distorted by

7. J. Habermas (1975), Legitimation Crisis, cited in D. Phillips (1984).

8. D. Phillips (1984), p. 77.

9. *ibid*, p. 79.

domination. Each individual offers a different perspective based on a particular life experience: these perspectives come together to create theory which is more rich and complete - and therefore more 'true' - than any individual perspective. The consensus which emerges through dialogue reflects both the perspectives and the communication process itself. To the extent that subgroups are restricted in their participation or influence, or power asymmetries otherwise shape the discourse, the truth or theory which emerges will be limited.¹⁰

The conditions for ideal speech are a critical standard against which to measure the legitimacy of a social order. These conditions are not currently realized in decision processes in the United States and, as Phillips (1984) points out, may not be realizable. The conditions for ideal speech offer instead a methodology for arriving at "practical consensus" about the validity of accepted norms. These standards suggest a need to work toward processes in which communication can occur undistorted by power differentials or other constraints. Only through such processes can a consensus be attained which reflects the experiences and the interests which are common to diverse social groups. When communication occurs under conditions which do not approach ideal speech, consensus reflects the interests of those with access to greater social power and the relationship of the consensus to the truth is distorted.

The concept of undistorted communication has implications for theories of social justice and the processes used to attain or approach equity. A social justice perspective emphasizes awareness of processes which work to suppress or discredit some groups while favoring others. In an 'ideal space' status or power differentials are not allowed to influence the dialogue. Within social systems characterized by asymmetrical power relationships, ideal spaces must be explicitly anti-racist, anti-sexist and anti-classist. The emergent truth is shaped only by the abilities of the participants to present their perspectives in a convincing manner. However, language itself can be power, and those who are more facile or adept at

10. See D. Ingram (1985) and D. Phillips (1984) for more in-depth discussions of Habermas and his conceptions of attaining truth through dialogue.

argument may influence the dialogue disproportionately. Habermas' theoretical work has been criticized as too "academic and utopian", for its failure to articulate a plan through which the theory can become truly practical as a catalyst for social change.¹¹ A more dialectical framework which incorporates many of the basic principles introduced by Habermas, but seeks to integrate them with practice, is offered by feminist literary critic and theorist bell hooks.

Choosing The Margin¹²

bell hooks grounds her work in a critical analysis which recognizes the potential of social theory to promote the interests of powerful social groups - to legitimate and justify inequitable social systems. Positivist approaches to social science emphasize objectivity and separate theory from lived experience and the subjective interpretation of that experience. hooks notes that the separation of theory from practice obscures the theoretical frameworks which underlie and drive oppressive processes: it becomes difficult to recognize the connections between the practices of oppression and the theories in which they are based and legitimated.¹³ As a result, even when oppressive practices themselves are challenged, the underlying theoretical frameworks remain and give rise to new forms of oppression.

Frameworks and processes which integrate theory and practice are necessary to allow these connections to be articulated. This integration facilitates the construction of oppositional theories which support liberatory action.¹⁴ Theory which is practical, connected to lived experience, and linked with social change efforts can be developed through face-to-face or written dialogue. Face-to-face dialogue has the advantage of immediacy, allows exchange among several individuals simultaneously, and provides information through both non-verbal and verbal channels. Face-to-face dialogue also

11. See B. Fay (1987), p. 31-33; see also D. Phillips (1984), p. 84-85.

12. From the title of an essay by bell hooks, "Choosing the Margin as a Space of Radical Openness," in Yearning: Race, Gender, and Cultural Politics (1990).

13. From a presentation by bell hooks at the University of Michigan, February 20, 1992.

14. bell hooks, February 20, 1992.

excludes those who are unable to be present, and may not allow for the depth of reflection possible through written materials. However, dialogue through written materials has its own disadvantages. It can be time consuming, with delays for publication or distribution of materials, risks censorship, and can exclude those who are illiterate or otherwise unable to attain access to the dialogic process.¹⁵ For example, much scholarly debate occurs through publication in professional or disciplinary journals which are read by a select few and generally not distributed through mainstream media or non-written channels. Not only is the audience limited in this dialogue, but the range of perspectives represented in the dialogue is limited as articles are screened for acceptance.

Even with such limits, collective theorizing can become a form of social activism as it promotes the construction of alternative interpretations of experience. Theory created through dialogue can emerge from non-literate or semi-literate communities and become an important source of theoretically based change outside of academic communities, especially when different forms of communication are incorporated. Through dialogue and everyday conversation this process incorporates the experience of groups excluded from traditional processes of theory building and becomes a tool for the development of critical consciousness.

Forums which approximate the conditions of ideal space offer opportunities for dialogue among groups which have not previously engaged in non-hierarchical communication and problem solving. The concept of *praxis* - a dialogic process of action and reflection - links liberatory theory with the practice of social change. Spaces which allow for dialogue and action among diverse social groups can provide the basis for a liberatory theory which incorporates the varied experiences, perspectives and gifts of these groups, and ultimately create a more complete, or more 'true' liberatory theory. To the extent that some groups are procedurally excluded from the

15. See D. Phillips (1984), citing Pettit, for a discussion of collective consensus (through face-to-face dialogue) or distributive consensus (through agreement with a distributed statement).

dialogue or have no influence (are not heard), the emergent theories of social justice will be partial and limited.¹⁶

Traditional academic disciplines have been criticized for the exclusion of marginalized groups from theory-building processes. The margin can be an important place for the creation of critical or alternative theories. Women's studies and African-American studies programs have been on the forefront within the academy in creating marginal spaces which encourage previously excluded groups to reflect on and theorize about their experience. "Liberatory education" which occurs through the integration of theory and practice enables those whose lives and perspectives have been excluded or discounted within traditional academic models to become engaged in theory building. Theorizing within such a context becomes a process of discovering what human experience is and what it means, and can be a process of healing and growth for previously excluded groups.¹⁷ Building theory in this way is a radical idea within academic settings, and encounters resistance from more traditional or conservative groups. Marginal communities which provide support for alternative processes of theory building are essential to the construction and maintenance of an academic community which moves beyond tolerance for difference.

PCMA has also attempted to create a marginal space within the university to engage in critical analyses of social justice and social conflict, to create theory which is grounded in the experience of the participants, and to encourage different forms of verbal and non-verbal communication. This working paper draws upon dialogue among this group of activist-scholars whose academic work reflects their commitment to social justice and equity. Underlying the discussions is the assumption that (lack of) tolerance for difference is an issue not of culture or gender, but of power (which is often distributed inequitably along the dimensions of race/ethnicity, gender or class). This assumption underlies the emphasis in the preceding section on power differentials and their effect on collective processes, communication, and ultimately on social justice. It also is reflected

16. For further discussion of the practice of creating liberatory theories from a feminist perspective, see bell hooks (1984, 1989).

17. bell hooks, February 20, 1992.

in the following section, which considers systems of dominance within communities, organizations, and social movements, and implications for the attainment of more just social systems.

A Progress Report:

Where Are We With Respect to Tolerating Each Other's Differences?

Social systems shape relationships among groups through both formal and informal processes. These processes may be accepted as legitimate or contested, and may support intolerance or promote collaborative and egalitarian interactions and decision making among diverse subgroups within the system. Processes and assumptions which influence the extent to which difference is valued and supported, as well as the extent to which power differences are acknowledged, are explored in this section. Diversity within communities, organizations, and social movements can be conceptualized along a number of dimensions, including race/ethnicity, culture, gender, class, age and sexual orientation. The seminar on which this paper is based explored primarily the dimensions of race/ethnicity, gender and class, and that focus is reflected in the following discussion.

The Diverse Community

Communities within the United States, whether defined by geographic boundaries, organizational goals, or commitment to social change, are complex and varied. Definitions of community which emphasize connection and commitment without recognizing difference and complexity are overly simplistic and can suppress the expression of subgroups in the community. Within communities conflicting perspectives and experiences are articulated and negotiated through processes which in turn shape the participation and influence of various groups. To the extent that these processes are dominated by one group the dialogue becomes monocultural and does not reflect the diversity within that community. Procedures for decision making currently in place in most communities in the United States have not been developed equally by all subgroups of the population, but have rather been shaped disproportionately by those who have had greatest access to social and economic power. Historically these have been

European-Americans, and within this population those who are male and economically advantaged have had the greatest power. Once in place, processes reflect the interests of their creators and perpetuate existing inequities by excluding or discrediting oppositional perspectives.¹⁸

However, community processes which are developed collaboratively do not ensure inclusivity. Guided by the framework outlined in the preceding section, seminar discussants considered potential measures of whether a multicultural community "works". The extent to which a community avoids two extremes is relevant: 1) a failure to recognize difference (or an assumption of homogeneity) and the corresponding failure to establish processes which include different voices in dialogue; and 2) the development of identity groups with rigid boundaries which focus so exclusively on the interests of that group that they are unable or unwilling to engage in dialogue with others. A "working" multicultural community maintains a dynamic equilibrium which recognizes diverse groups with different interests while emphasizing the interconnectedness of these groups and the interests they have in common. To maintain equilibrium, members must also recognize and address the impact of extra-community forces which have the potential to frustrate dialogue and hinder development.

Multiculturalism has been understood and used in forms which emphasize communication across differences but which fail to recognize that differences occur within a context of oppression and privilege. Once this framework of inequality is made explicit, it becomes apparent that multicultural dialogue must be anti-racist, anti-sexist, and anti-classist in both content and process. This is a fundamental aspect of creating 'ideal spaces' which explicitly recognize and address inequalities which distort communication and action.

18. For a discussion of the institutionalization of gender inequities in law, see C. MacKinnon (1987). For a shortened version of MacKinnon's discussion, see C. Whitman's review of her book (1988). See also T. Morrison (1992) for an analysis of the institutionalization of race and gender inequities and their reflection in social decision making processes.

Bernice Reagan conceptualizes communities as coalitions of diverse groups with some similar and some dissimilar interests, and recognizes that vital communities are never conflict-free.¹⁹ She suggests that the development and maintenance of multicultural communities requires opportunities for public interaction that promote connection and at the same time allow underlying conflicts between groups to emerge and to be addressed. To the extent that the processes which are in place for decision making, negotiation and communication within a community are hierarchical, they create distortions in interactions. These distortions influence whether and how the interests and perspectives of subgroups are incorporated into decision-making processes.

Two related trends within U.S. communities work against the development or maintenance of public places where diverse groups can meet to interact, attain an understanding of the issues common among them, and address underlying sources of conflict. The income gap between the richest and the poorest groups in the United States increased substantially during the 1980s.²⁰ Economic programs and policies promoted during this period increased the income of the wealthiest one-fifth of the population, while those in the lowest one-fifth dropped. High unemployment and a trend toward hiring temporary and part time workers exacerbated these differences as more unskilled workers and their families are without health and other benefits generally associated with permanent full time employment. These trends, combined with the deterioration of low and moderately priced housing stock, also contributed to rising homelessness in urban communities.

While a few corporations have placed limits on the difference in wages between management and non-management workers, competition for upper level managers contributes to a general climate in which top level executives receive substantial wage and benefit packages while workers are increasingly hard pressed to maintain current wages and benefits. In contrast, other industrial countries such as Japan, Sweden, Norway and Denmark have set upper limits on incomes,

19. B. Reagan (1992).

20. See for example D.L. Bartlett and J.B. Steele (1991).

decreasing income discrepancies and allowing those countries to invest in national health care and other systems which benefit the entire population rather than a select few.²¹

Related to increasing income differentials is a trend toward segregation of communities by class, and in at least some communities, by race.²² Middle and upper income residents, as well as corporations, migrate to suburban areas, contributing to the destruction of rural communities and the isolation of low income populations in the inner city. The movement of jobs from inner city areas to the suburbs has left those without transportation jobless and unable to afford to move closer to employment opportunities.²³ One outcome of this physical separation is that there are fewer opportunities for dialogue and daily interaction across class and race. Members of different groups do not interact extensively enough in forums where power differentials are addressed to forge a common understanding of the complex structural forces which influence their relative positions and related social problems.

Linked with this increased separation is a failure to explore common interests in understanding and addressing systemic social problems which contribute to the impoverishment of some and the extraordinary enrichment of others. Instead groups fall back on attributing blame to others, and in the process absolve themselves from responsibility for creating a common solution. The systemic and interrelated nature of social inequities is obscured, and the processes which work to create wealth for some and poverty for others remain unaddressed.

Power, Patriarchy, and Participation in Organizations

Patriarchy in its wider definition means the manifestation and institutionalization of male dominance over women and children in the family and the extension of male dominance over women in society in general. It implies that men hold

21. This material is drawn from an informal presentation by Rudy Alvarez for PCMA in January of 1992.

22. See for example Darden, Hill, Thomas and Thomas (1987).

23. See for example W.J. Wilson (1987) for a discussion of the spatial mismatch of employment opportunities and unemployed workers.

power in all the important institutions of society, and that women are deprived of access to such power. It does not imply that women are either totally powerless or totally deprived of rights, influence and resources.²⁴

Patriarchy as a system of dominance has been explored, deconstructed, and challenged by feminist and other critical theorists. These analyses contribute to insights gained by the study of other legitimized systems of dominance, for example those based in race or class, in which institutionalized power asymmetries also distort interactions among groups or individuals. In patriarchal societies domination is eroticized, and sexual and other forms of physical intimidation are used to reinforce power differentials based in gender. Violence against women, violence against children, sexual harassment, and hate crimes directed against members of ethnic or religious groups or against lesbians and gay men are all manifestations of efforts to enforce systems of dominance. These systems also permeate organizational structures and processes.

Most public and private organizations in the U.S. are grounded in a rational model of organizational structure which emphasizes efficiency and control, rewards competition and individualism, and discourages collaborative and participatory processes as inefficient and ineffective. Organizations, and particularly organizations engaged in public administration, are perceived as furthering the interests of the population as a whole, while in reality they more often promote the interests of a few power holders at the expense of non-elite individuals within the organization and the general public. It can be difficult to perceive patterns of power and domination within organizations because of the fragmentation of tasks and responsibilities. Critical analysis helps to expose these patterns as well as the distortions in communication and interaction which result.²⁵

Bureaucratic organizations have been granted widespread legitimacy as systems of social domination, in part because the

24. G. Lerner, cited in G. Morgan, Images of Organizations, (1986) p. 239.

25. G. Morgan (1986).

rational model with its emphasis on efficiency and productivity has been so widely accepted. Gareth Morgan suggests that this model of organizational structure parallels patriarchal family structures, and that "(p)atriarchy operates as a kind of a conceptual prison, producing and reproducing organizational structures that give dominance to males and traditionally male values."²⁶ He elaborates further:

In the view of many writers on the relationship between gender and organization, the dominant influence of the male is rooted in the hierarchical relations found in the patriarchal family, which, as Wilhelm Reich has observed, serves as a factory for authoritarian ideologies. In many formal organizations one person defers to the authority of another exactly as the child defers to parental rule. The prolonged dependency of the child upon the parents facilitates the kind of dependency institutionalized between leaders and followers, and in the practice where people look to others to initiate action in response to problematic issues. In organizations, as in the patriarchal family, fortitude, courage and heroism, flavored by narcissistic self-admiration are often valued qualities, as is the determination and sense of duty a father expects from his son.²⁷

Organizational rewards for competitive behaviors, with their undertones of violence, continue despite the impact of these actions on a sense of community or connectedness among subgroups within the organization or external groups affected by the organization. Corporate culture as well as the dominant U.S. culture encourage individuals to derive a sense of self worth from material acquisition and competitiveness. Those who do not exhibit a win/lose competitive orientation may not be rewarded within the context of their organization, disadvantaging women and men whose socio-cultural backgrounds emphasize collective or collaborative efforts. Social change efforts which challenge the culture of competitiveness and value collective or collaborative efforts can evoke powerful resistance from those who have been socialized within hierarchical systems which reward competition.

26. G. Morgan (1986), p. 211.

27. G. Morgan (1986), p. 211.

Affirmative action programs are one example of attempts to challenge institutional processes which exclude or limit participation by white women and by women and men of color. White men whose previous relatively secure and privileged positions have been challenged by the increasing diversity of the work force have reacted with anxiety and often with resistance to affirmative action, and resistance has increased as opportunities for employment and advancement have declined in a shrinking economy.^{28,29} Attacks on affirmative action programs were legitimized by leading political figures in the 1980s who undermined these programs through legislative efforts or political appointments that neutralized their effectiveness.

In addition to increasingly vocal resistance to affirmative action, systems put in place in the 1970s to address sexual harassment in the workplace have been progressively dismantled. Sexual intimidation reinforces power differentials within organizations and interferes with women's advancement and productivity in the labor force since some women may choose to leave a position in order to avoid continued harassment. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission developed systems to address sexual harassment in the 1970s. Throughout the 1980s leaders were appointed who were not committed to their implementation, and staff reductions impaired the ability to function effectively.³⁰

Despite the dismantling of these systems, some individuals and organizations continued to develop organizational environments that explicitly value diversity. Within some organizations, an early emphasis on hiring members of under-represented groups (affirmative action) shifted to a concern with the development of systems which are more representative of the goals and interests of diverse groups. Systems which explicitly value diversity cherish, seek to learn from, and utilize differences which arise from broader representation. Furthermore, some organizations have worked to build understanding of

28. See L. Duke (1991) for one discussion of white men's reaction to workforce diversity.

29. Rudy Alvarez, January, 1992.

30. Ellen Bravo, February, 1992.

oppression and privilege, and have actively incorporated anti-racist, anti-sexist and anti-classist agendas.^{31, 32}

Change is often initiated by subgroups or individuals within larger organizations who create alternative spaces to promote perspectives not supported in the larger institution. To draw on an earlier example, African-American studies and women's studies programs have created spaces within universities for the development of oppositional knowledge and theory. These critical perspectives have challenged institutional procedures and assumptions which promote or support intolerance, albeit from a position of intellectual privilege.

Movements for Social Change: Identity, Politics and the Politics of Identity

Groups which share a common social characteristic, such as race/ethnicity, class or gender, often organize for social change on the assumption that they share similar life experiences and therefore similar political interests. Grassroots movements such as the civil rights and women's rights movements have been important forces for social change rooted in shared identity and a common agenda for social justice. Yet an emphasis on commonality can also work to suppress or deny different perspectives and experiences within those groups and emphasis on differences between groups can obscure interests held in common across groups.

Race/ethnicity and gender identities are very complex and run the risk of becoming defined in simplistic and rigid terms under highly politicized circumstances. Recognition of the complexity of race means moving beyond discussions of 'the' Black community toward discussions of diversity and difference between and within communities.³³ Similarly, theorizing about the privilege associated with some social characteristics moves toward a more complete understanding of oppression and the different 'knowledges' held by community subgroups. As bell hooks points out, theorizing about "whiteness" and "maleness" and the freedom that these characteristics

31. Maria Ramos, January 1992; Jim Crowfoot, December 1991.

32. M. Chesler and J. Crowfoot (1989); USDA Forest Service (1991).

33. bell hooks, February 20, 1992.

allow in our social order is essential to better understand the complexities of race and gender.³⁴

These complexities have begun to be explored by feminist scholars and activists. Feminist movements from the late 1800s often promoted the interests of white, economically privileged women while devoting less attention to issues more salient to working class women or women of color. Feminist scholars in the 1960s and 1970s sought to illuminate commonalties among women and to develop a theory of women's experience and women's oppression.³⁵ More recently, feminist scholars and activists have considered differences among women's experience by class, race, age and position in the world system. This has contributed to more complex understandings of systems of oppression and privilege based in class and race as well as gender.³⁶

A more recent identity-based phenomenon has been the emergence of men's movements. These movements promote a variety of agendas, including: the expansion men's life options beyond the role of wage-earner; addressing injustices that men experience as a result of limited and constraining conceptions of masculinity; spiritual growth; examination of privileges and power associated with normative conceptions of masculinity; and ways in which men are rewarded differently by race, class, age and sexual orientation for their compliance with norms of masculinity. Some of these agendas - particularly the men's rights movement - reflect men's resistance to increasingly diverse social systems and can be interpreted as an attempt to regain control by asserting that men too have been oppressed.³⁷ Other men's movements reflect efforts to examine men's role in systems of oppression, to understand how those roles have damaged white men as well as women, men of color, gay men, men who are differently-abled and men of lower economic status. They are part of

34. See bell hooks (1990).

35. For a discussion of this effort, see the Personal Narrative Group (1989).

36. For discussions of differences among women with respect to race and class in the U.S., see Bonnie T. Dill (1988) and Leith Mullings (1992). For an analysis which explores race and class as they shaped women's experience in Nazi Germany, see Bock (1984).

37. See K. Clatterbaugh (1986) for a discussion of men and oppression, exploitation and alienation.

a process of relearning social roles and re-creating a new identity which is less grounded in the oppression and exploitation of those who are not white, male, heterosexual, and economically advantaged.

Men's movements have been criticized, as have women's movements, on the basis of their predominantly white and middle class membership, with limited representation of men of color, men from lower income groups, gay men or men who are differently-abled.³⁸ This critique is clearly relevant to the framework outlined earlier in this paper. To the extent that dialogue within the men's movement is not inclusive of men of different classes and ethnicities the understandings developed within these movements will be partial. They will also be limited by the absence of women's voices. However, to the extent that they are inclusive of, and encourage reflection among, men in positions of social power, they provide a forum for men to examine their identities and fundamental assumptions and to reshape these identities as more inclusive and less hierarchical.

Summary

This brief discussion of communities, organizations and movements indicates a wide range of processes which affect tolerance and diversity, and the extent to which they are present. Disparities of wealth and income are increasing with a corresponding increase in segregation of communities along economic and racial lines and declining opportunities for dialogue across groups. One result of this process is a disinvestment of those privileged by race and income from the problems confronted by vulnerable urban communities. Dialogue among those currently divided by race, class, gender and other social characteristics must explicitly address asymmetries of power imbedded within the social system.

Legislative efforts to promote diversity within the workforce have been undermined during the past decade, as both affirmative action programs and programs created to address sexual harassment have been dismantled. Despite this trend, some organizations have remained committed to the goal of valuing difference, and have moved from

38. Presentation by Tom Gerschick, April 1992.

hiring to retention of a diverse work force. Those who work to promote diversity within hierarchical, competitive organizations can expect to encounter resistance grounded in deeply held belief systems and the fears associated with loss of power and control among those who currently hold privileged positions.

The application of critical theory to the analysis of organizational systems suggests parallels between structures of domination found in patriarchal family systems and those located in hierarchical organizations. These parallels point to the deeply imbedded nature of systems of domination, the legitimation of these systems by experience within hierarchical family systems, and interconnections among oppressions based in race, gender and class.

Finally, social change movements are often made up of groups of individuals who have shared experiences on the basis of gender, race, class or sexual orientation. These communities are an essential aspect of consciousness raising and critical analysis, and provide important support for the development of liberatory theories and the process of creating change. To the extent that the identities which connect individuals to communities become reified they may interfere with the articulation of differences within the community, and also with the recognition of common interests across subcommunities. The development of processes that promote communication, respect and understanding across identity lines, and which allow for differences within identity-based communities, is necessary to move beyond this point.

Barriers to Moving Beyond Tolerance

The exploration of the current status of multiculturalism within communities, organizations and social movements in the preceding section highlights, among other things, processes which act as barriers to tolerance. A fundamental aspect of the conceptual framework underlying the seminar series was the idea of dialogue occurring under conditions that recognize and address social inequities. Patterns of dominance and oppression shape interactions and create distortions in the vision of truth which emerges from dialogue. Ultimately the objective is praxis - dialogue, planning and

action for change. Recognizing that the conditions for an "ideal space" are at best difficult to attain, they remain an ideal against which to measure interaction patterns. Five systems which interfere with dialogue and collaborative problem-solving are examined in this section: exclusive patterns of interaction; competitive models of conflict management; institutionalized dominance; incomplete analyses of social problems; and backlash against change efforts.

Exclusive Patterns of Interaction. Patterns of interaction fall short of the concept of dialogue within ideal spaces to the extent that they are exclusive or inequitable. Decision-making or dialogic processes which are not inclusive both reflect and reinforce existing inequities, and create versions of truth which are partial and limited. Patterns of interaction which exclude subgroups of a community may result from failure to recognize that different perspectives exist, failure to value those perspectives, or active suppression of different or oppositional voices.

Community members who are perceived as different risk sanctions from community members who are threatened by their difference, and they may be expelled or excluded from community membership, and in extreme cases may be killed. These risks can serve to suppress awareness or acknowledgment of diversity which exists within a community. For example, in the face of an assumption of heterosexuality as normative within a community, individuals may choose not to identify themselves as lesbian, gay or bisexual. The decision to remain closeted or invisible serves to confirm (or at least fails to challenge) the assumption of heterosexuality and tacitly supports a distorted version of reality. In contrast, in communities or collectives where homosexuality is openly acknowledged and accepted, the risks associated with individual self disclosure may decrease, or are at least known. This allows a more complete and accurate perception of reality to emerge.

Assumptions of commonalty are reinforced or perpetuated by racist, classist, sexist or heterosexist beliefs which justify the exclusion of alternative perspectives. As noted in the previous section, historical analyses of women's movements in the United States

reveal an emphasis on the interests and experiences of white middle class women while discounting, discrediting or simply ignoring the experiences and interests of women of color and working class women. Women of color and working class women were invited to "support" women's movements, but there was little recognition of the class and race bias built into a feminist analysis conducted by economically and racially privileged women. Early feminist movements are but one example of the development of analyses of social issues which are partial and limited by their failure to include those with different experiences and perspectives. Academic discourse which has not sought out the perspectives of other disciplines, much less contributions from non-academic sources, is another. Beliefs and assumptions about 'other' groups (generally, those not in power) have often been used to justify decision-making processes which are not inclusive and which perpetuate existing systems of dominance and oppression.

Competitive Models of Conflict Management. A second aspect of the conceptual framework developed earlier in this paper is an emphasis on collective theorizing as a form of social action which can work to address conflicts and differences within and between communities. The creation of intentional subcommunities provides support for those who share a common life experience. Separatism may be a step toward the confrontation and change of oppressive systems, a time for healing and developing an analysis and strategy for change.³⁹ However, if subgroup identities become so rigidly defined as to preclude exploration of commonalties with other subgroups, groups may become polarized around differences and fail to find common ground for dialogue and collaborative problem solving. The ability to find common ground is a step toward the development of coalitions to work toward change using a collaborative rather than a competitive model.

Competitive models of decision-making also create barriers to inclusive processes. Conflicts or differences which are framed as win/lose propositions - one group wins (is right) and the other loses (is wrong) - create incentives for the development of processes which are exclusive or which discredit the voices of other groups. Even

39. See B. Reagon (1992).

within organizations with a commitment to shared control and participatory decision-making, there may exist different definitions of what this means and what processes will best reach this goal. PCMA faculty, who share a commitment to social justice, struggle continually with different visions of process toward that goal and the conflicts which grow out of those differences. Individuals and groups may also lack necessary analytical or verbal communication skills, or necessary information, to attain a goal of participation of all groups in a non-hierarchical space.

Institutionalized Dominance. A third aspect of the liberatory framework developed through the seminar is the recognition of and commitment to address power inequities. The failure to challenge asymmetries of power allows the perpetuation of patterns of communication which exclude some from participation and distort the influence of others. Organizational theorists suggest that early experience in patriarchal family systems socializes individuals to accept dominance and submission in patterns of interaction, and limits the ability to perceive alternative options and challenge existing systems. Efforts to transform these systems of dominance and oppression are complicated by institutionalized rewards for competitive or aggressive behavior and definitions of self worth based in the accumulation of material goods and successful competition. Structural rewards for competitive behaviors and disincentives for collaboration create additional barriers to change.

Incomplete Analysis of Social Problems. The integration of theory and practice is a fourth essential component of the conceptual model, providing a critique of the oppressive theories which underlie current practices and the simultaneous development of alternative theories. Failure to adequately explore the complex structural sources of conflict or inequality contributes to difficulties in development of critical analyses or collaborative problem solving efforts. An analysis which does not integrate theory with practice, and which does not incorporate diverse perspectives, may attribute problems to specific individuals or groups. For example single mothers who receive AFDC benefits may be blamed for their poverty, or urban youth seen as the cause of the violence which surrounds them. The dialogue

necessary to explore the complex social, political and economic pressures involved in the unequal distribution of wealth and income or the evolution of violent communities is truncated by these premature and incomplete analyses.⁴⁰ In addition, these partial analyses serve to define privileged communities as distinct from those experiencing the problem, and to absolve the former from responsibility for participating in a solution.

As middle- and upper-income households move to suburban communities, leaving lower income residents in the inner city, dialogue across class lines becomes increasingly difficult. Communities become increasingly homogeneous with respect to income, and physical distance between communities creates barriers to both communication and collaborative action. This physical separation perpetuates stereotypes and misconceptions by limiting opportunities for interactions which challenge intolerant attitudes and assumptions. Furthermore, as distances increase it also becomes more difficult to work together toward an integrated analysis of social inequities and to develop ways to challenge these inequities.

Backlash. A final barrier to diversity within communities, organizations, or movements is resistance or backlash from members of privileged groups who are threatened by change.⁴¹ This reaction has been evident in increasingly frequent cries of 'reverse discrimination' by white males, and the resistance of some organizational power holders who fear the loss of productivity or competitiveness within the organization. Finally, backlash is evident in attacks against members of organizations who work to promote diversity and in the increase in ethnic violence and other hate crimes within the United States as well as in Africa, Europe and Lat in America.⁴²

40. For a case study illustrating this process, as well as its management, see R. Randall and J. Southgate (1981).

41. See C. Thompson (1991) for a discussion of barriers to change and sources of resistance to diversity among white men.

42. D. Welch (1992).

Summary

This section focused on assumptions, processes and structures which impede dialogue and collaborative problem solving. Stereotypes and misconceptions are powerful forces which are often used to justify the exclusion of some groups from participation in social processes. To engage in dialogue across groups involves opening the door to unknown risks as well as opportunities: refusal to engage in dialogue is one way those in power attempt to retain their privilege. A competitive orientation to the management of difference also promotes the exertion of power over other groups, rather than processes which use power collaboratively to address collective issues. A perception that resources are scarce may lead to exaggeration of differences to justify exclusion of some from decision processes or to discredit their voices.

Alternative Processes

A basic theme of this working paper is that the development and maintenance of diverse communities requires opportunities for interaction and dialogue among different groups. This interaction should promote connection and at the same time allow conflicts to surface and be addressed constructively. Within the framework described at the outset, the creation of safe and equitable spaces for such interaction becomes a cornerstone for the development of alternative processes. These spaces, while not a panacea for the problems of contemporary society, can allow for dialogue, interaction, and improved understanding among groups with different life experiences and provide a forum for collaborative problem solving. They can also become a forum for learning to address inequities which are imbedded within social systems. The review of barriers to movement beyond tolerance led PCMA to identify three arenas for further exploration: the integration of theory and practice, especially in the classroom; dialogue across identity groups; and a broadened dialogic process through nonverbal communication.

PCMA worked to identify or create alternative structures and processes within these arenas, and to explore the limits of such

processes. Three alternatives discussed or attempted through the course of the seminar are presented here. The first is a discussion of the transformation of processes and structures within higher education to promote the integration of theory and practice and to promote dialogue across groups which currently do not interact in non-hierarchical forums. The second is a dialogue between women of color and white women within PCMA which explored differences and commonalties in experiences within the university, and illustrates an attempt to create dialogue across identity groups. Finally, a collaborative effort to create alternate visions for a diverse community which used affective, nonverbal communication is described.

Transforming the University

Formal and informal processes within universities either promote intolerance or support diversity. Universities historically have been exclusive institutions which accept and provide training for an elite group of students who are screened and selected through entrance requirements. Once within the university these students encounter a competitive, hierarchical educational system which teaches not only content but process. Graduates become members of established social and economic institutions, where they apply the lessons learned within the university. Universities thus help to perpetuate existing social systems, with their existing inequities, by educating students to accept, assume positions within, and reproduce hierarchical social systems.

Transformation of the university into an organization which promotes and values difference requires examination and modification of both the mission and the process of higher education. The creation of structures which encourage participation of a more diverse range of the population is one challenge. Competitive and exclusive standards of excellence within the university have been challenged on the grounds that they reflect ethnocentric notions of excellence: these challenges have encountered resistance and are likely to continue to be contested by more conservative voices within the university.¹

1. For further discussion of the backlash against efforts to move toward multiculturalism within higher education, see "On the Road to Multiculturalism" PCMA working paper #33.

However, they raise important questions regarding the legitimacy of the processes through which these standards were developed, and their effects on the accessibility of a university education for groups not included in those decision processes.

A second transformation of the university is grounded in the relationship of knowledge to practice. Elite notions of knowledge have emphasized 'disinterested' or 'objective' knowledge. Challenges to the notion of disinterested knowledge come from a variety of sources, within a variety of disciplines, and argue (in brief) that no knowledge is disinterested or wholly objective, and that to make such a claim obscures the interests which contribute to a particular analysis or interpretation.² These theorists argue for a knowledge created through action and dialogue across groups, in which interests and power differentials are made explicit. A university based in this perspective might work to strengthen ties with nearby communities and encourage students to work and engage in dialogue with members of these communities. This both expands the range of sources of knowledge and creates a process of theory-building which incorporates experiential as well as theoretical knowledge.

Transformation of the university into an institution which moves beyond tolerance also involves examination of the educational process. A traditional model of teaching assumes an expert teacher who imparts knowledge to non-expert students. Students compete to demonstrate to the teacher that they have mastered a body of knowledge and are rewarded through grades and eventually a degree. In addition to teaching a particular content, a competitive process is learned in which external rewards are bestowed by a power figure. An alternative model of education is that of dialogue among students and the instructor, and potentially, members of communities outside the university as well. Classrooms which encourage students to engage in the process of creating knowledge, rather than merely accepting information, create a rich and stimulating learning environment and

2. See R. Rosaldo (1989), D. Smith (1987), P. Hill Collins (1990), and S. Harding (1991) for examples of such arguments coming from anthropology, sociology of knowledge, sociology and philosophy of science, respectively.

contribute to a more diverse knowledge. In addition, such a classroom models a process of respectful dialogue which is an important tool for students who will eventually work within diverse organizations and communities.

Creating Dialogue Across Groups: White Women and Women of Color

Opportunities for dialogue across identity groups can foster more complex understandings of social processes and problems and contribute to more complete and adequate solutions to these problems.

Establishing arenas for such dialogue is made more difficult by a history of miscommunication, exclusion or betrayal among groups: development of trust in the process and in each other are essential components of such dialogue. Based in our own experience within PCMA it is apparent that, despite good intentions and an established working relationship, institutionalized asymmetries remain that can be experienced as oppressive. Seminar participants experimented with a dialogue among women of color and white women within the PCMA group which built on a shared history and trust established through prior collaborative work.

Within this dialogue there was an initial emphasis on listening without responding, in order to maximize the speaker's sense of being heard. Women of color began by discussing their experiences within the university, and exploring race and gender as aspects of this experience. Next, white women in the group spoke while women of color and the men in the group listened. A male group member was asked to record key themes and these were used to initiate a dialogue among the entire group. In the ensuing discussion, differences and similarities in both content and process between the two groups of women were noted. This exercise stimulated a discussion of women's experiences within different settings within the university, and the impact of race and rank (professor, student, staff) on women's experience. Through this process, women began to explore their commonalties as well as differences while the men heard without being required (or allowed) to respond.

Some women in each group felt marginalized within the university community, but it was often difficult to attribute this marginality to a specific cause: race, gender, lifestyle choices and career decisions were all considered possible explanations. Conflicts or experiences which have complex roots become organized around or attributed to gender, ethnicity or other characteristics and these attributions can oversimplify or obscure underlying social, political or economic forces which contribute to the experience. Through dialogue this complexity can be explored while at the same time modelling inclusive communication patterns which move toward greater understanding and collaborative problem solving. Dialogue offers an alternative to either competitive models of argument or models in which one group is expected to unilaterally solve problems which involve other groups.

Envisioning Alternate Futures

The final seminar session of the season utilized nonverbal, affective communication to create a vision of a multicultural university. The process began with individual visions, then moved toward the creation of collective visions. Group members were first asked to consider what they thought was best about the university with respect to multiculturalism. They were then asked to select from a number of materials one which represented their choice, and to "plant" this most positive aspect of the university in a flower pot. Each individual described their creation, then formed into two teams of women and two teams of men. Teams were asked to imagine the ideal multicultural university and to create a bridge that would enable the university to move from the flower pot (where we are now) to the ideal. Finally, teams were asked to present their ideas to the large group in dramatic form.

This exercise moved beyond analysis and critique of the status quo and toward a positive vision of an alternate future for the university community, opening the dialogic process through hands-on exploration. It asked individuals to identify something of value to them within the university as it currently exists, and to articulate a process for moving from that current status toward an ideal status. Finally, a dramatic presentation of the collective vision broadened

the format for dialogue and allowed for movement from theory (or idea) to action.

Concluding Comments

This working paper represents a synthesis of PCMA seminar discussions which examined where we are with respect to valuing the diversity with which we live. Through these discussions barriers were identified and alternative processes for moving beyond tolerance were explored. Dialogue among diverse groups was emphasized as a key element of multicultural collectives, and the creation of spaces for alternate forms of such dialogue remained an explicit or implicit theme throughout the seminar.

Core questions identified early in the term (see page 2) were examined through both theoretical discussions and efforts to create alternative processes. The first of these questions - how do we support or maintain diversity within community - was clearly present in the theoretical framework which argued that forums which are explicitly anti-racist, anti-sexist and anti-classist are necessary to promote dialogue among diverse groups. The limits of identity politics were explored through discussion of the potential for unchallenged assumptions or norms within groups to suppress diversity within identity-based communities, as well as the potential for limiting dialogue across groups. Opportunities to speak, listen and work together, as exemplified in the dialogue among women of color and white women in the seminar, can help to develop a more complex understanding of experience and the ways in which it is shaped by identities.

Opportunities for such dialogue also address a third core question: how do we work on these issues in both personal and abstract language? Dialogue across identity groups allows diversity and identity to be explored in personal language, rather than the impersonal and abstract academic voice so pervasive within university settings. This personal voice moves away from objectification and separation of "us" and "them", and towards an analysis which

integrates the different experiences of those whose voices are present.

Through analysis of the current status of tolerance for difference within organizations, communities, and social change movements, barriers to individual and organizational change were identified and ideas developed about how to address these barriers. This analysis contributed to the development of the alternative processes which were explored within the seminar group. Further exploration of barriers to such dialogue will be necessary to efforts to recognize and value diversity within communities and organizations. Even more important will be the active construction of spaces and processes which acknowledge and address inequitable access to social and material resources, and which encourage groups to envision and work toward communities which acknowledge and support diversity.

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Appendix A

The Program in Conflict Management Alternatives (PCMA) at the University of Michigan was established in January, 1986 by a grant from the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation and additional funding from the University of Michigan. Core faculty are drawn from the disciplines of Sociology, Public Health, Urban Planning, Social Work, Law, Psychology, Latin American Studies, Natural Resources and Education. The Program supports an agenda of research, application and theory development that focuses on the relationship between social justice and conflict. Particular attention is given to: 1) the fundamental differences and inequalities between parties that often create conflict and threaten its stable resolution; 2) the use of innovative settlement procedures and roles for disputants and first and third party interveners; and 3) the institutionalization of innovative mechanisms and the adoption of organizational and community structures that permanently alter the way conflicts and underlying inequities are managed.

An annual seminar series is a central feature of the work carried out by members of the PCMA. Program faculty and outside speakers present case studies of actual dispute practice, research findings and conceptual models, providing a basis for theoretical and practice oriented discussions of social conflict and alternative forms of conflict management. The seminar series for the 1991-92 seminar year focused on an exploration of the tension between diversity and community: how do we recognize difference and at the same time acknowledge the larger community within which different identity groups operate?

The multidisciplinary nature of the seminar group is considered a strength, as it allows the exploration of conflict and social justice issues from multiple perspectives. In recognition of the different perspectives and disciplines as well as diverse working styles represented within the group, there is emphasis on process as well as content.

Seminar Participants

Alex Aleinikoff	Professor, Law School
Francis Aparicio	Associate Professor, Spanish and American Culture
Percy Bates	Professor, School of Education and Director, Program for Educational Opportunity
Barry Checkoway	Professor, School of Social Work
Mark Chesler	Professor, Department of Sociology
James Crowfoot	Professor, School of Natural Resources
Elizabeth Douvan	Professor, Department of Psychology Studies
Barbara Israel	Associate Professor, School of Public Health
Edith Lewis	Associate Professor, School of Social Work
David Schoem	Assistant Dean, College of LSA
Sharon Sutton	Associate Professor, College of Architecture and Urban Planning
Helen Weingarten	Associate Professor, School of Social Work

Appendix B: Seminar Schedule of Readings

10/1

Patriarchy

Facilitators: Elizabeth Douvan and Helen Weingarten

Eisenstein, Z (1979). Some Notes on the Relations of Capitalist Patriarchy. In Capitalist Patriarchy and the Case for Socialist Feminism. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Eisenstein, Z (1979). Developing a Theory of Capitalist Patriarchy and Socialist Feminism. In Capitalist Patriarchy and the Case for Socialist Feminism. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Mason, JM (1987) When Society Becomes an Addict, edited by Anne Wilson Schaaf. San Francisco: Harper and Row.

Rosenfelt, D and J Stacey (1987). Second Thoughts on the Second Wave. Feminist Studies 13(2).

Whitman, C (1988). "Law and Sex." Michigan Law Review, May, 1988.

10/15

Political/Legal Theory

Facilitator: Alex Aleinikoff

Resek, C (1964) Introduction. War and the Intellectuals: Essays by Randolph S. Bourne. New York: Harper and Row, Publishers.

Young, IM (1990) The Ideal of Community and the Politics of Difference. In Feminism/Postmodernism, edited by LJ Nicholson. New York: Routledge.

10/29

Interpersonal and Group Difference

Facilitator: David Schoem

Heilman, S and S Cohen (1989). Conclusion, from Cosmopolitans and Parochials: Modern Orthodox Jews in America. University of Chicago: Chicago.

Reed, I (1988). America: The Multinational Society. In The Graywolf Annual Five: Multicultural Literacy R. Simonson and S. Walker, eds. Graywolf Press: St. Paul.

Bulkin, E, MB Pratt and B Smith (1984). Between a Rock and a Hard Place: Relationships Between Black

and Jewish Women. In Yours in Struggle: Three Feminist Perspectives on Anti-Semitism and Racism. Firebrand Books: Ithaca.

Reagon, BJ (1992). Coalition Politics: Turning the Century. In Race, Class and Gender, M Anderson and P Hill Collins, eds. Wadsworth: Belmont, CA.

11/12

Habermas and Social Justice
Facilitator: Mark Chesler

Ingram, D (1985) "Hermeneutics and Truth." In Hollinger, R, ed, Hermeneutics and Praxis. University of Notre Dame Press. Notre Dame, Indiana. p. 44-47.

Phillips, D (1984) "Explanation and Evaluation." In Justice and Social Order, Ram Avtar Sharma, editor. New Delhi: Intellectual Publishing House.

Feyerabend, P. (1988). Against Method. New York: Verso. p. 245-288.

Randall, R. (1981). Doing dialogical research. In Human Inquiry, P. Reason and J. Rowan, eds. New York: Wiley. p. 349-361.

Rorty, R. (1985) Postmodernist Bourgeois Liberalism. In Hollinger, R, ed, Hermeneutics and Praxis. University of Notre Dame Press. Notre Dame: Indiana Press. p. 216-221.

12/10

Organizational Perspectives on Multiculturalism
Facilitator: Jim Crowfoot

Duke, L (1991). Cultural shifts bring anxiety for white men: Growing diversity imposing new dynamics in workplace. Journal of Forestry, 84(7):20-22.

Selections from Images of Organizations. Sage Publications: Newbury Park.

Chapter 7. Exploring Plato's Cave:
Organizations as Psychic Prisons.

Chapter 9. The Ugly Face: Organizations
as Instruments of Domination

Thompson, C. (1991). Can white heterosexual men understand oppression? Changing Men. Winter/Spring. p. 14-15.

Struve, J. (1990). Dancing with the patriarchy: The politics of sexual abuse. In The Sexually Abused Male, vol 1. Mic Hunter, ed. Lexington: Lexington Books. p. 5-45.

Harmon, M. and R. Mayer (1966). Organization Theory for Public Administration. Boston: Little Brown Co.

Interpretive and Critical Theories: Organizing as Social Action, Chapter 10 in Public Administration Perspectives on Organization Theory.

1/21 **Guest Rudy Alvarez: Equity.**

No readings.

2/6 **Guest Maria Ramos, Organizational Change Consultant on Multicultural Development.**

No readings.

2/18 **Guest speaker Ellen Bravo, Sexual Harassment.**

No readings.

2/20 **Lecture by bell hooks: Feminist Theory as Liberatory Practice.**

Suggested readings:

bell hooks (1984) Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center. Boston: South End Press.

bell hooks (1989). Talking Back: Thinking Feminist, Thinking Black. Boston: South End Press.

3/5 **White Women and Women of Color dialogue.**
Facilitators: Helen Weingarten and Sharon Sutton

No readings.

3/19 **Continuation of above discussion.**

4/2 **Guest speaker Tom Gerschick, Different Streams of the Men's Movement.**

Clatterbaugh, K (1986). Are Men Oppressed? Changing Men, vol 17.

Goode, WJ (1982). Why Men Resist. From Rethinking the Family: Some Feminist Questions. B. Thorne and M. Yalom, eds. Longman, Inc.

Shewey, D. n.d. Town Meeting: In the Hearts of

Men.

Kimbrell, A (1991). The Male Manifesto. New York Times, June 4.

Kimbrell, A (1991). A time for men to pull together: A manifesto for the new politics of masculinity. Utne Reader. May/June.

4/16 **Continuation of above discussion**

4/30 **Envisioning Alternate Futures.**
Facilitators: Sharon Sutton and Jim Crowfoot

No readings.